

the payment of pensions to World War I veterans and widows, subject to \$3,000 and \$4,200 annual income limitations; to provide for such veterans a certain priority in entitlement to hospitalization and medical care; and for other purposes; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. UDALL:

H.R. 13775. A bill to amend title 39, United States Code, with respect to the franked mail of Members of Congress, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. VANIK:

H.R. 13776. A bill to repeal the meat quota provisions of Public Law 88-482; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DE LA GARZA:

H.J. Res. 1102. Joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of the Army to cause a survey to be made for flood control and allied purposes, in the vicinity of Alice, Tex.; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. SIKES (for himself, Mr. QUILLLEN, Mr. HATHAWAY, Mr. HAGAN, Mr. MIZELL, Mr. HALEY, Mr. GIBBONS, and Mr. CHAPPELL):

H.J. Res. 1103. Joint resolution asking the President of the United States to declare the fourth Saturday of each September "National Hunting and Fishing Day"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WOLFF:

H.J. Res. 1104. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States with respect to the attendance of Senators and Representatives at sessions of the Congress; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. CAREY of New York (for himself, Mr. COLLINS of Illinois, Mr. DAVIS of Georgia, Mr. DONOHUE, Mr. EVINS of Tennessee, Mr. LENT, Mr. MILLER of California, Mr. MURPHY of Illinois, Mr. O'HARA, Mr. NEDZI, Mr. SARBANES, and Mr. WALDIE):

H. Res. 891. Resolution calling for peace in Northern Ireland and the establishment of a united Ireland; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. PERKINS:  
H. Res. 892. Resolution: Request for survey; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. UDALL:

H. Res. 893. Resolution establishing as a standing subcommittee of the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service a Subcommittee on Congressional Mailing Standards; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. WOLFF (for himself, Mrs. HICKS of Massachusetts, Mr. DANIELSON, and Mr. COLLINS of Illinois):

H. Res. 894. Resolution expressing the sense of the House of Representatives that the President should suspend, in accordance with section 481 of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, economic and military assistance and certain sales to Thailand for its failure to take adequate steps to control the illegal traffic of opium through its borders; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

## MEMORIALS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

327. By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to adoption of the Griffin amendment concerning school busing; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

328. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Oklahoma, requesting the Congress to propose an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to the assignment of students to public schools; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

329. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Washington, relative to the importance of short-haul transportation; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

330. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Washington, relative to commemoration of the settlement of the dispute over the San Juan Islands during 1872; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

331. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Vermont, relative to establish-

ment of a national cemetery in Vermont; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

332. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to establishment of a national cemetery in Massachusetts; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

333. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to Federal assumption of the full cost of veterans' services; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

334. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to expansion of the medicare program and increasing the funding of medical research; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

335. Also, memorial of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, relative to enactment of the Social Security Amendments of 1971; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

## PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. FORSYTHE:

H.R. 13777. A bill for the relief of Edith I. Miller; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RARICK:

H.R. 13778. A bill for the relief of Anna Yose; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 13779. A bill for the relief of Adu Shomazu; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. TERRY:

H.R. 13780. A bill to authorize the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs to convey certain property in Canandaigua, N.Y., to Sonnenberg Gardens, a nonprofit, educational corporation; to the Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

By Mr. WYATT:

H.R. 13781. A bill for the relief of Loren Ted Ward, Jr.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

### BYELORUSSIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

### HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, Saturday, March 25, is the 54th anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the Byelorussian Democratic Republic. This nation, populated by one of the oldest Slavic peoples, remained free and independent for a short 3-year period before it was overrun by the trampling boots of the Soviet Red army in 1921.

We in the free world should never permit these brave, albeit enslaved, people to think that their plight has been forgotten. Especially at this time of the year when the Byelorussian counterpart to our July Fourth approaches, it is important that we take time out to note this event.

Ever since 1918 when the Byelorussians became an independent nation following the collapse of czarist domination, the tiny nation has been riding

a politically rocky road. Its short-lived independence ended with a Soviet promise of greater things but what developed was more than five decades of oppression, degradation, and complete denial of self-determination.

Mr. Speaker, as we look briefly at the history of these valiant people, we in the U.S. Congress should take this opportunity to hope and pray that someday—we hope soon—Byelorussia can once again join with other nations of the world as a free and independent member.

As far back as 1914, V. I. Lenin, founder of modern international communism, held out to subject peoples the promise to uphold "the full right to self-determination of all nations." This line has been followed by his Red disciples who have viewed the aspirations of racial and national groups as convenient tinder for lighting the fires of international revolution—but not as factors to be considered in the treatment by the Soviet Government of the peoples under its own domination.

If the Byelorussian people were given the right of self-determination proclaimed by Lenin, I wonder if they would

elect to stay within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics? There is much evidence indicating that they would not.

The Soviet Republic of Byelorussia is inhabited by some 10 million White Russians, different in many respects from their compatriots in other parts of the Soviet Union. The central government has sought by every means to wipe out the differences in language, culture, and tradition which distinguish these peoples from their fellow citizens.

The Soviet Government argued in 1945 that all the Soviet republics should have seats in the United Nations General Assembly. It succeeded in obtaining seats for both the Ukraine and Byelorussia. If they, themselves maintain that Byelorussia is a truly independent sovereign state—and this is the criterion for a seat, in the U.N. General Assembly—then they should allow Byelorussia to be independent. If Byelorussia is not sovereign and independent—and we all know that it is not—then it should not have a seat in the U.N. General Assembly.

We can hope that the self-determination of peoples will some day become a universal reality—in the Soviet Empire as well as in other parts of the world.

**PRICE CONTROLS AND BEEF  
IMPORT QUOTAS**

**HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, we have recently seen a rash of complaints about the retail price of beef, and that has led to demands that beef import quotas be set aside with the hope that a flood of foreign beef would suppress the price of retail beef.

The consumer is certainly being led down the primrose path by persons who either do not know or do not care about protecting the consumer position. Live cattle prices are not the cause of high retail beef prices. It was only a few weeks ago that live cattle prices finally reached a price level equivalent to what they were 20 years ago. In all candor, is there any other segment of the economy that has remained level for the past 20 years? Certainly family incomes, industrial wages, profits, and other major indexes have doubled or tripled. The beef producers' costs have risen nearly 100 percent in 20 years. Yet, the structure of live cattle prices remains essentially the same.

Of course, the consumer is paying a higher price for retail beef, but that higher price results from higher processing costs, higher operating expenses on the part of distributors and retailers, higher trucking and transportation fees. In other words, everyone connected with retail beef is collecting a higher portion of the consumer's dollar except the man who raises the beef.

The Texas Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association has furnished an analysis of price controls and beef import quotas which deserves the most serious consideration by anyone honestly interested in protecting the consumer.

Incidentally, Mr. Speaker, the General Accounting Office a short time ago released a report entitled "Better Inspection and Improved Methods of Administration Needed for Foreign Meat Imports." The report showed what we might expect; that is, that we cannot rely on foreign countries to maintain the same high standard of sanitation in the handling of fresh meat products that the American consumer has come to expect and deserve.

A two-pronged attack has been launched in high political places against producers of beef and other raw agricultural products. Loud complaints are being heard on Capitol Hill over the exemption of beef and other raw agricultural products from the price control regulations under phase II of the economic control program.

The position of the Texas and Southwestern Cattle Raisers Association in opposition to artificial price control on beef is well known. The bitter experience of black market operations and the staggering costs of administering rigid price control programs during World War II and the Korean war are very vivid in our memory. Government control of beef prices at any level of production is a

highly complex problem because of the multiplicity of grade categories, weight categories, sex categories, variables in carcass trim, packaging, volume discounts, and freight differentials. The cost of adequate policing would be prohibitive even if it were possible. Beef prices have not contributed to inflation at any level and the interest of the consumer will be best served by allowing prices at all levels to remain free.

In keeping with the basic economics of the free enterprise system under which beef producers operate, price is the most important stimulant for increased supply. Typical producer response to rapidly rising prices is marked reduction in slaughter of female animals with a corresponding expansion of breeding herds. At the same time, a host of marginal producers inevitably enter the field to take advantage of the improved profit picture.

Both of these reactions to the stimulus of rising prices divert many animals from slaughter to breeding herds. This temporarily reduces existent beef supply until the expanded herds get into full production. The long gestation period characteristic of beef animals and the time required for young herd replacements to reach productive age explains the fact that this supply building phase of the beef cycle might span several years.

Nevertheless, this characteristic build-up of numbers, or potential supply, in response to rising prices is well documented throughout the long history of our industry. Without question, if given freedom of action, these basic economic forces will follow the same pattern today as in the past. Beef supplies will eventually overrun demand, with a decline of prices at all levels of trade.

Strong demands are also being made for substantial increases in meat import quotas. At the same time, there is considerable sentiment for repeal of the Meat Import Act of 1964 which would destroy the machinery established almost a decade ago to share the American beef market with our partners in trade overseas, on a systematic basis with built-in adjustments for fluctuating demand and supply.

Beef import quotas were undersubscribed last year by foreign suppliers and in view of present world beef shortages, there is a strong indication of a similar response to proposed expanded quotas this year. Short run, therefore, any increase in import quotas seems of doubtful value from the consumer standpoint.

Over the long term, sustained heavy reliance on foreign suppliers for American beef requirements will have a depressing effect on livestock prices and producer income, but with little lasting benefit to consumers. Domestic build-up of numbers will be reversed and the secure domestic supply potential will decrease. Beef prices will again trend upward as lower profit potential discourages expanded domestic production, and foreign suppliers become aware of U.S. dependence on their product. At this point, American beef consumers would find themselves heavily dependent on an unpredictable foreign supply of

beef at uncertain prices with little control of sanitation or quality of product.

For two decades, beef producers have suffered an extremely long period of low prices entirely out of keeping with the prosperity enjoyed by other Americans during the same period. Only recently have beef and live cattle prices reached their level of 20 years ago while costs of production have been spiraling at a rate of 5 to 7 percent annually.

In summary, beef producers should speak out in opposition to impulsive demands to invoke price controls and abandon import quotas on beef now being proposed as a simple solution to increasing current beef supplies.

Lifting import ceilings in 1972 will have little material effect on retail prices in view of low world beef supplies. Short run, however, such a move will have a very depressing psychological effect on domestic prices of live cattle.

No apology should be made for the slightly improved profit potential now existent in the industry as a result of rising cattle prices during the last 6 months. Profits in beef production still remain far below those enjoyed by other American industries.

Price controls on beef would create havoc in the marketplace and lead inevitably to rationing and black-market operations to the detriment of the consumer. It should be remembered that 1 hour's labor will now buy twice as much beef of far higher quality than 20 years ago.

Finally, reliable figures indicate that numbers of cattle now on feed for slaughter within 6 months are sufficient to increase beef supplies with a steady influence on prices by late spring.

**A FULL EMPLOYMENT ECONOMY—  
THE GOAL OF THE GUARANTEED  
EMPLOYMENT ACT OF 1972**

**HON. HERMAN BADILLO**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, last week the Nixon administration proudly proclaimed that the unemployment rate had fallen to an official level of 5.7 percent and various spokesmen immediately declared that the economy was on the upswing. If one takes the time to look at the facts, however, you soon realize that the administration is simply engaging in meaningless rhetoric and is only paying the numbers game. The cruel fact is that we are still very much experiencing a critical unemployment situation.

Aside from the fact that the actual number of unemployed persons was unchanged from January to February, the Labor Department announcement fails to tell the whole story. Consider those discouraged persons—an estimated 780,000—who have forsaken looking for jobs which do not exist. You must also take into account those men and women—estimated at more than two and a half million by the Bureau of Labor Statis-



tics—who are currently working only part time but are anxious to secure full-time employment. It quickly becomes apparent, therefore, that the actual unemployment rate approaches a staggering 10 percent.

Unfortunately, the administration has failed to come to grips with the unemployment crisis or to take any effective approaches to expanding employment opportunities. Also, it is clear that the private sector is unable to generate sufficient number of jobs to even begin matching the jobless, not to mention the underemployed and unskilled. The only logical answer, then, is for the Congress to take the initiative in responding to this disastrous situation and to assume the leadership in beginning to resolve the problems of unemployment.

However, we must neither assume there is an acceptable level of unemployment nor take piecemeal approaches to the problem. We must firmly declare that the United States accept as a national policy the goal of attaining full employment and guaranteeing a job to every man and woman who is seeking work. We must then follow this commitment up with prompt and positive efforts to create public service jobs for the unemployed and underemployed, to provide job training and guidance for the unskilled and semiskilled and to match workers with available jobs by furnishing relocation assistance and related financial aid.

On March 1, in a speech before this body, I announced my intention to introduce legislation to establish a program to assist States and local communities in providing needed public services and to furnish work to all unemployed and underemployed persons. On Tuesday of this week I introduced the Guaranteed Employment Act of 1972, H.R. 13620. This measure provides that any person unable to find work in the private sector will be guaranteed a job in a municipal, county, State or Federal agency.

Testifying on comprehensive manpower legislation before the Select Subcommittee on Labor last week I discussed my proposal to guarantee work for the unemployed with a view toward achieving full employment and, at the same time, accomplishing significant savings in funds now being devoted to welfare payments and unemployment compensation—not to mention added revenues from the ability of the formerly unemployed to pay taxes and secure increased buying power. I must say that I was most encouraged by the reception I received from members of the subcommittee, particularly from our distinguished colleague from Oregon (Mrs. GREEN), who commented that my approach is the key to a lot of our problems.

I intend to circulate a "Dear Colleague" letter soliciting our colleagues' support and cosponsorship of this legislation. In order that our colleagues may familiarize themselves with it, I present herewith, for inclusion in the RECORD, the full text of H.R. 13620, the Guaranteed Employment Act of 1972. I will appreciate the comments of our colleagues on this measure and, particularly, will

welcome their cosponsorship when I contact their offices:

H.R. 13620

A bill to assure opportunities for employment to unemployed and underemployed persons, to assist States and local communities in providing needed public services, to provide job training and guidance when necessary, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That this Act may be cited as the "Guaranteed Employment Act of 1972".

#### STATEMENT OF PURPOSES

SEC. 2. The Congress finds and declares that—

(1) the right to employment is a basic human right and it is incumbent upon the Federal Government to provide every American who wants work with a job;

(2) to attain the objective of the Employment Act of 1946 "to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power" it is necessary to assure an opportunity for a gainful, productive job to every American who seeks work and furnish the education, training, and job placement assistance needed by any person to qualify for employment consistent with his highest potential and capability;

(3) the United States has the capacity to provide every American who is able and willing to work, full opportunity, within the framework of a free society, to prepare himself for and to obtain employment at the highest level of productivity, responsibility, and remuneration within the limits of his abilities;

(4) the growth of the Nation's economic prosperity and productive capacity is limited by the lack of sufficient skilled workers to perform the demanding production, service, and supervisory tasks necessary to the full realization of economic abundance for all in an increasingly technical society, while, at the same time, there are many workers who are working below their capacity and who, with appropriate education and training could capably perform jobs requiring a higher degree of skill, judgment, and attention;

(5) the placement of unemployed or underemployed workers in private employment is hampered by the absence of a sufficient number of appropriate employment opportunities;

(6) there are great unfilled public needs in such fields as health, community improvement, education, transportation, public safety, recreation, environmental quality, conservation, and other fields of human betterment and public improvement, which can be met by expansion of public sector employment opportunities providing meaningful jobs for unemployed and underemployed persons, including those who have become unemployed as a result of shifts in the pattern of Federal expenditures;

(7) economic prosperity and stability in the United States and the well-being and happiness of its citizens will be enhanced by the establishment of a comprehensive full employment program designed to assure every American an opportunity for gainful employment; and

(8) it is therefore the national policy of the United States to attain full employment and guaranteed jobs for all.

#### DEFINITIONS

SEC. 3. As used in this Act, the term—

(1) "Secretary" means the Secretary of Labor;

(2) "State" includes the District of Columbia, the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; and

(3) "city" means an incorporated municipality, or other political subdivision of a State, having general governmental powers.

#### AUTHORIZED APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 4. (a) For the purposes of carrying out this Act there are authorized to be appropriated such funds as may be necessary.

(b) Notwithstanding any other provision of law, unless enacted in specific limitation of this subsection, any funds appropriated to carry out this Act which are not obligated prior to the end of the fiscal year for which such funds were appropriated, shall remain available for obligation during the succeeding fiscal year, and any funds obligated in any fiscal year may be expended during a period of two years from the date of obligation.

#### ALLOCATION OF FUNDS

SEC. 5. (a) Sums appropriated pursuant to this Act for any fiscal year shall be allocated in the following manner:

(1) Not less than 80 percent shall be apportioned by the Secretary among the States in an equitable manner, taking into consideration the proportion which the total number of unemployed persons, and of persons heading low-income families and unrelated low-income persons, in each State bears to such total numbers, respectively, in the United States.

(2) The remainder shall be available as the Secretary deems appropriate to carry out the purposes of this Act.

(b) The amount apportioned to each State under clause (1) of subsection (a) shall be apportioned among areas within each such State in an equitable manner taking into consideration the proportion which the total number of unemployed persons in each such area bears to such total numbers, respectively, in the State. To the maximum extent appropriate, apportioned funds for each such area shall be expended through approved applications submitted by prime sponsors.

(c) The Secretary is authorized to make reallocations for such purposes under this Act as he deems appropriate of the unobligated amount of any apportionment under subsections (a)(1) and (b) to the extent that the Secretary determines that it will not be required for the period for which such apportionment is available. Any funds reallocated under this subsection are not required to be apportioned in accordance with subsection (a)(1) or (b), and no revision in the apportionments of the funds not so reallocated shall be made because of such reallocations.

(d) As soon as practicable after funds are appropriated to carry out this Act for any fiscal year, the Secretary shall publish in the Federal Register the apportionments required by subsections (a)(1) and (b) of this section.

#### FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 6. The Secretary shall enter into arrangements with eligible applicants in accordance with the provisions of this Act in order to make financial assistance available for the purpose of providing employment for unemployed and underemployed persons in jobs providing needed public services.

#### ELIGIBLE APPLICANTS

SEC. 7. Financial assistance under this Act may be provided by the Secretary only pursuant to applications submitted by eligible applicants who shall be—

(1) public agencies and institutions of the Federal Government;

(2) public agencies and institutions of States and cities; and

(3) Indian tribes and any private nonprofit agencies and institutions approved by the Secretary for the purpose of this Act.

#### ELIGIBLE PARTICIPANTS

SEC. 8. Eligibility for participation in any program under this Act shall be determined

in accordance with the provisions of this Act authorizing such program; and persons who or persons heading families who receive benefits under title IV of the Social Security Act, or food stamps or surplus commodities under the Agricultural Act of 1949 and the Food Stamp Act of 1964, shall be included among individuals eligible to participate in programs assisted under the provisions of this Act.

#### APPLICATION

SEC. 9. (a) Financial assistance under this Act may be provided by the Secretary for any fiscal year only pursuant to an application which is submitted by an eligible applicant and which is approved by the Secretary in accordance with the provisions of this Act. Any such application shall set forth a public service employment program designed to provide employment and, where appropriate, training and manpower services related to such employment which are otherwise unavailable, for unemployed and underemployed persons in such fields as health care, public safety, education, transportation, maintenance of parks, streets, and other public facilities, solid waste removal, pollution control, housing and neighborhood improvement, rural development, conservation, beautification, and other fields of human betterment and community improvement.

(b) If, within ninety days of the effective date of this Act, the Secretary has not received an approvable application with respect to any area, he may formulate and carry out programs under this Act for such area.

(c) An application for financial assistance for a public service employment program under this Act shall include provisions setting forth—

(1) assurances that the activities and services for which assistance is sought under this Act will be administered by or under the supervision of the applicant, identifying any agency or agencies designated to carry out such activities or services under such supervision;

(2) a description of the area to be served by such programs, and a plan for effectively serving on an equitable basis the significant segments of the population to be served, including data indicating the number of potential eligible participants and their income and employment status;

(3) a description of the methods to be used to recruit, select, and orient eligible participants, including specific eligibility, criteria, and programs to prepare the participants for their job responsibilities;

(4) a description of unmet public service needs and a statement of priorities among such needs;

(5) description of jobs to be filled, a listing of the major kinds of work to be performed and skills to be acquired, and the approximate duration for which participants would be assigned to such jobs;

(6) the wages or salaries to be paid participants and a comparison with the prevailing wages in the area for similar work;

(7) the education, training, and supportive services (including employment location, counseling, medical care, family planning and relocation assistance for the employee and his family) which complement the work performed;

(8) the planning for and training of supervisory personnel in working with participants;

(9) a description of career opportunities and job advancement potentialities for participants;

(10) appropriate arrangements with community action agencies, and, to the extent appropriate, with other community-based organizations serving the poverty community, for their participation in the conduct of programs for which financial assistance is provided under this title;

(11) an indication of the full participation and maximum cooperation among local public officials, area residents, and representa-

tives of private organizations in the development of the program and a description of their respective roles in the conduct and administration of the program; and

(12) such other assurances, arrangements, and conditions, consistent with the provisions of this Act, as the Secretary deems necessary, in accordance with such regulations as he shall prescribe.

#### APPROVAL OF APPLICATIONS

SEC. 10. An application, or modification or amendment thereof, for financial assistance under this Act may be approved only if the Secretary determines that—

(1) the application meets the requirements set forth in this Act;

(2) an opportunity has been provided to the Governor of the State to submit comments with respect to the application to the Secretary; and

(3) an opportunity has been provided to officials of appropriate cities to submit comments with respect to the application to the Secretary.

#### SPECIAL CONDITIONS

SEC. 11. (a) The Secretary shall not provide financial assistance for any program under this Act unless he determines, in accordance with such regulations as he shall prescribe, that—

(1) the program will result in an increase in employment opportunities over those which would otherwise be available and will not result in the displacement of currently employed workers (including partial displacement such as a reduction in the hours of nonovertime work or wages or employment benefits), and will not impair existing contracts for services or result in the substitution of Federal for other funds in connection with work that would otherwise be performed;

(2) persons employed in a public service job under this Act shall be paid wages which shall not be lower than whichever is the highest of (A) the minimum wage which would be applicable to the employment under the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended, if section 6(a)(1) of such Act applied to the participant and if he were not exempt under section 13 thereof, (B) the State or local minimum wage for the most nearly comparable covered employment, or (C) the prevailing rates of pay in the same labor market area for persons employed in similar public occupations;

(3) all persons employed in a public service job under this Act will be assured of workman's compensation, retirement, health insurance, unemployment insurance, and other benefits at the same levels and to the same extent as other employees of the employer and to working conditions and promotional opportunities neither more nor less favorable than such other employees enjoy;

(4) the provisions of section 2(a)(3) of Public Law 89-286 shall apply to such agreements;

(5) the program will, to the maximum extent feasible, contribute to the occupational development or upward mobility of individual participants; and

(6) every participant shall be advised, prior to entering upon employment, of his rights and benefits in connection with such employment.

(b) Where a labor organization represents employees who are engaged in similar work in the same labor market area to that proposed to be performed under any program for which an application is being developed for submission under this Act, such organization shall be notified and afforded a reasonable period of time in which to make comments to the applicant and to the Secretary.

(c) The Secretary shall prescribe regulations to assure that programs under this Act have adequate internal administra-

tive controls, accounting requirements, personnel standards, evaluation procedures, and other policies as may be necessary to promote the effective use of funds.

#### ADDITIONAL LIMITATIONS AND CONDITIONS

SEC. 12. (a) Any amounts received under chapters 11, 13, 31, 34, and 35 of title 38, United States Code, by any veteran of any war, as defined by section 101 of title 38, United States Code, who served on active duty for a period of more than one hundred and eighty days or was discharged or released from active duty for a service-connected disability or any eligible person as defined in section 1701 of such title, if otherwise eligible to participate in programs under this Act, shall not be considered for purposes of determining the needs or qualifications of participants in programs under this Act.

(b) The Secretary shall not provide financial assistance for any program under this Act unless he determines, in accordance with regulations which he shall prescribe, that periodic reports will be submitted to him containing data designed to enable the Secretary and the Congress to measure the effectiveness of all programs. Such data shall include, but be not necessarily limited to, information on—

(1) enrollee characteristics, including age, sex, race, health, education level, and previous wage and employment experience;

(2) duration in previous training and employment situations, if any;

(3) total dollar cost per person, including breakdown between salary or stipend, supportive services, and administrative costs.

The Secretary shall compile such information on a State, regional, and national basis.

(c) The Secretary shall not provide financial assistance for any program under this Act unless the grant, contract, or agreement with respect thereto specifically provides that no person with responsibilities in the operation of such program will discriminate with respect to any program participant or any applicant for participation in such program because of race, creed, color, sex, national origin, political affiliation, physical disability, or beliefs.

(d) The Secretary shall not provide financial assistance for any program under this Act which involves partisan political activities; and neither the program, the funds provided therefor, or personnel employed therein, shall be, in any way or to any extent, engaged in the conduct of partisan political activities in contravention of chapter 15 of title 5, United States Code.

(e) The Secretary shall not provide financial assistance for any program under this Act unless he determines that participants in the program will not be employed on the construction, operation or maintenance of so much of any facility as is used or to be used for sectarian instruction or as a place for religious worship.

#### ADMINISTRATIVE PROVISIONS

SEC. 13. (a) The Secretary may prescribe such rules, regulations, guidelines, and other published interpretations or orders under this Act as he deems necessary. Such rules, guidelines, regulations, and other published interpretations or orders may include adjustments authorized by section 204 of the Intergovernmental Cooperation Act of 1968.

(b) The Secretary may make such grants, contracts, or agreements, establish such procedures, and make such payments, in installments and in advance, or by way of reimbursement, or otherwise allocate and expend funds made available under this Act, as he may deem necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act, including (without regard to the provisions of section 4774(d) of title 10, United States Code) expenditures for construction, repairs, and capital improvements, and including necessary adjustments in payments on account of overpayments or



underpayments. The Secretary may also withhold funds otherwise payable under this Act in order to recover any amounts expended in the current or immediately prior fiscal year in violation of any provision of this Act or any term or condition of assistance under this Act.

(c) The Secretary is authorized, in carrying out his functions and responsibilities under this Act, to accept in the name of the Department, and employ and dispose of in furtherance of the purposes of this Act, or any title thereof, any money or property, real, personal, or mixed, tangible or intangible, received by gift, devise, bequest, or otherwise.

(d) The Secretary is authorized, in carrying out his functions and responsibilities under this Act, to accept voluntary and uncompensated services notwithstanding the provisions of section 3679(b) of the Revised Statutes (31 U.S.C. 665(b)).

(e) The Secretary is authorized to accept and utilize in carrying out the provisions of this Act funds appropriated to carry out other provisions of Federal law if such funds are utilized for the purposes for which they are specifically authorized and appropriated.

(f) In addition to such other authority as he may have, the Secretary is authorized, in carrying out his functions under this Act, to utilize, with their assent, the services and facilities of Federal agencies without reimbursement, and with the consent of any State or political subdivision of a State, accept and utilize the services and facilities of the agencies of such State or subdivisions without reimbursement.

(g) The Secretary is authorized, in carrying out his functions under this Act, to expend funds without regard to any other law or regulations for rent of buildings and space in buildings and for repair, alteration, and improvement of buildings and space in buildings rented by him only when necessary to fulfill the purposes of this Act and subject to prior written notification to the Administrator of General Services (if the exercise of such authority would affect an activity which otherwise would be under the jurisdiction of the General Services Administration) of his intention to exercise such authority and the reasons and justification for the exercise of such authority.

#### LABOR MARKET INFORMATION AND COMPUTERIZED JOB BANK

SEC. 14. (a) The Secretary shall develop a comprehensive system of labor market information on a National, State, local, or other appropriate basis, including but not limited to information regarding—

(1) the nature and extent of impediments to the maximum development of individual employment potential including the number and characteristics of all persons requiring manpower services;

(2) job opportunities and skill requirements;

(3) labor supply in various skills;

(4) occupational outlook and employment trends in various occupations; and

(5) in cooperation and after consultation with the Secretary of Commerce, economic and business development and location trends.

(b) The Secretary shall develop and establish a computerized job bank program for the purpose of—

(1) identifying sources of available manpower supply and job vacancies;

(2) providing an expeditious means of matching the qualifications of unemployed, underemployed, and disadvantaged persons with employer requirements and job opportunities on a national, State, local, or other appropriate basis;

(3) referring and placing such persons in jobs;

(4) providing necessary financial assistance to aid such persons in locating suitable housing and in meeting incidental expenses associated with relocation; and

(5) distributing and assuring the prompt and ready availability of information concerning manpower needs and resources to employers, employees, public and private job placement agencies, and other interested individuals and agencies.

Maximum effective use shall be made of electronic data processing and telecommunications systems in the development and administration of the program.

(c) For the purpose of carrying out the program established in subsection (b), the Secretary is authorized to make grants to State or local agencies for the planning and administration of the program, including the purchase or other acquisition of necessary equipment. The Secretary may conduct the program on a regional or interstate basis either directly or through grants, contracts, or other arrangements with public or private agencies and organizations. He may also conduct the program when he finds that a State or local program will not adequately serve the purposes of this part. The Secretary may require that any information concerning manpower resources or job vacancies utilized in the operation of job-bank programs financed under this section be furnished to him at his request. He may, in addition, require the integration of any information concerning job vacancies or applicants into a job-bank system assisted under this section.

(d) To assure the effectiveness of the program provided for in this section, the Secretary shall develop an early warning system and standby capability that will assure a timely and adequate response to economic dislocations arising from changing markets, rapid technological change, plant shutdowns, or business failure.

(e) Information collected under this section shall be developed and made available in a timely fashion to meet in a comprehensive manner the needs of public and private users, including the need for such information in recruitment, counseling, education, training, placement, job development, and other appropriate activities under this Act and under the Economic Opportunity Act, the Manpower Development and Training Act, the Social Security Act, the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965, the Wagner-Peyser Act, the Vocational Education Act of 1963, the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966, and other relevant Federal statutes.

#### ADVANCE FUNDING

SEC. 15. (a) For the purpose of affording adequate notice of funding available under this Act, appropriations under this Act are authorized to be included in the appropriations Act for the fiscal year preceding the fiscal year for which they are available for obligation.

(b) In order to effect a transition to the advance funding method of timing appropriation action, the amendment made by subsection (a) shall apply notwithstanding that its initial application will result in the enactment in the same year (whether in the same appropriation Act or otherwise) of two separate appropriations, one for the current fiscal year and one for the succeeding fiscal year.

#### TRANSFER OF FUNDS

SEC. 16. Funds appropriated under the authority of this Act may be transferred, with the approval of the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, between departments and agencies of the Federal Government, if such funds are used for the purposes for which they are specifically authorized and appropriated.

#### MINIMUM WAGE STANDARDS

SEC. 17. (a) All persons employed in programs assisted under this Act shall be classified at the same city, State, Federal, or other

appropriate civil service pay level as persons currently performing similar work in the locality, and shall receive the same benefits and emoluments afforded those covered by applicable civil service systems in the same labor market. Where this subsection and subsection (b) both apply to any person, that subsection which is more favorable to him shall be deemed to be the only one applicable.

(b) All laborers and mechanics employed in any construction, alteration, or repair, including painting or decorating of projects, buildings, and works which are federally assisted under this Act, shall be paid wages at rates not less than those prevailing on similar construction in the locality as determined by the Secretary in accordance with the Davis-Bacon Act, as amended (40 U.S.C. 276a-276a-5). All others shall be paid at a rate not less than the then prevailing Federal minimum wage. The Secretary shall have, with respect to such labor standards, the authority and functions set forth in Reorganization Plan Numbered 14 of 1950 (15 F.R. 3176; 64 Stat. 1267) and section 2 of the Act of June 1, 1934, as amended (48 Stat. 948, as amended; 40 U.S.C. 276(c)).

#### COOPERATION OF OTHER AGENCIES

SEC. 18. Each department, agency, or establishment of the United States is authorized and directed to cooperate with the Secretary and, to the extent permitted by law, to provide such services and facilities as he may request for his assistance in the performance of his functions under this Act.

(b) The Secretary shall carry out his responsibilities under this Act through the utilization, to the extent appropriate, of all possible resources for skill development available in industry, labor, public and private educational and training institutions, State, Federal, and local agencies, and other appropriate public and private organizations and facilities, with their consent.

#### ADVISORY COMMITTEE

SEC. 19. (a) The Secretary shall appoint an Advisory Committee on Public Service Employment which shall consist of at least thirteen but not more than seventeen members and shall be composed of persons representative of labor, management, agriculture, education, economic opportunity programs, as well as representative of the unemployed. From the members appointed to such Committee, the Secretary shall appoint a Chairman. Members shall be appointed for terms of three years except that (1) in the case of initial members, one-third of the members shall be appointed for terms of one year each and one-third of the members shall be appointed for terms of two years each, and (2) appointments to fill the unexpired portion of any term shall be for such portion only. Such committee shall hold not less than two meetings during each calendar year. Members shall be appointed within ninety days of the effective date of this Act.

(b) The Advisory Committee shall—

(1) review the administration and operation of all programs under this Act and advise the Secretary of Labor and other appropriate officials as to carrying out their duties under this Act;

(2) conduct independent evaluations of programs carried out under this Act and publish and distribute the results thereof; and

(3) make recommendations (including recommendations for changes in legislation) for the improvement of the administration and operation of such programs as are authorized under this Act.

(c) The Advisory Committee shall make an annual report, and such other reports as it deems necessary and appropriate, on its findings, recommendations, and activities to the Secretary and to the Congress.

(d) The Advisory Committee may accept and employ or dispose of gifts or bequests, either for carrying out specific programs or for its general activities or for such respon-

sibilities as it may be assigned in furtherance of subsection (b) of this section.

(e) Appointed members of the Advisory Committee shall be paid compensation at a rate not to exceed the per diem equivalent of the rate for GS-18 of the General Schedule under section 5332 of title 5, United States Code, when engaged in the work of the Advisory Committee, including traveltime, and shall be allowed travel expenses and per diem in lieu of subsistence as authorized by law (5 U.S.C. 5703) for persons in Government service employed intermittently and receiving compensation on a per diem, when actually employed, basis.

(f) The Advisory Committee is authorized, without regard to the civil service laws, to engage such technical assistance as may be required to carry out its functions; to obtain the services of such full-time professional, technical, and clerical personnel as may be required in the performance of its duties, and to contract for such assistance as may be necessary.

(g) For the purposes of this section, funds may be reserved from the sums appropriated to carry out this Act, as directed by the Director of the Office of Management and Budget.

#### STATE AND LOCAL ADVISORY COMMITTEES

SEC. 20. For the purpose of formulating and implementing programs under this Act, the Secretary may, where appropriate, assist in the establishment of representative advisory committees on a community, State, and regional basis.

#### REPORTS

SEC. 21. (a) The Secretary of Labor shall make such reports and recommendations to the President as he deems appropriate pertaining to manpower requirements, resources and use, and his recommendations for the forthcoming fiscal year, and the President shall transmit to the Congress within sixty days after the beginning of each regular session a report pertaining to manpower requirements, resources, and use.

(b) The Secretary shall transmit at least annually as part of the report required under this section a detailed report setting forth the activities conducted under this Act.

#### INTERSTATE AGREEMENTS

SEC. 22. In the event that compliance with provisions of this Act requires cooperation or agreements between States, the consent of Congress is hereby given to such States to enter into such compacts and agreements to facilitate such compliance, subject to the approval of the Secretary.

#### EFFECTIVE DATE

SEC. 23. The effective date of this Act shall be July 1, 1972. Rules, regulations, guidelines, and other published interpretations or orders may be issued by the Secretary at any time after the date of enactment of this Act.

#### MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN— HOW LONG?

#### HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, a child asks: "Where is daddy?" A mother asks: "How is my son?" A wife asks: "Is my husband alive or dead?"

Communist North Vietnam is sadistically practicing spiritual and mental genocide on over 1,600 American prisoners of war and their families.

How long?

#### ABORTION AND PERSONAL CONSCIENCE

#### HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, many abortion proponents argue along these lines: "To legally regulate abortion is to legislate morality. It is wrong and impossible to legislate morality. Therefore we should not have laws against abortion."

If we were to grant that incredible argument, then we should logically be expected to eliminate our laws against, for instance, theft or murder. I am certain none of us would accept such a course.

The question of public morality and personal conscience is considered by Mary Kay Williams in the fourth in a series of articles written for the N.C. News Service, and I now insert the article into the RECORD:

#### ABORTION AND PERSONAL CONSCIENCE

(By Mary Kay Williams)

If you are against easy abortion laws, you're not alone. Almost 80 percent of Americans agree with you. This was the conclusion reached by Dr. Judith Blake, internationally respected social scientist and chairman of the Department of Demography at the University of California.

Dr. Blake's analysis is probably the most sophisticated piece of research on how Americans feel about abortion. Although she personally favors abortion, Dr. Blake had the courage to publish data contrary to her feelings.

If so many people are against easy abortion, why isn't there more opposition to it? The answer might be partially contained in this all-too familiar comment: "I don't want to impose my morality on anybody else."

While this comment may sound like acceptable liberal pluralism, a necessary distinction must be made. And that is: to know the difference between personal morality and public morality. This point was a key consideration by Michigan's Lt. Gov. James H. Brickley as he explained why he recently reversed his pro-abortion position.

Discussing the state's authority to "legislate morals," Brickley said: "The state should not legislate in the field of 'private morals,' a violation of which would not affect the rights of others. For instance, it is not a crime simply to tell a lie. It may be personally immoral, but it does not affect another person. It is a crime, however, to tell a lie—perjury for instance—that damages another person."

Abortion not only damages another's life, it destroys it. Abortion forfeits the very basic right to life from which all other rights proceed. Without question, it is a moral issue—both deeply personal and highly public. Highly public because there are two parties involved, the mother and the fetus.

To deny the fetus this status is to deny all of what modern medical science has been saying about the child's development in the womb—evidence which should make the fetus more protectable than ever before. Drawn from the disciplines of biology, genetics, fetology, and perinatology, this evidence affirms that:

1. The fetus is different from the parent organism.
2. Fetal life is independent.
3. The fetus is largely in charge of the pregnancy, and the mother is a passive carrier.

4. The fetus is treated as a separate patient by obstetricians.

That there is more than one patient expands the question of abortions from the area of private morals into the area of public morals. A noted Methodist theologian, Dr. Paul Ramsey of Princeton, observes that physicians have a "lively knowledge" of these facts of fetal development and subsequently they "know the grounds for believing that there is more than one patient in cases of abortion."

There will be those who will agree that abortion is a public moral issue. But then they will say that the state has no business legislating in the area of morality anyway. This is a failure to recognize that there is a moral basis for most of law.

Consider the laws against theft, burglary and homicide. Or the recent massive program of school desegregation enforced by the federal courts. These are issues of public morality and justice no more or less than the issue of abortion. It would be absurd for the state to allow segregation, or murder, or theft on the grounds of "not wanting to impose morality on anybody else."

Those who would acknowledge the unborn should not be timid or embarrassed to speak on the moral implications of abortion, to use what science and law and medicine have to say about human life, to be unrelenting, clever and energetic in exposing the arguments for abortion for what they really are.

And if this energy is enlightened by the kind of charity St. Paul talks about—that has "no limit to (its) forbearance, to its trust, its hope, its power to endure"—then it's possible that we may see more than just a victory for the unborn.

#### GIRL SCOUTS COMMEMORATE 60TH ANNIVERSARY

#### HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 6, 1972

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, March 12, 1972, marks the 60th anniversary of the Girl Scouts of America. I am pleased to be sponsoring the resolution commending the Girl Scouts on this great occasion.

Girl Scouts were established in the United States by Juliet Low primarily as a social organization for the girls to broaden the scope of their acquaintances. However, Girl Scouting has come a long way from this original goal. The social aspect has been expanded to include knowledge of foreign cultures through international exchange programs. Its programs aim at instilling in the girls a sense of patriotism, responsibility and resourcefulness.

A most commendable goal of Girl Scouting is to make the girls aware of their environment and to encourage them to work for a better quality of life in America. The girls learn to appreciate nature and to care for the land. Camping increases this appreciation for the outdoors.

Here in the Washington area, including the excellent troops in my own district, there are 57,000 Girl Scouts and 12,000 adult volunteers. In addition to the vast educational opportunities available to them in the area, the C. & O. Canal National Historical Park, Rock Creek



Park, and various Girl Scout camps provide outdoor recreation and opportunities to learn firsthand about nature.

Girl Scouting molds young primary schoolers into responsible, resourceful, adaptable and aware citizens. By developing these qualities, Girl Scouting provides an invaluable service to our communities and to our way of life.

Again, I wish to commend the Girl Scouts on this occasion for their excellent service to America and to extend to them every good wish for a successful future.

#### GUIDELINES NEEDED FOR CLEARCUTTING

**HON. DONALD M. FRASER**

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Al McConagha wrote in the March 5 and March 7 editions of the Minneapolis Tribune of the administration's cancellation of a proposed Executive order limiting clearcutting in national forests. Clearcutting is a method of logging in which all trees in a given area are cut at one time.

During last Monday's hearings before the Senate Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee, Senator McGEE raised the issue of whether the administration had abandoned its decision to issue guidelines for clearcutting, because of pressure from the timber industry. I urge Members to support the legislation currently before this House calling for an investigation by an independent, interdisciplinary commission of the practice of clearcutting on public lands.

The articles follow:

#### SENATE GROUPS TO CONSIDER DISPUTES OVER U.S. FORESTS

(By Al McConagha)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—The Senate this week takes up a bitter dispute over management of the nation's forests and the result of this manifold investigation may affect these woodlands for generations.

The Senate Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee Monday will cross-examine the administration on its cancellation of a proposed executive order limiting the practice of clearcutting in national forests.

On Tuesday another Senate appropriations subcommittee will hear from embattled Forest Service officials on their increasingly controversial stewardship of 97 million acres of forest owned by the nation, which are zoned for commercial cutting.

A Senate interior subcommittee begins hearings Friday on two measures that represent, in large part, a test between timber interests and their critics over the regulation of logging in national forests.

The President's advisory panel on timber and the environment will also meet in Washington this week to consider its own recommendations on federal timber-harvest policies.

Frederick Seaton, secretary of interior during the Eisenhower administration, is chairman of the presidential panel that will report in July on its study of national forest management.

On March 17 the Senate Public Lands Subcommittee will meet once more in closed session in an attempt to reach agreement on a proposed report critical of clearcutting on federal forestlands.

Clearcutting triggered the current unprecedented and highly emotional struggle over timber management. It is a procedure that involves cutting down every stick of wood standing in a given area.

Conservationists have used clearcutting of large tracts in Montana's Bitterroot National Forest, West Virginia's Monongahela National Forest and several Wyoming woodlands as emotive fuel in the timber fight.

The timber industry argues that the bulldozing of these areas is the most economically efficient means of harvesting the trees and that clearcutting aids high-productivity reforestation.

Some species of top commercial value, such as Douglas fir, will not regenerate well in the shade of other trees and this necessitates clearcutting, foresters contend.

In general, timber men claim clearcutting is required to meet the nation's home-building needs and to hold down prices on lumber, plywood, pulp and paper.

Clearcutting critics reply that its aid to reforestation is not proven and that in some cases it destroys soil productivity. They add that the practice causes unsightliness and damages recreation and watershed values.

Wilderness enthusiasts also are fearful that their efforts to enlarge the million acres now set aside as federal wilderness will be defeated as the industry moves into unprotected virgin stands.

The most recent chapter in the clearcutting controversy occurred in January when the administration, after talking to loggers, backed down on a proposed executive order to limit the practice.

The measure would have prohibited clearcutting in national forests in areas of scenic beauty, in places where soil erosion may result or where the forest may not regenerate properly.

Sen. Gale McGee, D-Wyo., is head of the subcommittee that will quiz Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz (the Forest Service is in the Agriculture Department) on Monday about action on the executive order.

McGee is also author of a bill that would ban clearcutting on federal land for two years while a commission studies the procedure and makes a recommendation to Congress.

Action on this proposal is not expected this year but hearings begin Friday on two competing comprehensive forestry bills: The American Forestry Act and the Forest Lands and Restoration Act.

The former is proposed by Sen. Mark Hatfield, R-Ore., and has the general backing of the wood-products industry. The measure would use timber sales to fund reforestation, timber production and environmental improvements.

The Sierra Club leads the opposition to this bill. The group contends that the proposal lacks definition of sound forest management and that the Forest Service will be under pressure to sell timber to obtain more money.

The second bill is sponsored by Sen. Lee Metcalf, D-Mont, emphasizing environmental protection and such uses as recreation, the measure provides a more detailed and restrictive program of regulation.

The Metcalf proposal permits clearcutting only if it can be demonstrated to be a "sound forest practice." The Hatfield bill makes no mention of any position on clearcutting.

Timber industry spokesmen claim that the Metcalf bill unreasonably curbs cutting on private lands and would also seriously limit the harvest in national forests.

Even those observers who are pessimistic about the chances of either bill in Congress this year believe that the debate hardly help but influence Forest Service attitudes.

The service, which administers national forests, is increasingly ambivalent about clearcutting. While defending the practice,

it admits it has made mistakes and says new guidelines are being developed.

#### BUTZ DEFENDS HIS DECISION NOT TO LIMIT TIMBER CLEARCUTTING

(By Al McConagha)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz in a heated hearing Monday defended the Nixon administration's abandonment of a proposal to limit clear-cutting in national forests.

In response to repeated questioning by Sen. Gale McGee, D-Wyo., Butz also elaborated on why he consulted only timber industry representatives before making the decision affecting public forests.

Butz, who administers the multiple-use, sustained-yield act governing national forests, said he opposed the proposal because it would impede private logging in the public forests.

"My primary concern was the Forest Service and the timber harvest," Butz said. He added that restriction of logging would reduce the lumber supply, raise prices and inhibit the administration's housing program.

The proposed limit on clear-cutting would also impose administrative burdens on the Forest Service, generate lawsuits and otherwise delay timber cutting by a "factor of several months," Butz continued.

In December the President's Council on Environmental Quality formulated, after discussion with timber and conservation groups, an executive order limiting clear-cutting in federal forests.

Clear-cutting involves clearing an area of all trees without respect to their commercial value. A bulldozer is usually employed in at least one stage of this operation, which has been in wide use since 1964.

Logging companies defend the procedure on grounds of efficiency. They contend, particularly, that it aids in the reforestation of such sun-dependent, high-value species as Douglas fir.

Opponents of the practice claim soil productivity is often destroyed. They add that clear-cutting also is unsightly and damages recreational, wilderness and watershed functions of the forest.

The proposed order would have prohibited clear-cutting in areas of scenic beauty, where soil erosion may occur or where damage to soil productivity may result.

Butz insisted the decision not to go ahead with the executive order was made jointly by him, Interior Secretary Rogers Morton and Russell Train, chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality.

"I think we were heading toward a compromise order until pressure from this body became too intense," Butz said of Congress as McGee raised the issue of "cave-in" to timber interests.

The administration announced in January that the proposal would be shelved after two meetings between Butz and timber firm representatives who vigorously opposed the measure.

Butz said that he met only with loggers because he needed their "input" about timber supply and prices. Other groups had already had a chance to talk to the Council on Environmental Quality, he said.

McGee, chairman of the appropriations subcommittee holding the hearing, contended the council had taken views from all parties to the issue before producing the proposed executive order.

McGee, who is author of a bill calling for a two-year moratorium on clear-cutting in federal forests, added that Butz's argument would be more effective if lumber firms were not exporting five-billion board feet annually.

Repeated misuse of clear-cutting by the Forest Service and logging companies suggests that the American people have the right to some assurances on the issue, McGee said.

Butz countered that the industry and the Forest Service got the environmental protection "message loud and clear" and that substantial improvements have been made in their performance.

DR. FRANCIS J. O'NEILL RETIRES

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, the news of the retirement of Dr. Francis J. O'Neill, one of our Nation's foremost institutional psychiatrists, prompts me to bring to the attention of the Congress some facts about him written recently in *Newsday* by Bob Keeler:

ISLIP DIRECTOR SAW PSYCHIATRY MATURE

(By Bob Keeler)

In the 38 years since Dr. Francis J. O'Neill first came to work at Central Islip State Hospital, institutional psychiatry has leaped from the era of the strait-jacket to the age of the pill.

"To me, this has been a very interesting time to be in institutional psychiatry," he said. "The greatest changes in psychiatry that ever occurred took place during my professional career."

O'Neill is retiring on March 28. His successor will probably be named today or tomorrow, a spokesman for the Department of Mental Hygiene said last night.

CAME DURING THE DEPRESSION

O'Neill, 64, came to Central Islip during the depression at the suggestion of a medical school classmate, after he found he could not make a living as a doctor in Burlington, Vt. Except for five years in the Navy during World War II and brief stints at two other state hospitals, he has spent all of his professional career at Central Islip. He has been director since 1951.

"It was a very frustrating experience at that time," he said of his early days at Central Islip, when he worked as a medical doctor, not a psychiatrist. "There was practically nothing you could do to change the course of mental illness. Care was almost exclusively custodial. We had no way of changing the path of their behavior. We were only able to give them good medical care." Because of the violence of some of the patients, "there was a great deal of restraint used in the early days. We had nothing but sedatives, and even that didn't work with some of them."

FEWER PATIENTS, SHORTER STAYS

There were about 7,000 patients at the hospital then, O'Neill said, and the average stay was measured in months or years. At its peak, in 1955, Central Islip had 10,078 inpatients. But now the population is down to 4,100, and the mean length of stay is 42 days.

What turned things around was the discovery, in 1954, of psychotropic drugs, chemicals that have beneficial effects on the course of various mental illness. Since the 1955 peak, O'Neill said, "There has been a steady decline in our population. I predict that within a few years, it will get down to about 1,000 to 1,500." O'Neill said that the shortening of the hospital stay was of major importance, because a "prolonged hospital stay has a dehumanizing effect, even under the best of conditions."

While this hospital reflected the changes in institutional psychiatry as a whole, O'Neill said, it spearheaded some changes of its own.

"This hospital has led the country in the development of treatment for alcoholics who are not brain damaged or psychotic. The program has been copied throughout New York State and the United States. Another area we pioneered in our sheltered workshop program, which we began in 1957. This was the first in a public mental hospital in America. The sheltered workshop and the alcoholic treatment program I take great personal pride in," he said.

MORE THAN A CAREER

For O'Neill, his work at the hospital has been more than just a career. It has been a problem in the raising of his four children while living on the hospital grounds. ("Your children get isolated from other kids.") It has been a relationship with the surrounding community, which grew up around the hospital. ("I've never known of a case when there was any serious trouble between this hospital and the community." In fact, the community honored O'Neill by naming an elementary school in the Central Islip School District for him.) And it has been a source of friendship, including "many, many close friends among the patients." One of the patients, a professional golfer who was an alcoholic, taught Mrs. O'Neill to golf. "He couldn't teach me," O'Neill said. O'Neill's wife is now a low handicap shooter, and he classifies himself as "a duffer."

Next month, O'Neill will retire and start on his new career as a forensic psychiatrist. His boss, Commissioner Alan Miller of the State Department of Mental Hygiene, said of O'Neill: "I think if you were to take a poll of his fellow directors across the country, he would rank among the top 10 in their esteem." Miller's own assessment: "a skillful administrator" and "a very decent man."

To this article may I add my good wishes to a brilliant, compassionate, dedicated doctor who has done more good for his fellowman in his lifetime than most of us can hope to.

CWO RICHARD E. "SPIKE" KELLY  
OF YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO, RETIRES  
FROM THE U.S. NAVAL RESERVES

HON. CHARLES J. CARNEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. CARNEY. Mr. Speaker, recently CWO Richard E. "Spike" Kelly, U.S. Naval Reserves, was honored at retirement ceremonies at the U.S. Naval Training Center in Youngstown. Chief Warrant Officer Kelly is retiring after 35 years of distinguished service in the Navy and Naval Reserves.

Chief Warrant Officer Kelly enlisted in the U.S. Navy on February 1, 1929. He was discharged in 1935 after serving aboard ships including the U.S.S. *Holland*, U.S.S. *Seagull*, and the flagship of the U.S. fleet, the U.S.S. *Pennsylvania*. He reenlisted in 1941 and served aboard the U.S.S. *Griffin* and later was attached to the Far East Command. He also served aboard the U.S.S. *Neshanic* and U.S.S. *Olkawaha*.

In 1946, Kelly resigned his regular commission and returned to Youngstown where he was one of the organizers of the Naval Reserve Training Center. He was also a member of the first unit to occupy the facility in 1947. Since that

time he has continuously served in various other Naval Reserve assignments. At the time of his retirement Chief Warrant Officer Kelly was training officer of the Military Sealift Command for the tri-county area. He is currently chief auditor in the city income tax department and is a graduate of Youngstown State University.

Approximately 60 friends and relatives attended the hour-long ceremonies in which Kelly was commended by both military and governmental leaders. State Senator Harry Meshel and State Representative John McCarthy presented a joint resolution of the Ohio General Assembly citing Kelly's achievements. Commissioner Thomas Barrett presented a Mahoning County resolution honoring the long-time Naval Reserve officer. Robert McGowan, assistant finance director of the city, and Councilman William Bryant represented Mayor Hunter.

Comdr. James Lynton, Naval Reserve group commander, presented a certificate of appreciation from President Nixon. Lt. Michael Glynn, commanding officer, presented a letter of commendation and a certificate of Naval Reserve service for Kelly's contributions to the center. Comdr. Edward Everett, U.S. Naval Reserve, and former commanding officer of the Military Sealift Command in the area, outlined some of Kelly's accomplishments in the Youngstown Naval Reserve program.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Chief Warrant Officer Kelly for his long and dedicated service to our country. I also extend best wishes to him and his charming wife, Teresa, for many happy, healthy years in retirement.

WELFARE CHEATERS AND THE  
REST OF US

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, there are some interesting analogies in the following article on "Welfare Cheaters and the Rest of Us," by Meg Greenfield, deputy editorial page editor of the *Washington Post*. The article, which appeared in the Outlook section of March 12, follows:

WELFARE CHEATERS AND THE REST OF US

(By Meg Greenfield)

Tax laws contained loopholes big enough for 112 Americans with incomes of more than \$200,000 to pay no federal income taxes in 1970, according to preliminary information from the Department of the Treasury.

Blue Shield, the health insurance plan that pays doctors bills for nearly half the residents of Washington, forced physicians here last year to pay back about \$50,000 in what Blue Shield said were inflated charges. . . .

Nearly half the farms in Kern County [Calif.], the third wealthiest agricultural county in the nation, juggled their ownership arrangements to avoid the \$55,000 limitation on cotton subsidy payments enacted by Congress last year.

Sen. William Proxmire (D-Wis.), citing expert testimony, [said that the] public pays \$4.3 billion a year for assorted "tax favors" to



the petroleum industry, plus \$5 billion for oil import quotas, for a total of \$9.3 billion.

In my fantasy we are having lunch at an expensive Washington restaurant. My guest is an old friend—a lawyer, perhaps, who worked for the government under a previous administration and is now a consultant or counselor (which is to say, a lobbyist) for one of the big oil companies. Actually, it may be premature to call him my guest, since it is not yet clear which of us will pick up the check, only that the meal and drinks will go on one of our expense accounts and ultimately be split with Uncle Sam.

When I permit the fantasy to become elaborate, I see my friend going directly from the restaurant to an airport, where he boards a waiting company plane. Guided by subsidized navigation and instrument services, he takes off for a combined business and pleasure trip, all of which will be accounted a business expense on his income tax return. Sometimes I cast the pleasure part of his journey as a day's stopover with a cherished, aging uncle on a farm in the South who is living on government payments for cotton crops that he and his "partners" (family) are not growing. The only constant in this picture is that somewhere between the deductible artichoke and the written-off veal marengo, we talk about welfare cheating. We say how terrible it is.

The point of this exercise is not to set up some "you're another" justification of welfare cheating. Hanky panky down on the farm or at an ostentatiously appointed table for two does not make welfare hanky panky any more acceptable. And the broad range of more and less fraudulent activities that go by the generic name of "welfare cheating" are real, quite costly to the taxpaying public and—where deliberate fraud is involved—reprehensible. The point is that in relation to equally real, costly and reprehensible finagling of government funds that goes on at every other level of our society, welfare cheating seems to have acquired a grip on the national imagination all out of proportion to its place in the scheme of things. It can evidently enrage as few other forms of treasury raid can. Indeed, people seem not just willing but positively eager to believe that fraud accounts for most of the nation's welfare disbursements. And although it is true that just about all of us work part of our day—or at least pay part of our taxes—to support numerous of the undeserving rich along with numerous of the undeserving poor (and to do so far more handsomely), it is a strange fact that we seem to resent such outlays to the poor far more.

The resentment begins, as such things often do, with a rather murky and misleading idea of what we even mean by "welfare cheating" and what is known about its character and extent. For example, it seems to be widely assumed that what politicians and others have in mind when they deplore welfare cheating is extensive, deliberate fraud. This would encompass falsifying eligibility information, say, or setting up several separate "accounts" to get extra benefits or doing similar things that would be the equivalent of a taxpayer's deliberately failing to report income or inventing false exemptions, as distinct from his merely working the loopholes and ambiguities of the tax laws to his advantage. Yet most of those who have bent their attention to the welfare cheating problem tend to agree that deliberate falsification of fraud accounts for a comparatively small part of the outlays considered questionable of illegitimate. California Gov. Ronald Reagan himself, not exactly known for his permissiveness on the subject, told U.S. News & Report last year that so far as welfare work incentive programs in his state were concerned, for example, "we're caught up with a legal kind of cheating on this." He explained: "It isn't cheating in the technical sense, be-

cause it's all legal and above board under the existing federal regulations."

Welfare experts, who might not share Gov. Reagan's perception of which programs and regulations lead to a "legal kind of cheating" when exploited to the full, nonetheless seem to agree that much of what is commonly discussed under the rubric of "welfare cheating," in fact represents adroit manipulation of the legal rules—more or less in the manner of a Kern County farmer's rearranging the technical ownership of his land to increase his subsidy payment, or a taxpayer's seizing what opportunities he can in the preparation of a return. Moreover, welfare department accounting procedures are often so sloppy, and the maze of bureaucratic and statutory arrangements under which benefits are currently granted is so complex, that it is probably a wonder that more advantage is not taken of the rules.

That this situation obtains was highlighted in a recently published HEW study of errors in welfare disbursements. The survey showed that the percentage of recipients receiving either overpayments or payments to which they were not entitled at all—"welfare cheating"—was far higher than many defenders of welfare programs had wanted to suppose. But the findings also went a long way to discredit the popular notion that such payments were pretty much the result of dissembling and subterfuge on the part of poor black families receiving aid under the AFDC program. Put simply, the findings were these: that almost equal percentages of AFDC families and Adult Category recipients (the aged, blind and disabled) were receiving benefits for which they were wholly ineligible (5.6 per cent of the first, 4.9 per cent of the second); that almost 25 per cent of eligible AFDC families and 12 per cent of eligible Adult recipients were receiving either overpayments or underpayments, the eligible AFDC families being overpaid and underpaid at twice the rate of the eligible Adults (15 per cent to 8 per cent for overpayment, 10 per cent to 5 per cent for underpayment); and that of the errors traceable to recipients in both programs, a very small percentage had yielded evidence thus far of intention to defraud.

As testimony to the deficient procedures under which federal, state and local governments disburse welfare funds, there was the further finding that more than half the accounting errors that resulted in these mispayments originated with the welfare agencies themselves, not with the recipients. Thus in the controversial AFDC program, where roughly 30 out of every 100 families were being mispaid (five ineligible altogether, 15 receiving more than they should and 10 receiving less), 15 of these families would have been responsible for the error themselves, while the other 15 would have been receiving wrong payment that was a result of welfare agency error. Balancing underpayments against both overpayments and payments to wholly ineligible recipients, and projecting its findings to cover recipients not included in the 41-state survey, HEW accepted an estimate of \$500 million as the annual net amount of overpayment to welfare recipients under the principal federal welfare programs. The money represented combined federal, state and local funds.

Half a billion misspent public dollars. It is an awful lot of money to dish out by mistake, even by mostly honest mistake—even by mostly honest mistake more or less split between agency and recipient. Never mind: Let us make it worse. Let us first put the most sinister construction we can on the data at hand. We will, for example, suppose that—contrary to HEW's findings—all 15 per cent of the AFDC recipients who were responsible for accounting errors made errors in their own favor. We will also suspend the notion of "honest error," conceding instead at least

a strong possibility that each of these recipients was attempting to defraud the public purse. And, flying further in the face of the HEW findings, we will leave the Adult categories out of it altogether, pretending instead that the suspect AFDC recipients were responsible for the entire financial loss. Having done this much, let us now double both the sums and the percentages involved. That way, for purposes of argument, we will be talking not about \$500 million in net overpayment, but a full \$1 billion, not about 15 per cent of AFDC recipients who were responsible for errors that led to a part of this loss, but 30 per cent of AFDC recipients on whom we wish to blame the whole thing.

There are a couple of good reasons to alter the data this way, to make the findings twice as alarming. First, we cover ourselves against slippage (these things have a way of turning out to be worse than early evidence indicates). Second—and perhaps more important—only by so distorting the evidence at hand can we begin to bring "welfare cheating" data into the realm of relevant comparison. For if a full 30 per cent of AFDC recipients (not 15 per cent) were known to be responsible for errors in payment, and if all these (not some) were responsible for errors made in their own behalf, and if each and every one was therefore open to at least a strong suspicion of trying to shortchange the government, we would approach among AFDC recipients the moral and proportional equivalent of the one-third of the nation's personal income-tax payers who, according to tax expert Joseph Pechman, annually under-report or fail to report their income. With our full \$1 billion loss, however, we would still fall \$3 billion short of a monetary equivalent. For the year 1968, Pechman's figures indicate an estimated \$30 billion in under-reported personal taxable income, at an estimated loss to the government of \$6 billion—only \$2 billion of which was ultimately recovered by the IRS. None of this takes into account tax loophole work, or what Gov. Reagan, in the welfare context, has called the "legal kind of cheating."

The object of such comparisons is not to minimize or dismiss the high cost of welfare overpayments or the built-in failings of a statutory and administrative structure that permits many recipients to work the program to unfair advantage. Rather, it is to put what we commonly think of as welfare cheating into perspective, to fix it in a reasonable relationship with comparable forms of activity. When you view the problem of welfare cheating in this framework, it is, I think, quite natural to wonder at the disproportionate ho'd it has on our capacity for indignation and to marvel at the intensity and self-righteousness of our response. For that response is characterized, first of all, by the nearly universal acceptance of a double standard of judgment, one that seems to be as unconscious as it is convenient. Members of Congress, for instance, who accommodate all manner of personal corner-cutting (and worse) where campaign contributions, lobbying quid pro quo's, junketing and the rest are concerned, apparently see no irony in their moral outrage on this subject—just as Gov. Reagan, who managed to pay no state income tax whatever for 1970, seems comfortable discussing the burden that "a legal kind of cheating" by welfare recipients imposes on the rest of us.

Beyond this thoughtless, almost touching, sanctimony, there is the vengeful and ultimately self-defeating character of much of what we recommend by way of remedy. Both sentiments seem firmly grounded in resistance to evidence that what we regard as welfare cheating is (1) not indulged in exclusively by poor black people, (2) not indulged in by anything like a majority of those receiving benefits generally and (3) not drama-

tically different in either kind or degree from other forms of angle-working.

Consider some percentages. Along with the highly suspect AFDC recipients, the relatively cherished and respected recipients of aid to the aged, blind and disabled (Sen. Thurmond, for instance, has set these apart as "deserving" recipients) logged in around 5 per cent total ineligibility for benefits received. Is it possible that they are no better and no worse than their AFDC counterparts? And is it possible that the estimated 2½ per cent of ineligible recipients in both these programs who initiated the payments to which they were not entitled are more or less on a par with the estimated 3 per cent of area dentists, physicians and non-physician specialists who, according to the president of Washington Blue Shield, were involved in a recent fee-inflation episode and obliged to repay Blue Shield funds to which they were not entitled? Is it possible that there is some percentage of a given population—whether welfare beneficiaries or area practitioners or Kern County farmers or personal income-tax payers—that represents a usual moral and/or accounting lapse rate? A local Blue Cross official described the practitioners' errors as having proceeded from what he termed "misunderstanding or fraud or in between." A Kern County farmer observed philosophically of those working the subsidy program to unfair advantage, "This is what people have been doing for years. It's human nature." Is it possible, then, that any or all of this applies equally to erring welfare recipients?

Maybe it is not possible. Maybe further evidence will demonstrate that welfare recipients are, in far larger proportions, guilty of intentionally abusing the system. But it is curious that so many of us insist on assuming this essential difference despite what the data on welfare cheating thus far shows and despite the fact that none of us finds it hard to believe that the majority of doctors or farmers or income-tax payers as a group are abiding fairly by the rules.

That we persist in generalizing from the particular where welfare cheating is concerned, and that we have—relative to the size of other "doles"—such an extravagant resentment of the revenue forked out, suggests that it may not be "welfare cheaters," but welfare recipients as a class that we object to. It suggests that perhaps we do not accept the equity or legitimacy of the principle of public assistance to the poor at all, that we in fact regard *all of welfare* as "cheating." Only such a presumption can explain the oddities of our behavior. Even at a time of 6 per cent unemployment, for instance, people incline easily to the view that welfare recipients must be predominantly loafers and connivers and should somehow be made to pay the rest of us back—and not just in money either, but in ways that carry, at least subliminally, overtones of punishment and humiliation.

Whether our leaders share in this attitude or are merely catering to what they consider an insatiable public appetite, their statements on the topic tend to reinforce, the idea that we wish to exact something beyond financial compensation from those populating the public assistance rolls. Mr. Nixon, for example, has quite rightly insisted upon job and job-training programs as an essential part of any welfare reform. This could (and should) be viewed as a practical and hopeful commitment to ending the welfare recipient's condition of dependency, a commitment to the idea that welfare recipients do not relish or seek out that condition any more than the rest of us would. So dignity, respect and a better break are all latent in the concept. Yet Mr. Nixon seems incapable of conceding them. In discussing the subject last spring, for example, he did not, as he might have, allude to the possibilities of employment as hospital orderlies or in other medical service

jobs that have their more and less attractive features. Rather he saw fit to wax enthusiastic specifically about how "emptying bedpans" might qualify as appropriate and dignified labor for welfare recipients—pointing out that in his own family this onerous chore had at one time been undertaken.

There is more at issue here than a simple failure to distinguish between the moral drawn from a personal hard-luck story and a presidential suggestion relating to the prospective employment of a whole class of depressed people in whom we are seeking to instill some hope. What brought the image to mind in the first place? What particular mindset compels us invariably to dredge up from our own or others' experience the most singularly disagreeable labors we can think of as examples of the kind of work for which welfare recipients might be fit? How is it that when a successful businessman has bilked the IRS of a hefty debt in some grey area of the law, we do not insist that he pay it all back by emptying bedpans (in perpetuity, if required), but rather agree to a negotiation with IRS for some part of what he owes, forgiving the rest. Or try to fix this image in your mind: the directors of the Penn Central Railroad, picking up trash on pointed sticks along Fifth Avenue by way of compensating the public for having recklessly driven a valuable public resource into bankruptcy and dependency on the public "dole." The image is repulsive, is it not? Does it not have more to do with punishment than recompense?

One answer might be that, monetarily speaking, the analogy is absurd because such labors on the part of prosperous businessmen would do nothing to mitigate the costs of the public of their king-sized misadventures and that—at any rate—the public interest is better served by trying to keep them and their enterprises afloat than by yielding to our desire to retaliate. But the argument would be more effective if it did not also apply to many of those welfare recipients from whom we are seeking retribution. For more than imagery is involved in our apparent desire to punish. Indeed, some jurisdictions have been seeking to impose "crack-downs" that could actually be very costly to the state and at the same time render affected recipients even more dependent, even more cut off from the circumstances under which they might function normally in community life both as workers and as householders. In California and elsewhere, for instance, it has been proposed that regulations be established severely limiting to a few hundred dollars worth of goods the amount of personal property a person might own and yet qualify for benefits. The fact that such regulations would produce at most a minor treasury gain and that the inspection and appraisal apparatus to bring it off would be extremely costly as bureaucracies go, has not seemed to deter enthusiasts of the idea. Nor has the fact that much of the personal and household goods confiscated and/or sold off would in time probably have to be provided the recipients in some other form by the state. For this evidently is an attempt to render justice by reduction, by disabling the recipient of public assistance and enhancing his dependence on the state if necessary to do . . . to do what? To prove a point? It is relevant, I think, to recall in this connection that in the same quarters where such a wholesale disposal of welfare recipients' assets was being urged, it was well understood why Lockheed—to take a case—ought not be required to dispose of its assets last summer to avoid going broke, why it might be in the public interest to give Lockheed financial aid—no matter who was more responsible for its predicament, the company or the government that fed it business. The completion of defense projects was seen to be in the larger public interest. So was Lockheed's capacity as an employer. People can

see, then, the wisdom and urgency of forgoing any desire for retribution in relation to a company that, with help, can provide much-needed employment (a social good). Why should it be so difficult to take the same logical step in relation to a welfare recipient's employability, his capacity and incentive to live and work normally in the community of which he is a part? Surely that would be also in the public interest, equally a social good.

The answer, I think, has something to do with our perspective on the poor and especially on poor blacks. Their burdens seem less burdensome, their advantages (given or taken) more expensive. We, as a society, became much more exercised over the horror of random terrorist bombings when those bombings left the setting of Negro homes and churches in the South and came North in the form of anti-war, anti-establishment violence. And through years of amiable acquiescence in the knowledge that superior athletes and off-spring of prominent alumni got first crack at college admissions, although they might be intellectually fit, we did not register outraged complaints about what this might do to the academic standards of our places of higher learning. That came only with the issue of "open enrollment" and the effort to assist not wholly qualified, but wholly eager, black students in entering and completing college. One forbears imagining what the national political response would have been had it been such a student—rather than a University of Texas football star—who allowed in public a few years back that, truth to tell, he "couldn't read a lick."

Just so, we seem to approach the question of welfare cheating with a probity and a sense of loss and a desire to punish that are wholly out of phase with our complaisance in relation to cheating ("legal" and otherwise) that is at least as reprehensible and immensely more expensive. Two-and-a-half per cent, 3 per cent, 5 per cent, 15 per cent—the data could eventually be disproved, of course, but for now you would think that we would be able to deplore the genuinely costly drain of welfare cheating on the public purse and yet do so in the context of that rather apt remark of Hemingway to Scott Fitzgerald concerning the rich. The poor, in this case, seem to be different from the rest of us primarily in that they have less money.

#### SAVE YOUR VISION WEEK

#### HON. BILL NICHOLS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, the President has proclaimed the week of March 5-11 as "Save Your Vision Week". This is an annual event designed to bring attention to bear on the need for preservation and enhancement of functional vision.

The professional eye care practitioners of the Nation—the optometrists and ophthalmologists—bear a great deal of responsibility for providing those services necessary for early detection and subsequent correction of visual problems, as well as providing the public with information about the precious gift of sight. Americans of all ages owe a great debt of gratitude to these professionals for the services they provide, and for their support, encouragement, and participation in vision research and scientific advancement.



I am especially proud that the citizens of Alabama have done their part in the advancement of visual science in Alabama. In 1969, the University of Alabama at Birmingham, opened its doors to its first group of students in the new UAB College of Optometry. Enrollment today consists of 24 first-year students, 14 second year students, and seven third-year students in the 4-year professional course.

The University of Alabama School of Optometry is unique in many ways. One outstanding feature of this fine new facility is its integration with the physical facilities and general curriculum of the great UAB school of medicine. Although providing health education in two separate fields, these schools have discovered methods of sharing certain physical plant facilities, making maximum use of available faculty to teach basic courses applicable to both students of optometry and students of medicine. This has resulted in a higher-quality program for both types of students, who also benefit from the cross-pollination of interdisciplinary cooperation. Equally important is the fact that administrative and other economies have been made possible, permitting favorable tuition fees and a better break for the students as well as for the taxpayers insofar as the university is supported by State funds.

We are understandably proud of the University of Alabama at Birmingham and its excellent new school of optometry. It has already earned a position of prominence among the 12 optometric teaching institutions in the United States, by virtue of the innovative approaches employed there and the outstanding faculty and administration personnel assembled.

It is appropriate that we focus attention on the University of Alabama at Birmingham School of Optometry during this annual observance of Save Your Vision Week. This special occasion was first introduced to the citizens of our Nation in 1937 by the American Optometric Association, the national federation of State Optometric organizations which speaks as one voice for over 20,000 optometrists licensed to practice in the 50 States and the District of Columbia.

I hope each of my colleagues in the House of Representatives and all those who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD will join me in responding to the President's proclamation in which he stated:

I urge all Americans to learn more about their eyes and the symptoms of vision problems, and to take the steps necessary to assure for themselves and their families a lifetime of useful vision.

## BUSING AND EQUALITY

### HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, I have received the following statement of policy of the Massachusetts Board of Rabbis, representing rabbis of all branches of the Jewish community throughout Massa-

chusetts, with respect to the use of bus-ing in connection with public education. I fully endorse this precise and eloquent statement of this issue, and wish to bring it to the attention of my colleagues.

MASSACHUSETTS BOARD OF RABBIS,  
Boston, Mass., March 3, 1972.

Hon. ROBERT F. DRINAN,  
509 Cannon Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DRINAN: The Massachusetts Board of Rabbis representing rabbis of all branches of the Jewish Community in our Commonwealth, opposes efforts in our Congress that would set back all progress over the last two decades toward integration in education and expanded opportunity for all Americans. These regressive efforts are being done under the guise of "anti-busing amendments". These efforts are damaging in the extreme to the cause of desegregation in American public schools. We believe that these "anti-busing" efforts are really anti-civil rights amendments. We urge you, therefore, to do whatever you can to defeat these efforts, many of which are themselves of dubious constitutionality, and all of which would contribute to a poisoning of the educational, racial and social atmosphere in the United States at this very crucial time.

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi EPHRAIM BENNETT,  
President.

Rabbi JUDEA B. MILLER,  
Social Action Chairman.

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## LABOR'S OPPOSITION TO WAGE FREEZE AND ECONOMIC CONTROLS

### HON. HERMAN BADILLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, earlier this year Mr. Sol Silverman, president of Local 140, Bedding, Curtain and Drapery Workers Union, AFL-CIO wrote a very perceptive article for his local's newsletter on the wage freeze imposed by President Nixon and the efforts of our colleagues, BELLA ABZUG and WILLIAM F. RYAN, to soften the blow of the freeze. I believe Mr. Silverman makes some very valid observations and I certainly concur in the praise he has for Mrs. ABZUG and Mr. RYAN.

\*Deceased.

I am pleased to share this article with our colleagues and present it herewith for inclusion in the RECORD:

#### NIXON'S WAGE FREEZE

(By Sol Silverman)

The lesson that all workers in America must learn about how closely all of our lives are affected economically by who is elected to the Congress and Senate in this country was never more clearly proven than during the recent legislative battles concerning continuation of the wage freeze. A resounding "thank you" is owed by all of us to Congresswoman Bella Abzug and Congressman William Ryan among others.

In the last issue of the 140 Bulletin, you will recall that a picture appeared of Congresswoman Abzug, along with quotations from the debate in Congress in which she pointed out the necessity for not placing obstacles in the way of the working poor and those among the working population who earn a substandard wage. You will also recall Congresswoman Abzug's clear statement about the necessity to halt the expenditure of huge sums of moneys to continue the war in Indo-China to the neglect and detriment of all the problems that remain unsolved and unattended to here at home.

Another leader in the congressional battle to soften the blow of Nixon's wage freeze against those who already are the most exploited in the working population in America should be noted. Congressman William Ryan organized a group of 25 co-sponsors for a bill which would exclude from any wage controls those whose earnings could be considered sub-standard and, therefore, among the working poor. This bill was voted on by the House Currency and Banking Committee. When the bill was voted on by the Committee it was carried 29-0, with two abstentions.

To Congressman William Ryan's credit, in the final version of the bill signed by President Nixon on December 22nd, it is significant that much of the language contained in Congressman Ryan's bill is contained in the bill which now governs the wage freeze.

The House bill provided that the wage freeze shall not apply to individuals whose wages are sub-standard or to the working poor. The Senate bill contains similar language, except that the term "working poor" was not included. Moreover, the Senate bill defines sub-standard as the poverty level by the Office of Management and Budget. The conferees (between the House and Senate committees) agreed to the House provision. Congress chose the House bill. That's the law!

The President, the cost of living Council and the Pay Board cannot interfere with wage increases to workers who earn less than the figure of \$6,960.00 in the greater New York City area after making adjustments for the cost of living changes.

We, in Local 140, while continuing our position of wholehearted opposition to any wage freeze, are gratified at least to know that those among the American workers who already suffer most and are denied most, will at least not be subject to any of the restrictive measures in the wage freeze bill.

Certainly, without the intervention and participation and dedication of representatives in Congress like Bella Abzug and William Ryan this would not have been accomplished. Certainly, without the opposition of Local 140 and many other local unions and some international unions throughout the country, the final version of the wage freeze would have been much worse.

As we approach the political battles of 1972, let the message be clear: What the American workers need in Congress are more people like Bella Abzug, William Ryan, Herman Badillo, Shirley Chisholm and many, many more.

It should also be noted that the final version of the bill signed into law on December 22nd by President Nixon states that con-

tribution by employers to pension funds and Group Insurance funds are completely excluded.

And, lastly, let it be noted that the final version signed into law on December 22nd makes it possible, in the opinion of Local 140 and our attorneys, that every single economic improvement contained in every single one of our contracts must be given to our members effective on the date contained in the contracts that these economic improvements became due. We mean to get this money and intend to leave no stone unturned to see to it that it is obtained by our members.

Again, let us be clear that as bad as the final version of the bill signed by President Nixon is, it would have been immeasurably worse had it not been for the conscientious and tireless work of those Congressmen and Senators best exemplified by Bella Abzug and William Ryan.

#### AUTO MECHANICS LICENSING

### HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, there are literally millions of American consumers who are tricked each year into paying hundreds of dollars extra for auto repairs which are either unneeded, or never even made. My bill, H.R. 6277, is designed to eliminate this high incidence of outright fraud by offering Federal grants-in-aid to those States which agree to develop mechanics licensing procedures.

H.R. 6277 would assist the States in establishing an auto mechanics licensing procedure and training program to develop skilled mechanics. It is an important first step to protect the driving public and one which has received substantial nationwide support.

It provides that States would:

First, assume responsibility for mechanics licensing procedures and examinations with the following minimum requirements:

All who wish to be practicing mechanics in the State would be required to take a mandatory examination to assure uniform qualifying standards;

Existing mechanics would have two opportunities to pass the examination, with a provision that applicants who fail would receive training for a requalifying test within 1 year; and

A minimum of 3 years training would be required for all mechanics, with the exception that practicing mechanics with 3 or more years of experience may take the qualifying exam without training.

Second, establish apprenticeship and training programs to develop skilled mechanics and to qualify applicants for the licensing examination.

Third, require advanced training for licensed mechanics as part of their ongoing training to keep abreast of modern automotive design and technological changes.

Fourth, provide procedures for consumer complaints before a grievance board representing both mechanics and the public.

Fifth, discipline licensed mechanics

determined to be incompetent, provide for civil and criminal penalties, and prosecute any mechanic operating without a license. The bill would also provide that the Federal Government would:

Finance a portion of the State's licensing program.

Withhold up to 10 percent of a State's highway funds if it fails to develop such a program in 3 years.

Approve each State's licensing and training programs.

Provide funds only to States with federally approved auto inspection programs.

I would like to introduce into the RECORD today an excellent paper written by a student in North Carolina named Lyn Hughes. This study points to the urgent need for some kind of control over auto repair practices, and merits the close and careful attention of my colleagues:

#### AMERICA'S LEGALIZED RACKET

(By Lyn Hughes)

As Mrs. Jay Henderson of Chattanooga was on her way home from a half day of shopping, her motor began to cough and sputter. Alarmed, she pulled into the nearest service station displaying the sign "Mechanic on Duty" to have the problem checked out.

After investigating the motor, the serviceman reported that the car needed a tune-up, new filters, and the carburetor overhauled. He insisted that the car was unsafe to drive in its present condition.

Mrs. Henderson weighed her chances and finally decided to take the car on to a garage with which she was familiar. Result? The vacuum hose was off and merely needed to be reattached.

Perhaps this was an honest mistake on the part of the service station mechanic. Most likely it was not. Testimony before the Senate Anti-Trust and Monopoly Subcommittee in December, 1968, showed that some shops consider women "fair game" and "a good source of revenue" because they can be convinced that their cars are on the verge of breakdown. This can amount to big business, since women buy about 40 percent of the nation's auto repairs.

Though Mrs. Henderson's mechanic may not have been trying to deliberately make money off her, he may still fit into a category occupied by thousands commonly referred to as "mechanics" whose learning may be limited to self-instruction. These "shade tree mechanics" then attempt to hire out as experts in the field.

Legislation was recently brought against five auto-repair companies for such practices as selling used parts as new, charging for work not done, and luring customers into expensive repair jobs by showing them worn or damaged parts from another car. Because there is no organized control on this particular phase of livelihood, auto owners are often at the mercy of someone who may have no more formal education about cars than they themselves have.

Perhaps some of these less-than-qualified mechanics get into the auto manufacturing industry itself. A study done by the Automobile Club of Missouri at its diagnostic center in St. Louis showed that of 7,804 late-model cars tested, 5,842 had one or more potentially dangerous defect. Worse, rechecks of 2,000 of the test cars showed that 35 percent of the specified repair work was not done properly. Such sloppy repair work unquestionably accounts in part for the staggering accident rate on our highways.

When these facts are narrowed down to one's own personal experiences, they may appear like those of Richard Stanley of Collegedale, Tennessee. After purchasing a new-model car supposedly inspected at the fac-

tory, he had 12 part failures or problems—some immediately and the others within the following six months. His experience in getting repair work compared with the statistics discovered by the automobile club. Not until 10 months after the date of purchase and 18,600 miles were all the repairs finally completed properly.

Daily our lives are endangered by these numerous poorly-serviced cars on the road in this auto-oriented society. How can it be that this control has been by-passed? In the air-transport industry, work must be performed by, or under the supervision of a thoroughly-trained, licensed mechanic. Only a licensed mechanic may certify that a plane is airworthy.

Yet, "in the auto-repair industry, there are no required standards of training," says William W. Wimpfinger, vice president of the International Association of Machinists. "The average American's exposure to, and risk from, auto travel is about 400 times greater than his exposure to, and risk from air travel."

An approach to safety precaution is being made by most of the major car manufacturers and service companies, providing training schools of a half day to several weeks in duration for their dealers, retailers, and employees. After completing a course, trainees receive certificates which they may present when applying for future jobs. Yet, how much can the average "mechanic" learn in a day or week? Enough to confuse him? This seems to be a grossly inadequate program compared with the strict testing and licensing procedures required of other members of the transportation industry.

There may be many reasons for the dishonesty regularly exhibited in auto repair service. Several loopholes for dishonesty are left open when service is forced to conform to the set time as allowed in the "flat-rate manual," put out by each car manufacturer and some independents, and listing every repair operation for every model, and the estimated time and cost to make the repairs.

Since company mechanics usually work on a 50 to 60 percent commission of the payment as set by the manual, the more jobs they finish in a set time, the more money they earn. But the job on your car costs the same, no matter how short a time the mechanic spends on it. In essence, you may be paying for time that was not actually spent on your car. Besides the fact that rushed jobs are not characterized by the best workmanship, critics suggest that the flat-rate system is open to abuse in that there is a tendency to use new parts rather than repair old ones, thus boosting the customer's bill.

If, by some state or federal control, these mechanics in service stations and large companies alike were properly trained and certified as reliable and efficient, the problems would be diminished. Instead of making money by doing unnecessary repair jobs or slipshod work, the mechanics could do jobs more quickly and more efficiently.

The effectiveness of licensing is shown in Canada's Ontario Province where auto mechanics have been licensed since 1937. A young man desiring to enter the business must complete a four-year program of on-site training and full-day classes to qualify for a license examination. "When a motorist takes his car into an Ontario garage, he at least has the assurance that it will be worked on by a person who knows something about it," says W. F. Davy, director of the Industrial Training Branch of the Ontario Department of Labor.

Meanwhile, there are several things you, the average car owner, can do to combat the auto repair racket and avoid being deceived as Mrs. Henderson nearly was, or buying 10 months of trouble as Richard Stanley did. First of all, you should do a little preplanning. By the law of averages you know that



sooner or later your vehicle will need some mechanical repairs, so look around town. Take some time to visit a few shops. Tell the owner or manager right out what you have in mind—that you're lining up a garage just in case you may need one someday. Any on-the-level mechanic, if he has the time, will be glad to show you his shop, his equipment, the type of work he does, and how he operates it.

Secondly, when you find a reliable shop, be sure to patronize that one shop consistently. This will better your chances of getting good service from a staff of technicians who have a continuing interest in your car and you.

Next, you should not try to beat the dealer's prices by resorting to off-brand parts or cheap, unskilled labor—or by patronizing a shop which lacks the special tools to properly service your make of car.

Finally, as you are assessed outrageous charges for under-par repair work, write a letter to your Congressman. The more who complain about this legalized American racket, the sooner will controls be established.

### OMB IMPEDES OUR REGULATORY AGENCIES

**HON. JOHN E. MOSS**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, how can we in the Congress expect the regulatory agencies to do their jobs in a timely and responsible fashion when the Office of Management and Budget impedes the agencies by holding back on their operation moneys appropriated by Congress? This cavalier practice makes you wonder if the OMB is not taking careful steps to protect the industries the independent regulatory agencies are supposed to regulate.

The Federal Times on March 8, 1971, carried an editorial, entitled "A Time for Review," which tells how critical this problem has grown. I commend the editorial to the attention of my colleagues:

#### A TIME FOR REVIEW

The nation's regulatory agencies no longer appear to be capable of effectively performing the job for which they were created. This is a natural outgrowth of the gradual erosion both of their power and operating funds.

Less than 7,000 federal employees staff the alphabetical regulatory agencies which are supposed to keep tab on American industry. The problems the regulators face are increasing as the agencies are being half-starved into submission to growing controls by the executive branch of the government.

Lacking the funds and the people to do the kind of policing job that is needed, the agencies run the risk of becoming a helpless part of the bureaucracy, or a captive of the industry they are supposed to regulate.

This possibility is increased by the fact that the board members of the regulatory agency are chosen by the President. Frequently they come from the industry to be regulated; and often their selection is dictated by the need to return a political favor. The chance for providing an impartial regulatory process under this system is remote at best.

President Nixon has indicated he opposes this trend. He has called for a flow of power back to the people. If he is sincere in this approach, it would be well for the White

House to loosen the noose that the Office of Management and Budget has looped around these regulatory agencies.

Power has been flowing to the Budget Bureau since 1939 when Congress meekly rolled over under the command of President Franklin Roosevelt and passed the Reorganization Act. Title II of that Act amended the Budget and Accounting Act of 1921 to bring the independent regulatory agencies under the authority of what is now OMB. No hearings were held on the Act, and a select House Committee on Reorganization reported out the bill after only two and one-half hours of discussion.

Now, 33 years later, most federal employees and the public at large would be surprised to learn how tightly OMB controls the regulatory agencies.

The agencies must obtain OMB approval even before they can request information from the industries they are supposed to regulate.

Small wonder then that Sen. Fred Harris of Oklahoma likens the regulatory agencies to "a field mouse trying to control a rampaging rogue elephant, and the executive has left the mouse half starved at that."

Harris urged the Senate Subcommittee on Inter Governmental Relations to approve S. 448, sponsored by Sen. Lee Metcalf of Montana, to provide the budget requests of certain regulatory agencies be submitted directly to Congress.

Harris would go further and have the agencies report legislative proposals directly to Congress without being shortstopped by OMB. Loosening the noose still more, Harris wants the agencies to launch investigations without OMB approval.

"I would urge," he said, "that in conformity with the Freedom of Information Act a requirement be written into existing law which would stipulate that all correspondence between Congressmen and Senators and the regulatory agencies be published in a record made available to members of the press or constituents requesting it . . . The voters of the country should know what their Congressmen or Senators are asking the regulatory agencies to do."

We share his sentiments and we hope the Congress will come up with a strong bill to strengthen the regulatory agencies, thereby protecting the government and industry from charges of corruption and incompetence.

It is important to note, however, that more is needed than the mere transfer of responsibility from OMB to the Congress. Precautions must be taken to insure that the same practices now causing concern not be continued "under new management." This can best be accomplished by laying open all dealings between the regulatory agencies, the industries they regulate, and the members of Congress.

A watchdog must be alert to danger and free to attack and destroy that danger if he is to be worthy of the name. The same is true of the regulatory agencies.

### EQUITY FOR CERTAIN WAGE BOARD EMPLOYEES

**HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing legislation today at the request of the administration to provide equitable retroactive treatment for certain so-called Wage Board employees of the Federal Government.

Joining me on the bill are my colleague from North Carolina, (Mr. HENDERSON), chairman of the Subcommittee on Manpower and Civil Service, and my colleague (Mr. HOGAN), a member of the full Post Office and Civil Service Committee.

The Economic Stabilization Act Amendment of 1971 rescinded the 6-month deferment of the salary increases for General Schedule employees and the President authorized cancellation of the deferment as applied to Wage Board employees.

However, the retroactive feature could not be applied to all Wage Board employees without a specific provision in law. That is the purpose of the bill I am introducing today.

Chairman HENDERSON is announcing plans to begin hearings on the bill on March 23.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks and for the information of the Members I am including the text of the transmittal letter from the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission to the Speaker, a section analysis of the bill, and a statement of the purpose and justification of the legislation:

MARCH 9, 1972.

HON. CARL ALBERT,

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. SPEAKER: I am transmitting for the consideration of the Congress proposed legislation to provide for wage adjustments of certain prevailing rate employees of the Government.

The purpose of this legislation is to provide the legislative remedy necessary to assure equitable treatment to certain prevailing rate employees of the Government. Certain inequities have resulted from a series of actions required in the implementation of "The Economic Stabilization Act Amendments of 1971."

Section 3 of this Act has the effect of rescinding the six-month deferment of salary increases for General Schedule employees of the Government. In order to provide, insofar as practicable, similar treatment for blue-collar employees, the President authorized on January 11, 1972, the cancellation of the six-month deferment of wage adjustments for Federal blue-collar employees. By January 13, 1972, wage surveys were ordered to begin in forty-three wage areas under the Coordinated Federal Wage System. Under provisions of the law (section 5343, title 5, United States Code) the effective date of an increase resulting from a wage survey is the beginning of the first pay period on or after the forty-fifth day, excluding Saturdays and Sundays, following the date of the survey order. Wage increases cannot be made retroactive except where specifically provided for by law. The net effect of these actions is to delay wage increases in some wage areas for up to twelve weeks because there is no statutory authority for their retroactive application. Most blue-collar employees will have received their pay increases as originally scheduled.

Also incident to implementation of "The Economic Stabilization Act Amendments of 1971" the Comptroller General of the United States has ruled in decision B-173976, dated February 23, 1972, that wage increases resulting from wage surveys ordered prior to August 15, 1971, are required to be retroactive to the normal effective date determined under section 5343, of title 5, United States Code. Of the thirty-five wage areas having wage increases frozen until November 14, 1971, all but eight were ordered prior to August 15, 1971. Employees in the eight wage areas will not receive retroactive increases comparable to employees in other "frozen"

wage areas unless specific legislation is enacted to correct this inequity.

The draft bill, if enacted into law, would provide the remedy for each of the above situations and would cause an additional one-time expenditure of \$12,000,000.

The Office of Management and Budget advises that there is no objection from this standpoint of the Administration's program to the submission of this proposed legislation to the Congress.

A similar letter is sent to the President of the Senate.

By direction of the Commission:

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT E. HAMPTON,  
Chairman.

#### SECTION ANALYSIS

The first section of this draft bill provides for the Act to be known as the Prevailing Rate Equalization Adjustment Act of 1972.

Section 2(a) provides for retroactive wage adjustments for prevailing rate employees where wage increases were delayed as the result of two sets of circumstances. The first group of employees includes those paid under wage schedules for which appropriate wage-fixing authorities did not order wage surveys until after August 15, 1971, and the wage increases resulting from the surveys did not become effective until November 14, 1971, due to the operation of Executive Order 11615. The second group includes employees paid under wage schedules for which appropriate wage-fixing authorities deferred the ordering of wage surveys during the period of September 1, 1971, and January 13, 1972. In both of the situations described above the effective dates of any wage increases resulting from the wage surveys are required to be the date which would have resulted from the operation of schedule 5343 of title 5, United States Code, under the normal schedule for wage surveys during fiscal year 1972.

Section 2(b) provides that retroactive pay adjustments made under the provisions of the bill shall be made in accordance with 5 U.S.C. 5344. Thus, retroactive pay adjustments would be made only to employees who on the date of the order granting the increase are in the service of the United States, including the armed forces or the District of Columbia government, or who retired or died prior to that date.

#### STATEMENT OF PURPOSE AND JUSTIFICATION

The purpose of this draft bill is to provide by law for the equalization of wage adjustments for certain prevailing rate employees of the Government.

Wage adjustments for Federal prevailing rate employees are made from time to time as nearly as is consistent with the public interest in accordance with prevailing rates under the authority of sections 5341 and 5342 of title 5, United States Code. Prevailing rates are determined on the basis of locality wage surveys ordered by appropriate wage-fixing authorities and effective dates of increases in basic pay granted pursuant to a wage survey are established as required by section 5343 of title 5, United States Code.

Executive Order 11615, issued on August 15, 1971, suspended all wage increases which were due to be placed in effect from August 16, 1971, through November 13, 1971. As another action to stabilize wages and prices wage surveys for Federal prevailing rate employees were to be deferred for a period of six months beginning with surveys scheduled to be ordered on or after September 1, 1971. As a result of these actions wage increases were frozen in thirty-five local wage areas under the Coordinated Federal Wage System (CFWS) until November 14, 1971. Many other surveys under agency jurisdiction were similarly delayed. Wage surveys were not ordered in forty-three other (CFWS) wage areas until January 13, 1972.

On December 22, 1971, "The Economic Stabilization Act Amendments of 1971" was signed into law. Section 3 of this Act had the effect of rescinding the six-month deferment of salary increases for General Schedule employees of the Government. Similarly, on January 11, 1972, the President authorized the cancellation of the six-month deferment of wage adjustments for Federal prevailing rate employees. Wage surveys were ordered on or after January 13, 1972, in wage areas in which wage surveys were previously deferred. Although these wage surveys were conducted on an expedited basis any increases resulting from the surveys were required by law to be fixed prospectively. The provisions of section 5343, of title 5, United States Code, become operative after wage surveys are ordered to be made. The net effect of these actions is that wage increases are delayed in some wage areas for up to twelve weeks. The increases cannot be made effective retroactively to the normal effective date unless specifically provided for by law.

On February 23, 1972, the Comptroller General of the United States ruled in decision B-173976 that wage increases resulting from wage surveys ordered prior to August 15, 1971, were required by law to be retroactive to the normal effective date determined under the provisions of section 5343, title 5, United States Code. Since wage surveys were ordered for all but eight of the thirty-five wage areas prior to August 15, 1971, most of these wage increases will be made retroactive to the normal effective date. Specific legislation is required to make the wage increases for the remaining eight wage areas retroactively effective to the normal effective date.

The draft bill specifies that wage schedule adjustments for wage areas in which the survey order was given after August 15, 1971, and for wage areas where the survey order was deferred between September 1, 1971, and January 13, 1972, shall be made effective on the date which would have resulted from the operation of section 5343, of title 5, United States Code under the normal schedule for wage surveys during fiscal year 1972. Enactment of this bill into law would equalize wage adjustments among prevailing rate employees of the Government. It is estimated that implementation of the law would require the additional expenditure of approximately \$12,000,000 on a one-time basis.

#### INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE INVESTIGATES SAFETY OF DES AS A FEED ADDITIVE

HON. L. H. FOUNTAIN

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday the Washington Post printed on its editorial page a very lucid and reliable article by Morton Mintz, the Post's well-known investigative reporter, on the pressing issue of whether the continued use of diethylstilbestrol (DES) for fattening cattle and sheep is harmful to consumers.

For a number of years the Food and Drug Administration has permitted the use of DES, an extremely potent synthetic hormone which is known to promote cancer in test animals, as a feed additive for stimulating the growth of cattle and sheep. Last year medical investigators linked DES with the develop-

ment of vaginal cancer in young women whose mothers had taken this drug during pregnancy.

The Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee, which I chair, has been engaged in an intensive investigation of this urgent matter which is now approaching completion. Through hearings and staff investigations, the subcommittee has sought to bring the best scientific thinking to bear on the manner in which FDA and the Consumer and Marketing Service have performed their regulatory responsibilities in connection with the use of DES in livestock feed.

The issue of whether or not DES can and should be used as a feed additive relates both to the DES residues which the Consumer and Marketing Service continues to find in beef and lamb livers through its sampling program and the possibility, based on animal studies, that DES may be present in edible meat at a level below that which present testing methods are able to detect.

Mr. Speaker, I commend Mr. Mintz' very readable article to all of our colleagues who wish to obtain a better understanding of this important health matter which affects all of us.

The article follows:

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 11, 1972]  
CONTROVERSY OVER A POLICY FOR "DES"—  
BENEFITS VERSUS HAZARDS OF A FATTENING  
AGENT FOR CATTLE

(By Morton Mintz)

"The voice of responsible science must rise above the din," Commissioner Charles C. E. Edwards of the Food and Drug Administration said last November. "If not," he warned in a speech prepared for the National Academy of Sciences, "the 'special interests,' the zealots and the extremists, will drown out the voice of reason when it is most needed."

Dr. Edwards offered a "case in point": the controversy over the use of livestock feed containing DES, a growth stimulant that is a highly potent cancer-inducing agent, or carcinogen.

The commissioner supports the use of DES in feed. No American need fear that he will contract cancer from beef or lamb because, he testified on Capitol Hill last Nov. 11, controls are now so tight that residues of DES, in detectable amounts, almost never will occur.

In taking this position, Edwards, a surgeon, pitted himself against the nation's leading specialists in the causation of cancer. They include Dr. Umberto Saffioti, associate director for carcinogenesis at the National Cancer Institute (NCI), and seven other NCI and academic experts on carcinogenesis who, in 1970, made a key report to Surgeon General Jesse L. Steinfeld.

Edwards' position became more awkward a couple of weeks ago, when the House Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee, to which he had given his hopeful assurances, extracted from FDA certain internal papers on DES that the agency, with various stratagems, had tried to withhold. The papers show:

That Edwards' position is contrary to guidelines for testing for carcinogens set by an expert advisory committee appointed by the FDA itself. One of the members was the FDA's Dr. Leo Friedman, director of the Division of Toxicology in the Bureau of Foods. After publishing a signed article in an FDA publication agreeing with the committee's guidelines, he switched to the commissioner's side.

That the paper with which Friedman made the switch was denounced by Dr. M. Adrian



Gross, an assistant scientific director in the FDA's Bureau of Drugs, as pernicious" and "prejudicial to a sound handling" not only of DES, but of all "food additives."

That two aides to Friedman, in a memo he signed, contradicted two claims made by Dr. Henry E. Simmons, director of the Bureau of Drugs, in testimony about DES, a synthetic estrogen (or female sex hormone). Simmons claimed DES to be less potent than natural estrogens produced in the body; the aides demonstrated the reverse to be true. Simmons claimed the exposure to natural estrogens vastly exceeds that possible with DES; the aides said DES is measured in parts per billion, the natural estrogens in parts per trillion.

Edwards, in a letter to subcommittee chairman L. H. Fountain (D-N.C.) on Dec. 29, over-ruled Gross. The scientist's conclusions "are highly speculative and not the type of information on which sound regulatory policy could be based," the commissioner said.

In expressing confidence in his own regulatory policies, Edwards emphasized a new regulation that requires livestock men to withdraw DES feed from cattle and sheep seven days before slaughter and to certify that they have complied. An animal that ingests DES feed is said to excrete it totally within 48 hours.

Last year, one half of one per cent of the beef and lamb samples tested by Agriculture Department inspectors were found to contain DES in concentrations of between 2 and 40 parts per billion (ppb); prosecutions were begun in several cases.

The 7-day rule, Edwards told Rep. Fountain, is "reasonably certain to be followed in practice" and, "when . . . followed," provides assurance to the public that DES residues "will not be found in meat." But if the controls fail, he said, the FDA is "prepared to ban" DES from feed.

The 7-day rule took effect on Jan. 8. Less than four weeks later, Agriculture Department found DES in the livers of a steer and a lamb that been certified to have received no DES feed in the week before slaughter. In this initial period, the rate of detection was one-half of one per cent—the same as in all of 1971. Last Monday, two more cases were reported, raising the detection rate twice as high as in 1971.

None of this, however, reaches a fundamental question: in concentrations below 1½ ppb—the lowest detectable with practical methods—can DES cause cancer in humans?

Like Dr. Edwards, the Food Protection Committee of the National Academy of Sciences and NAS president Philip Handler are optimistic. They rely on a committee task force which not only claimed that carcinogens in foods occur in "toxicologically insignificant" amounts, but which, in 1969, published guidelines for such amounts.

Privately, cancer specialists complain that the committee is ridden with conflicts of interest. One of its pamphlets says it is "independently financed by grants from food, chemical, and packaging companies, commercial laboratories, and individuals." Of the nine task force members, five were from the chemical and food industries. Publicly, however, the battle is fought wholly on scientific grounds.

The theory of "toxicologically insignificant" levels is scientifically unsupportable, the eight specialists in cancer-causation told the Surgeon General. Present knowledge of carcinogens, they said, is insufficient to permit setting any "safe level for man."

All of the scientists who testified before Rep. Fountain except those from the FDA and the Agriculture Department agreed. They even accepted a suggestion by the subcommittee staff that, for all anyone knows, one carcinogenic molecule in the 340 trillion

in a five-ounce serving of beef liver could induce cancer.

The commissioner, in his letter to Fountain, said that "both the letter and the spirit" of the food-additives law "will be strictly followed." That law sets forth only two criteria for additives, safety and efficacy.

Yet the basic case for retaining DES in feed made by the FDA and, of course, the Agriculture Department is economic: prohibit DES and the average consumer will pay an estimated \$3.85 more per year for beef and lamb. This is a highly sensitive point at a time when even the White House is publicly concerned by public resentment of high meat prices.

Since 1954, livestock men have used DES to fatten cattle inexpensively. In a reported 21 other countries DES feed is banned because the benefits are believed to be outweighed by the risks—especially in view of the latency period of 10 to 20 years in which cancer cannot be detected. Another factor is that the cost of even one cancer case, in treatment and lost income, would offset a lot of savings on meat.

DES has caused cancer in five species of laboratory animals. Commissioner Edwards has yet to dispute a finding by the eight specialists in carcinogenesis that any substances "shown conclusively to cause tumors in animals should be considered . . . a potential hazard to man."

The possible hazard of DES feed exists more immediately for workers in feed mills than for meat-eaters, because it can cause breast development in men who ingest it.

The FDA and the Agriculture Department, while conceding that accidents have occurred say the situation is well in hand. Dr. Roy Hertz of Rockefeller University, a former top scientist at two of the National Institutes of Health, disagrees.

The entire system of DES controls is "impracticable," and nothing short of a "famine situation" could justify keeping it, he told the subcommittee.

Hertz also was deeply troubled by possible DES pollution of waterways by the runoff from the more than 200,000 feedlots, where some 200 million livestock are concentrated and drop excrement contaminated by DES.

Dr. Edwards, soon after being appointed commissioner, claimed science to be "the foundation of our decision-making." For more than two years he has made this a common theme. This invites a question: "whose science?"

In the DES matter, scientists disagree. They often do. A decision-maker must decide among them—must, to put it another way, practice political science.

Edwards did make a decision on DES feed. This, he says, was "the voice of responsible science." Was it?

ADDRESS BY DR. GEORGE A. ROBERTS

HON. GEORGE A. GOODLING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. GOODLING. Mr. Speaker, on February 14, 1972, I had the opportunity of listening to an address presented by Dr. George A. Roberts, president of Teledyne, Inc., at the 66th annual meeting of the Manufacturers' Association of York, Pa.

Because Dr. Roberts' remarks were timely and meaningful, I insert them in

the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and commend them to the attention of my colleagues.

The remarks follow:

DR. GEORGE A. ROBERTS, PRESIDENT TELEDYNE, INC.

(Address presented at the 66th Annual Meeting of the Manufacturers' Association of York, Pa. held on Monday, Feb. 14, 1972, at the Yorktowne Motor Inn, York, Pa.)

#### WHAT IS THE QUESTION?

There is an old parlor game in which an answer is stated, a fact given, and the players are to guess the question. I believe it was even made into a T.V. show for a while. You know how it went!

A. "The left side of the highway."

Q. "Where do cars drive in England?"

A. "Dorothy Lamour."

Q. "Who wore the original miniskirt?"

A. "To get to the other side."

Q. "Why did the chicken cross the road?"

Now you see, to each of those answers there could have been other questions. You may have thought of some yourself as I gave them. For instance, the left side of the highway may have stimulated your question. "What is the sui-side?" or to Dorothy Lamour you may have asked something else!

Conversely, once the question is stated there may be many different answers. We all seem sure what the question really was? It is even more important at times to know what the question *should have been* if we are to get meaningful answers.

The world abounds with answers. They come to us in every media, from every voice; they come with verbal violence, with destruction in mind, with fear, with confidence, with pomp, with snobbery. But are they answers to the right question? Would asking the question a different way give us the same answer? A better answer? Should not we rephrase the question and then compare the responses?

Let us consider some examples:

**On Politics:** A. Adopt more and more federal controls.

The question seems to have been: "What can we do to eliminate overlapping governments and taxing bodies?" A different question might have been: "How can we make America No. 1 in political ideals and effectiveness with maximum citizen motivation and choice?"

**On Education:** A. Increase the budgets and redistribute the costs to someone else.

The question seems to have been: "How can we give more education to all of our people?" A different question might have been: "How much education do we need to provide, and how can it be financed to make America No. 1 in the world of enlightened people?"

**On Defense:** A. Cut the budget.

The question seems to have been: "How do we control the military and stop war?" It might have been: "How do we have a peace-provoking posture in defense and still apply our energies effectively to be No. 1 in world affairs?"

**On Labor:** A. A price and wage freeze.

Was the question: "How do we stop inflation?" or could it have been: "How can we control the monopoly power of any minority group in our country and should we do so to become a No. 1 country in growth and prosperity?"

**On International Trade:** A. Lower tariff barriers.

Question: "How do we prevent a trade war?" or Question: "How can we become No. 1 in world trade in the trade war that is upon us?" or "How can we effectively start exporting our goods and not our jobs?"

One could go on forever looking at all the answers given by the opinion peddlers hawking their wares disguised as facts and purporting to answer *their* questions. Forgetting

our tendency to be gullible, believing souls, and thus not worrying about the accuracy or honesty of the reputed facts—may we not at least ponder the formation of the right question?

I am confident that in managing a business, running a plant or store, directing a manufacturing firm or an insurance company, asking the right question is all important. If this does not apply in the social world of politics or government, the reasons escape me.

The closer the question lies in relationship to the goals of the enterprise, the more likely is it to be relevant and its answer valuable. Perhaps it is difficult to know the question if there is no clearly stated goal, purpose, character or ambition. Then the question to ask first is "Why not have one?" and "What is the goal?" "Where are our sights set?"

In politics it is rare that goals are clearly stated, widely disseminated or supported by a broad consensus, but it does happen in times of crisis, challenge or near catastrophe and in times when brilliant, forceful leaders are found.

In business each of us has a basic purpose, but here too it is frequently poorly stated or understood, and less effectively communicated to our nation. We hear the answer that businessmen are solely interested in profit in response to a question "Does business have a social responsibility?" Of course businessmen have a social responsibility, and here I distinguish between business and a businessman. It is the businessman, the manager, the entire working body of humanity that is a social creature and has a social role to play. Each of us, whatever his calling, has a fundamental task to perform.

The question might have been: What is management's most fundamental task? What in our free system of people's capitalism are the on-the-job duties? We could list many things. Professors who write texts on managing and managers who write company policy brochures frequently do. Such things as: make the world better, have a social consciousness, make a better product, improve man's social lot, wipe out poverty, lead the Red Cross, pay big wages, charge low prices, and protect the consumer, could be enumerated.

Some, however, are bold enough to list only one responsibility: The manager shall make a profit now and in the future.

All else will follow. Any longer list tends only to define and refine the basic need.

Managers must believe and know that the greatest number comes from this route of freedom.

A profit is payment for the use of tools—nothing more, nothing less; payment for the fact that someone, somewhere—a worker, a widow, a banker, a baker, an engineer, a medicine man—has not bought today that extra item for his life, but has deferred the purchase, saved the money, invested in a savings account, an insurance policy, a government bond, a common stock; thus, buying or permitting the buying of tools to make more jobs, better jobs, for others. He must be paid for his sacrifice of deferment. It is that simple, if we want the jobs. Profits are payments for the use of tools and managers are the trustees of those tools.

The question should not have been: "Does business have a social responsibility?" but rather: "How can we pay for the use of more tools and encourage savings that create them, so that jobs may be created and poverty reduced?"

John Harper, chairman of Alcoa recently spoke of the problem of communicating these principles in the face of the masters of verbal violence who aggressively threaten our most successful system by bombarding our senses with shrill propaganda about the dark side of our national image. They ask "What

is bad about America?" "What have we done wrong?" They say our political, economic and social systems have become so decrepit that the only solution is to junk them.

Harper points out that this is nonsense, dangerous nonsense, to which I add Milton Friedman's point that it is hogwash! Certainly all is not right with the world yet. We know about poverty, pollution and prejudice, about crime, corruption and cancer and we must share some of the blame for their existence. But none of these is beyond control. All are cause for serious concern, but none is cause for panic.

But business is getting more than its share of the blame for our social ills. There is a widening anti-business attitude, well documented and we, by our general silence, are defaulting our very real responsibility to defend American systems of freedom and enterprise. We respond to verbal violence with the silence of a turned cheek.

Who better than businessmen can respond with authority to the idiotic and non-economic nonsense put forth by our self-appointed saviors? We need to stop talking to ourselves and face our critics on whatever level we find them. A speech for a speech: an article for an article: a letter to an editor for a letter.

We dare not remain silent. We have facts. We have a great system. We have a great country. As Harper concludes, "Business alone has the nearest thing to the right combination of facilities, techniques and talents needed to rebuild our cities, to raise the quality of our natural environment, to create jobs and abolish poverty . . . and to restore the sense of balance and direction we seem to have lost."

If you think that the destroyers are new in their attack or that their recent themes of doom are novel, may I recall what I said in a Los Angeles address five years ago. I said:

We hear critical voices preaching the doctrine of the inadequacies of our material world, about the pollution of our waters, and our atmosphere, about the lack of sufficient water for many areas, about the lack of universal education of better quality, extended to all levels of our educational structure, and to persons not normally educated further in the past. We hear much about the lack of car safety, of contaminated bodies from poisons, drugs, smoking, etc. We hear dire things.

These complaints are exaggerated for emphasis and attention, are often scandalously communicated and are not necessarily about newly arrived subjects of concern, but rather about long-standing ills of man and his environment. Strangely, all have one common denominator. Their solution will depend on long-range research and development programs, many of which will be in the physical sciences. We first have to know how to solve many of them.

It is little realized by the critics that failure to solve an apparent problem is more often caused by a lack of knowledge of how to do it than by a lack of desire. We have so many problems that in turn mean opportunities for work and employment in their solution that we should never fail to find enough to consume all of our energies.

What all of those programs need is a reliable long-range approach, a true strategic battle plan. If a strategic battle plan is developed to overcome the temporary present inadequacies of our social system and to provide that system with greatest good for the greatest number, it will of necessity include long-range programs of research and development. These will in turn be planned following a wide realization that the physical sciences, engineering and manufacturing industries must have a majority share of the activity.

To do the planning as well as the execution we should ask: "What team of industry and government is necessary to do the job fastest, best?" "What present laws and practices restrain this effort?"

In his many writings Herman Kahn has pointed out that the rise of Japan is so spectacular since World War II that the world international system in the next fifty years will concern itself with an attempt to deal with this growing, powerful neighbor, as Europe wrestled with the growing Prussian influence in the Nineteenth Century. The Japanese do well for many reasons—they save and invest three times more of their income than do we. They have American-advanced training. They have behind each worker about as much capital as we do in the big industries. But what they have primarily is a purpose—to build a new Japan, to produce and to promote production as a worthwhile purpose. To surpass the West is a goal!

A crucial Japanese concept is contained in Herbert Passin's statement:

There is at any given moment a definable world-ranking order of such character that as between any two nations one is always higher and the other lower. It is never the case that two nations stand on exactly the same level. Even when they appear close to each other, there is always a set of clues that allow the sensitive observer to discriminate between them and see their place in the ultimate ranking system.

The Japanese know this and believe it. They, like the dwarfs in Snow White, sing at work! It is true—listen to this song:

Sending our goods to the people of the world  
For the building of a new Japan  
Let's put our strength and mind together  
Doing our best to promote production  
Endlessly and continuously  
Like water gushing from a fountain  
Grow industry, grow, grow, grow!  
Harmony and sincerity!  
Matsushita Electric!

Matsushita Electric has sustained growth of 30% a year for about twenty years. Any York company should do as well.

Much has been written about Japan, Inc.—a term of government and capital—elected officials and manufacturers and businessmen—that plans every move for this goal, prestige for Japan in this world. Beat the West! Will a merger do it?—Then merge. Will a tariff wall do it?—Then there is, Will the prevention of foreign investment in Japan do it?—Then here is the law.

When was the last time we sang at work? Workers and managers in concert to beat somebody, to beat a competitor, to beat Japan, or France, or the Common Market? When was the last time we had a purpose in our world of business that was also the purpose in our world of business that was also the purpose of our politicians—to make America great? 'Beat Army,' 'Beat Notre Dame,' 'Beat the Cowboys.' Yes; but long ago since 'Beat G.E.,' 'Beat G.M.,' 'Beat Harvester' range in any assemblyline halls—except in a foreign land.

Earle Barnes, president, Dow Chemical, recently wrote his employees as follows:

Don't you like to win? I do. I think you do, too. During the recent holidays, I know that many of you watched the professional football playoffs. I did. I understand that the President of the United States did.

Now the analogy of success in other fields to football has been often overworked. But I can't think of a better way to get at the heart of this profit business. Any professional (or amateur) sport is conducted on the concept of winning. As the late coach, Vince Lombardi, once said, "Winning isn't everything—it's the only thing!"



Professional football players play to win for two reasons. First, they understand their job and enjoy their work; otherwise, they would not survive in this rugged sport. In the second place, as professionals they play for the economic reward of victory.

Losing teams draw small crowds and gate receipts and boos from the fans.

Losing teams often move out of an area.

Losing players are traded.

Losing teams have miserably unhappy players.

How can you tell whether you are on a winning or losing team in business? By keeping track of the score. In business, the score is kept in terms of profit or loss. Winning is making more profit than your competitors... making more profit than you made last year. Losing is making less profit than your competitors, or less than you did last year.

It isn't greed that motivates us in business. It is desire to survive... and we want to do more than survive. We want to excel; and we want to taste the plums of victory.

When earnings are better, every employee should share this excitement. It means we outsmarted our competitors by being more efficient, running better plants, offering better research and development, giving customers better goods faster at competitive prices.

Profits mean greater job security to every single employee.

Profits to the bargained-for employee mean more for which to bargain.

Profits to the salaried employee mean more potential raises for good performance. And don't forget that millions of stockholders share increased earnings. They have faith in business and invest their money so that we can build new plants, clean up old plants, and create new jobs.

This is a new world of economics and competition is global. When organized labor says, "Let your competition have the business," too often that means Japan and the Common Market and Sweden and Austria. That is where the jobs are going in industry after industry. Tennis balls, textiles, watches, bicycles, radios, television, typewriters, calculators, shoes, specialty steels; new autos, lift trucks, machine tools; and, next, farm equipment, airplanes, etc.

We find ourselves without any great partnership with government—in fact, some government departments would give away the store out of a sense of misguided idealism and naivete—competing in the world and domestic market against giant overseas combinations of industries working hand in hand with home governments.

When we sit down to negotiate a steel agreement with foreign nations, a man from the State Department talks for us. Businessmen learn later of the results in side meetings, as they can only observe from afar. Who do you think is on the front row seats negotiating for the other side? Businessmen and, if government people, those whose purpose is to beat America in this economic game.

And when we get an agreement on a set of rules to play the game what happens? In the first ten months of 1971 imports of alloy steel were 57% over the voluntary limit; stainless steel imports were 36% over; and tool steel imports were 25% over. It will happen again.

Now I am a competitor and I hope you all are. It would be so much better to channel man's competitive instincts not into a war of guns, ships, tanks and bullets, but into a game of international trade. Let's play it to win. Let's be No. 1 not in war, but in peace.

My questions then become:

"What can we do to keep America No. 1?"

"Why not form America, Incorporated and have it first in the world's Fortune 500?"

Let's devise all other questions and our answers with that in mind. There is nothing wrong with that.

## ESTABLISHMENT OF A COAST GUARD BASE

### HON. NICK BEGICH

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. BEGICH. Mr. Speaker, I have received resolutions from the Governor of Alaska which passed State legislature and from the Kodiak Area Native Association regarding the establishment of a Coast Guard base at the Kodiak Naval Station and request for income and cost studies of the Kodiak Naval Station for current and future tenants at that facility.

I wish to share these two resolutions, and hope that my colleagues will note the concerns of the Alaska Legislature and the projected planning and desires of the Kodiak Area Native Association to make maximum use of existing facilities in Kodiak.

It is with pleasure that I include in the RECORD the following resolutions:

#### KODIAK AREA NATIVE ASSOCIATION RESOLUTION

Whereas, there have been no funds budgeted for the continued operation of the U.S. Naval Station at Kodiak after June 30, 1972, and

Whereas, the U.S. Coast Guard may have to discontinue its operation at Kodiak due to lack of support facilities for its ships and aircraft and

Whereas, the Secretary of the Interior may be able to select much of the land encompassed in the Naval Reservation under provisions of the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act, and

Whereas, it is of the utmost importance both militarily and for the protection of our ocean resources that all available means of keeping the facilities operating be explored, and

Whereas, the U.S. Naval Station now has as tenants, the U.S. Coast Guard, the National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Administration and may soon have the Federal Aviation Administration, and possibly some departments or agencies of the State of Alaska, and

Whereas, there will be a number of housing units available when the U.S. Navy withdraws and

Whereas, there is presently a need in Kodiak for additional housing, and

Whereas, the Kodiak Area Regional Native Corporation now being formed, will be selecting much of the land now within the Naval Reservation and will be receiving funds for investment and should be considered as a prospective owner, either by grant or purchase of these facilities,

Now, therefore, be it resolved, that Alaska's Congressional delegation, Hon. Ted Stevens, and Mike Gravel, U.S. Senators and Hon. Nick Begich, the U.S. Navy and Dept. of Transportation be urged to implement cost studies to determine the minimum costs which would be required to keep the Naval Station support facilities on an operating basis for the present tenants.

Be it further resolved, that an immediate study be made of the income being realized from present tenants and possible income from tenants such as the FAA and ASHA, if ASHA were to take over management of housing units which are to be vacated, with the view toward determining the economic feasibility of the Kodiak Area Regional Na-

tive Corporation assuming the management of the Naval Station facilities under a lease agreement with the U.S. Navy with the possibility of acquiring ownership at a later date.

#### HOUSE JOINT RESOLUTION RELATING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KODIAK NAVAL STATION AS A COAST GUARD BASE

Be it resolved by the Legislature of the State of Alaska:

Whereas Coast Guard long-range aerial search and patrol operations constitute an invaluable service to the inhabitants of Alaska in performing surveillance of and law enforcement in regard to foreign and domestic fishing, in monitoring oil spills and spills of other hazardous material resulting from ocean transport, and in conducting search and rescue operations in the maritime areas of Alaska and in the North Pacific; and

Whereas the Coast Guard performs other invaluable services to the inhabitants of Alaska in maintaining aids to navigation in the form of buoys, day markers, lighthouse stations and LORAN stations, in inspecting merchant marine vessels, enforcing safety regulations, performing ice-breaking assignments, investigating maritime accidents, educating the public in the safe operation of watercraft, and in conducting oceanographic research; and

Whereas the Kodiak Naval Base is the most economical location in Alaska for the operation of Coast Guard long-range search and patrol aircraft in the North Pacific area and an appropriate base for other Coast Guard services;

Be it resolved by the Alaska Legislature that the Department of Transportation establish a Coast Guard base at the site of the Kodiak Naval Station.

Copies of this resolution shall be sent to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States; the Honorable John A. Volpe, Secretary, Department of Transportation; the Honorable John H. Chafee, Secretary of the Navy; Admiral Chester R. Bendler, Commandant, U.S. Coast Guard; and to the Honorable Ted Stevens and the Honorable Mike Gravel, U.S. Senators, and the Honorable Nick Begich, U.S. Representative, members of the Alaska delegation in Congress.

#### MICHAEL J. HOWLETT—A SYMBOL OF INTEGRITY

### HON. DAN ROSTENKOWSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, on Tuesday, March 7, 1972, at dinner in Springfield, Ill., my good friend and Chicago colleague ROMAN PUCINSKI paid tribute to Michael J. Howlett, Auditor of Public Accounts for the State of Illinois. The setting was not new nor was the tribute. For Mike Howlett has devoted his life to public service and during that life has served the public well. His reputation for honesty and integrity in government has spread far beyond our own State of Illinois.

The reason for the gathering in Springfield last Tuesday was explained by Representative PUCINSKI in the latter part of his remarks, when he said:

He is running for a larger office now. We can trust him with it. He will leave it better than he found it, as he has done with every public responsibility he ever had.

Mr. Speaker, the remarks of ROMAN PUCINSKI very well describe the Mike Howlett that I have come to know and respect. I would like to wish him the best as he begins his effort to become Secretary of State of Illinois. And I insert Representative PUCINSKI's fitting tribute in the RECORD at this point.

The tribute follows:

**MICHAEL J. HOWLETT—SYMBOL OF INTEGRITY**

George Washington said the most enviable of all titles is the character of an honest man.

The character of an honest man is a title Michael J. Howlett has earned through more than 11 years as Auditor of Public Accounts and a lifetime of public service.

The issue of ethics is dominant in the minds of Illinois voters this year.

It is not a new issue. The philosopher, Diogenes, walked around Athens with a lantern looking for men who really were what they claimed to be.

William Shakespeare, in Elizabethan England, wrote that "to be honest, as this world goes, is to be one man picked out of ten thousand."

Corruption does exist in government. It always has existed. A thousand plans have been devised to uncover it, to erase it from politics.

The genius is yet unborn who can make government perfect. Human nature is imperfect. But those who strive for improvement can take heart from the record of Mike Howlett.

Bill O'Connell wrote in the Peoria Journal-Star last November 30: "Howlett's years in state office have been wholly untainted by even a whisper of scandal or political profiteering."

Mike Howlett has been in office longer than any other state constitutional officer. He is now serving his third consecutive four-year term.

He is the only Auditor in the history of Illinois elected with Governors of both political parties.

In his last campaign, he was endorsed by major newspapers in every corner of Illinois.

He won by the largest plurality of any of the victorious state candidates.

He has been a successful administrator because he has attracted capable men to his leadership who have never betrayed him.

Mike was never the do-gooder type of public officer who is satisfied with his own personal integrity while blind to corruption around him.

In 1963, when he had been in office only two years, the Chicago Daily News already was saying: "Howlett runs one of the best offices in the state government with the help of a dedicated staff."

His administrative accomplishments are noteworthy.

He set a pattern for economy in his first biennium when he saved a fifth of the budget that had been voted to him by the legislature for operations.

Today, after 11 years during which state tripled its expenditure, Howlett's office is doing more work with fewer personnel than before he was elected.

It costs the taxpayers of Illinois less money to write a check in Howlett's office today than it did in 1961. And he writes 10 million checks a year.

Howlett has become known as the apostle of accountability in government. He has campaigned successfully for tighter audits of public funds.

The County Auditing Law, of 1963, and the Public Monies auditing law, of 1967, resulted from a crusade of Howlett throughout every section of Illinois.

There was a time when Illinois was notorious for poor auditing of government. Under

Howlett's leadership, Illinois has become the best audited state in the union.

Mike believes in the right of the people to know what is going on.

He has established a records control center where all the records of his office—involving every fiscal transaction of state government—are made easily accessible to the press and to interested citizens.

The Statehouse news correspondents here in Springfield voted him a "Goldfish Bowl" award for opening up the state government so anyone can check up on it.

Although Mike is a faithful Democrat, he is responsible to the people first and the party second. When he was regional director of the Office of Price Stabilization he smashed a sensational horsemeat racket which embarrassed state and federal inspection services of Democratic administrations.

Howlett has many qualifications for public office—his ability, his experience, his knowledge of state government, his candor. But above and superior to all the rest is his qualification of integrity.

He has proved it over and over.

As area director of the National Youth Administration, when he directed a program which gave work experience to 30,000 young men and women and helped put them in jobs which later proved essential to national defense.

As director of a program at Great Lakes naval training station during World War II, in which thousands of sailors were taught to swim.

As executive director of office organization and administration for the Chicago Park district after the war.

As administrator of price control for three states during the Korean conflict.

As vice president of a steel company for eight years.

And, finally, as third-term Auditor of Public Accounts.

In all this work, his record has been without blemish. His name is one his six children can be proud of all their lives. It stands for decency, and service, and integrity.

He is running for a larger office now. We can trust him with it. He will leave it better than he found it, as he has done with every public responsibility he ever had.

**ABBEY SMITH—WINNER**

**HON. JOSEPH M. McDADE**

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, each year the Veterans of Foreign Wars have a Voice of Democracy Contest, a contest which receives hundreds of thousands of entries, numbering as many as half a million throughout the Nation with its 10,000 VFW posts. It is little to be wondered at that there should be so many striving to win this contest, because the VFW awards prizes of \$10,000 for first, \$5,000 for second, \$3,500 for third, \$2,500 for fourth, and \$1,500 for fifth place.

This year I am more than proud to announce to my distinguished colleagues that Miss Abbey A. Smith, from the city of Scranton in the 10th Congressional District of Pennsylvania, was the winner of fourth place in this contest, and a most deserving winner she is.

Miss Smith is the daughter of Mrs. Ann, and the late Robert C. Smith, of 917 West Lackawanna Avenue, Scranton, Pa.

She is a senior at West Scranton Catholic High School, where she represents her class on the student council. She has been president of the forensic organization for 3 years, and a member of the student activity committee for 4 years.

She is no stranger to awards. She was a finalist in the National Catholic Forensic Tournament held in New Orleans, and she has received many certificates and trophies for achievements in speech and debating throughout the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

And in addition to all of this, she somehow finds the time to work part time in a supermarket, and to serve as a junior counselor at the Scranton Catholic Youth Center.

This is a most extraordinary prize in an extraordinary contest.

The competition begins at the post and county levels, continuing through district and State, with prizes in varying forms at each level amounting to more than \$300,000.

This year the competition came from upwards of half a million students from more than 7,000 secondary schools.

Each of the department winners receives an all-expense paid trip to the Nation's Capital as guests of the VFW during the annual Washington conference. During the 5 days of the visit, they are given the opportunity to meet their Representatives and Senators, to observe the workings of the Federal Government, and to visit national shrines and monuments.

The winners are announced at the grand banquet, and I cannot tell you how proud I was to hear the name of this most distinguished young lady from my own congressional district announced as one of the winners.

She was congratulated personally by the President of the United States for her outstanding achievement. I know that all of my colleagues here in the Congress will join me in offering their own congratulations to Miss Abbey A. Smith. And I know you will all join me in congratulating Mrs. Ann Smith for the splendid young lady who is her daughter. Miss Smith will attend Marywood College after graduation from West Scranton Catholic High School, and I am certain that her college career will be as distinguished as her high school career has been.

With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I will append here the entry of Miss Smith in the Voice of Democracy Contest:

**MY RESPONSIBILITY TO FREEDOM**

Have you ever been approached by an inquiring photographer? No doubt he would ask you some questions like this.

"What are your feelings towards Viet Nam," or "who do you think will be elected in the 1972 election?" or any current topic as such. But ninety-nine times out of a hundred, if it is a seventeen year old girl like myself, he would say: "What do you think is your responsibility to freedom?" "This requires a lot of thought, I answer, you see I am a child of the sixties. I have been faced with an entirely new concept of freedom. I saw our president an idol, John Kennedy assassinated by one who felt he was using his freedom. I saw Martin Luther King assassinated for the same reason. I have watched whole sections of cities like Watts, Washing-



ton, and Detroit looted and destroyed by those who thought that was the way freedom should come. I have seen disruption, violence and death on campuses, and just recently I have watched lower courts challenge the freedom of the press while the Supreme Court restores it."

What kind of definition should I have for freedom and the other side of the coin—responsibility? Should I say these two words are just ideals or dreams, and join the ranks of those who believe in apathy and lethargy? No, because for me freedom and responsibility are tangible things; they can be learned.

We have thousands of schools, trained teachers, and education available to everyone. If our freedom is to grow in strength and breadth, it must first grow through education and understanding, and not through ignorance and revolutions.

Perhaps the best answer, Mr. Photographer, I can give you, is that responsibility will come when we grow in co-operation and trust. For these are the words that motivated our forefathers. To them perhaps responsibility to freedom was an ideal—a dream—but they made it work. How many civilizations have lasted two hundred years? Next year, I will be eighteen and I will have the right to vote. I will have to constantly and carefully form my opinions on foreign aid, war, labor, the freeze and capitalism, but I must also listen to what others have to say and become tempered with a sense of tolerance and understanding that comes from looking at both sides of the question.

As long as I am an individual, and respect the rights that are granted to all men, not just myself—as long as I realize that freedom gives me the right to do only what is lawful and will not take rights from my neighbor, then I will feel I have made the right answer to the question: "What is my responsibility to freedom?" and I will know again that it is not just an ideal to be dreamed, but the inspiring force it was almost two hundred years ago, and God willing, this consent of freedom and responsibility will work for many centuries to come.

#### REMOVAL OF FEDERAL COURT JURISDICTION IN BUSING CASES: AN "IDEA WHOSE TIME HAS COME"

**HON. JOHN G. SCHMITZ**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. SCHMITZ. Mr. Speaker, on February 28 I appeared before the House Judiciary Committee to testify in favor of my bill, H.R. 10614, which would take away the jurisdiction of the Federal courts to order the busing of public schoolchildren for purposes of racial balance—a bill which many had predicted would never "see the light of day" before this particular committee.

But removal of Federal court jurisdiction in busing cases, described as a "radical proposal" by one of my opponents in the 1970 special election when I made the introduction of legislation for this purpose one of my first promises to the people of the 35th District is an "idea whose time has come." Before this year, most Americans remained unaware that this remedy was available to fight busing, and too many Members of Congress appeared willing and even eager for them to be left in ignorance of it. But this is no longer possible.

Our Founding Fathers never intended that the Federal courts should be a law unto themselves. They wrote into the Constitution a very specific and important limit on court power. We find it in article III, section 2, which reads as follows:

In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a state shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions and under such regulation as the Congress shall make. (Emphasis added)

This particular provision of the Constitution applies not only to the Supreme Court but also to all other Federal courts, since the lesser courts are established under the same authority that prescribes the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. That authority is a vote of Congress, which means that Congress has the power to specify the kinds of cases which may be heard in Federal courts, and the kinds which may not be heard there. This constitutional authority vested in Congress was confirmed by the Supreme Court itself in the landmark case, never since challenged or overturned, of *ex parte McCardle*—1868. The legislative attorney for the Library of Congress has listed no less than 77 statutes in which Congress has used the power granted by article III, section 2 of the Constitution to limit or otherwise prescribe the jurisdiction of Federal courts. So it can hardly be claimed that the use of this power is new or unprecedented.

Early in the first session of this Congress, which began in January 1971, keeping my promise to my constituents, I introduced H.R. 6501, a bill to take entirely out of the Federal courts all cases involving welfare eligibility, drug abuse, pornography and obscenity, abortion, prayer and Bible reading in public schools, and challenges to criminal convictions in State courts on the basis of pretrial procedures by State law enforcement officers. Then in September, following the Supreme Court decision in the *Swann* case, which for the first time upheld forced busing of schoolchildren for purposes of racial balance, I introduced H.R. 10614, the bill for which I testified before the House Judiciary Committee.

No longer could the approach taken by this bill be dismissed as radical or impossible, since just 3 days before, on February 25, the Senate had actually passed an amendment by Senator GRIFIN, of Michigan, to an education bill which, in language virtually identical to my H.R. 10614, would remove Federal court jurisdiction to order busing. After various presidential candidates, who are also Members of the Senate, were hurriedly brought back from all over the country, the Senate reversed itself February 29 by a "cliffhanger" vote of 50 to 47. But with that many Senators voting for it, no one could pretend to ignore this proposal any more. Removal of Federal court jurisdiction, as a means of dealing with judicial abuse of authority, is here to stay as an issue and a choice before our Nation's highest lawmaking body.

#### PORTUGAL: CITADEL FOR WESTERN DEFENSE

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, since the end of World War II there have been radical changes in geopolitical structures, including the collapse of the British, French, Dutch, and Belgium empires. The single outstanding exception is that of Portugal, in which the vast territories of Angola and Mozambique form integral parts of that country.

Since 1961, Portugal, strongly supported by her citizens in these lands, has been waging a war of defense against Communist infiltrators about which little has been published in the minority controlled press of the United States or which has usually been biased in favor of its criminal attackers.

Fortunately, there are patriotic organizations in the Capital City of our country with the vision and courage to hold informative programs that break through the paper curtain of silence.

In an illuminating address on March 9, 1972, before the District of Columbia Chapter, Military Order of the World Wars, Lt. Col. Kenneth T. Downs, an exceptionally keen observer and student of southern African policy questions, reveals the true state of affairs as regards the war now being waged in Angola and Mozambique, and how Portugal is defending Western civilization.

Because the indicated address tears away the veil of hypocritical propaganda that features most publicity about Portugal by supplying facts, I quote it as part of my remarks and commend it for careful reading by all.

The text of the speech follows:

THE RING OF TERROR: PORTUGAL'S LONELY WAR FOR THE WEST IN AFRICA

(By Lieut. Col. Kenneth T. Downs; address before the District of Columbia Chapter, the Military Order of the World Wars, March 1972)

General Wade, Companions, Guests: I appreciate this opportunity to speak to you today about Portugal's struggle against communist-backed terrorist forces in Africa, about the elements in this country who call for the abandonment of that struggle, and about the interests of the United States which are involved.

I should like to preface these remarks by telling you that the Overseas Companies of Portugal, a consortium of financial and business companies in Lisbon which have interests in Portuguese Africa, is an esteemed client of my public relations firm, Downs and Roosevelt, Inc., of Washington and New York. As representatives of the Overseas Companies, we are registered under the Foreign Agents Registration Act.

You will agree, I am sure, that this is not the most jocular warm-up line ever uttered. But I make this preface both out of candor to you and in a sense of strict observance of the rules of the Act. I will add, in passing, that this self-identification is more than the American Committee on Africa or the Africa Research group and other organizations, who have worked with might and main for years to influence U.S. foreign policy and American public opinion against Portugal and in favor of the terrorists, have ever made. These

organizations have not bothered to register with the Department of Justice nor, so far as I know, have they been bothered to do so. But that is another story.

The terrorist war to drive Portugal from Africa began 11 years ago this month. On the morning of March 15, 1961, the terrorists struck without warning in the farms and villages of northern Angola. Armed mainly with machetes and ancient firearms, they butchered many hundreds of men, women and children, both white and black.

The communist press throughout the world, from Peking to Moscow, from Cuba to Hanoi, hailed the beginning of a war of liberation and predicted that it would be of short duration. These views were echoed generally by the western press.

The United Nations went into action. Within a matter of days a resolution was brought before the Security Council which, citing operative paragraph 7, called upon the Portuguese to grant immediate independence to Angola, constraining their defense of their territory to be a threat against the peace of the world. To the amazement and consternation of a number of well-informed Americans, including such men as former Secretary of State Dean Acheson and Ambassador Robert Murphy, Adlai Stevenson, then our delegate to the United Nations, lined up with the Soviet Union and Afro-Asian bloc and cast the U.S. vote for the resolution. Only the absence of France and the U.K. blocked its passage.

On June 9, that year, the U.S. again voted with the Soviet Union and the Afro-Asian bloc for a Security Council resolution calling upon Portugal to "desist forthwith" from its self defense, or as it was phrased in the resolution, from oppression in the African Colony of Angola. The vote was 9 to 0. Again France and Britain abstained. It seems almost incredible today. But the record is all there for anyone to see, in the official papers, and in the yellowing files of the New York Times and other newspapers.

Of course there were innumerable other resolutions passed by overwhelming majorities by the powerless General Assembly and various committees of the U.N., and the furor persisted in the press against this last remaining "colonial" power which showed the presumption to defy the Winds of Change.

In the context of the times, this defiance was rather astonishing. The British and French had divested themselves of all but the shreds of their empires. Only about a year before the Belgians abandoned the Congo after the bloody events there.

But out in the real world, away from Lake Success, what was happening? The Portuguese settlers armed themselves and resolutely stood their ground in Angola. And they were strongly supported by the black population. Dr. Salazar staunchly supported them in Lisbon and dispatched reinforcements.

To anyone with half an eye for reality, the claims that this was a "spontaneous" uprising or a genuine war for liberation, were obvious myths almost from the start. The population of Angola at that time was around 5 million, of which little more than 250,000 were Europeans. The total security forces, military and police, in Angola numbered around 5,000 and about 3,000 of these were black. If the terrorist outbreak had been truly spontaneous, the whole matter would have been settled weeks before any substantial reinforcements arrived from Lisbon.

No, there was nothing at all spontaneous about the event and it was not a war of liberation. It was a conspiracy, carefully contrived abroad. And it misfired.

The Portuguese defended their position in the U.N. as stoutly as they did in Angola. The envoys from this small nation faced the massed hostility of delegates from countries which represented most of the world's pop-

ulation, and they rejected the demands for abdication. Dr. Alberto Franco Nogueira, Portugal's young foreign minister, argued that the U.N. resolutions constituted interference in the internal affairs of a member State and were therefore illegal under the terms of the U.N. Charter.

Well, we know the terrorists did not win quickly, as prematurely advertised, in that critical year of 1961. The nature of the struggle soon settled into the classic pattern of communist guerrilla warfare which has continued to this day. With headquarters and supplies based in a foreign sanctuary, at first in the Congo (now Zaire), and later in Zambia as well, they sent out harassing missions of murder and pillage. In 1964 a similar terrorist war was launched by an organization called FRELIMO based in Tanzania. Its target has been Mozambique. A group called PAIGC, based in Guinea and Senegal, harasses Portuguese Guinea. All of these groups, UPA, the MPLA, UNITA, FRELIMO, COREMO, PAIGC and many others, have been issuing periodic communiques over the past few years announcing large conquests and control of territory and imminent total victory. But all of them are right where they started. They issue their communiques from the safety of their headquarters based on foreign soil. They do a bit of fighting among themselves from time to time in an endless maze of intrigue and struggle for power.

The leaders of all the principal groups are communists and were communists before the wars started. All have been in Moscow or China—and not just in ceremonial attendance at Party Congresses. In 1961 there were outraged protests at any suggestions that communist countries were supporting the terrorists. But for a long time all pretense about this has been dropped. Practically all arms captured are of Russian, Chinese or Czech manufacture. Cubans, including at least one officer, have been captured in Guinea. East German film teams have visited the terrorists to make propaganda pictures. The Red Chinese, who now are in Tanzania in force in connection with the \$400 million Trans-Zan railroad project, are said to completely dominate FRELIMO today.

While the terrorists still are right where they were, without much promise of doing any better, their activities have been costly to the Portuguese. Because of the nature of their hit-run tactics from foreign sanctuaries, it has been impossible to bring about a decisive showdown of force. But it has been necessary for the Portuguese to maintain a large security force, which the U.S. press reports is as high as 140,000. Something under half of these are black. The cost to such a small country has been enormous.

The Portuguese over these years have shown almost incredible tenacity of purpose and a brand of courage that is rare these days. I don't speak about their courage in defending themselves. Any people could be expected to defend territory they had held and built up over 500 years. I speak of their courage, and especially as a small nation, in standing up against almost unanimous world opinion (as reflected by the United Nations and most of the world press) to defend their principles and their interests. Only recently the present Foreign Minister, Dr. Rui Patricio, gave another example of this when he announced Portugal would not pay its share of the cost of the ludicrous meeting held by the United Nations Security Council in Addis Ababa. He said that, apart from being a propaganda exercise, it was illegal. It was not the money involved—Portugal's share would have constituted a trifling amount—it was the principle. Our own U.N. representatives opposed this ridiculous exercise, but when we were voted down, we trotted dutifully along, and in due course will pick up our share of the bill—which in the case of the U.S. comes to 32 percent.

The Portuguese have hung on for 11 long years. Think of it, 11 years of a war which has made four-year conscription necessary for their young men, a war which has run their defense bill up to around 43 percent of their national budget annually, a war they are not losing, but one with no victory in sight, and all the while being held up as villains to world opinion and not getting an occasional kind word even from friends.

When we think of our own impatience with overseas wars, we may well ask, how do they do it? The answer is that they are popular wars. I don't mean popular in the sense that any living being in Portugal likes anything about these wars—quite the contrary. I mean popular in the sense that it is a people's war. It would be difficult to exaggerate the deep emotional attachment of the simplest of the Portuguese people to their ancient territories. That is why they are willing to pay so great a price to defend them.

Dr. Salazar understood his people as few rulers do. So he knew what he was doing when he immediately pledged the nation's full resources to the defensive of Angola in 1961. If he had failed to do so, I am convinced his government would have been overthrown.

I arrived back in Lisbon from a trip to Africa in December, 1961, just after India had invaded and seized Goa, the tiny enclave on the coast of the sub-continent which had constituted part of the Portuguese nation for almost five centuries. I found the whole country in deep mourning. Foreigners found themselves in isolation. Not that there was any violence or rudeness; the Portuguese, in their shock and grief, just didn't feel like talking to outsiders. I also noted the most extraordinary security measures everywhere. It seemed to me at times that most of the people on the streets were police. Some of my Portuguese friends since then have told me that Dr. Salazar's regime was in greater peril at that moment than at any other time in his long tenure of office.

If the nation could be that upset over Goa, which was tiny and defenseless, imagine the convulsion which would have taken place in Portugal if Angola had been abandoned. It is quite possible, if not likely, that the communists would have seized power. For forty years political parties were outlawed in Portugal. The Communists, having the largest, best organized, and best financed illegal political party, might have pulled it off in those circumstances.

Just imagine what could have happened, had this taken place. The Spanish might not have taken kindly to a communist regime in their neighboring state and might have moved in. And then what if the Russians had intervened? They had long been interested in the Iberian peninsula. They intervened on a big scale in Spain in the thirties. They can move much faster and more effectively today. And what would the U.S. have done? The United Nations truly would have had some matters to consider as endangering the peace of the world. What would we have done about our important air and naval facilities in the Azores? Would we have handed them over? Or would we have changed signals and remained by force, thus becoming colonialists ourselves? And what about Angola itself, would everyone there have started to live happily ever after?

The record would not indicate this. On the contrary, Angola and the other Portuguese territories undoubtedly would have become just one more area of the tragic and bloody chaos then existing and, still existing, in much of Africa.

Far fetched? Not so much as all that. It is, of course, hypothetical, but I mention it to illustrate the egregious folly of Americans who would interfere in the affairs of an allied country with which we have maintained friendly relations throughout history. I do not mean to imply that our national security



is utterly dependent on Portugal. But I do say that our national security and our national interests are better served by a friendly, allied Portugal than they would be by a weakened, hostile Portugal.

Who are these Americans who continue to harass Portugal, and who bring pressure against her at every possible opportunity and in every possible way, who lobby in the United Nations and in the Congress, in the public media and in government?

There are two distinct categories. First there are the communists and hard core radical revolutionary groups. It is easy to understand their motives. They are opposed to anything we do in the way of National defense. They oppose NATO and our NATO allies. They want to bring our whole Establishment down and change it to their taste.

As I say, it is easy to understand their motives. But there is another category, and it is a large and important one. These are the church groups and other high minded and well respected organizations. And they are active. They lobby on behalf of the terrorists. They send them funds and medical supplies. Their newest tactic is to try to mobilize stockholders to force American corporations to abandon their business interests in Portugal.

The Gulf Oil Company, which invested more than 170 million dollars to bring in the rich oil field off the coast of Angola, which is creating new jobs and new wealth for that province, is their primary target at the moment. You may recall the action of the Southern Task Force of the United Presbyterian Church at the annual stockholders meeting of the Gulf Company in Atlanta last spring. They forced four resolutions on the proxy statement to be voted at that meeting. One of the resolutions called for the expansion of the Board of Directors with seven new members. Of the seven nominated from the floor, three were terrorist leaders from Angola, Mozambique and Guinea and one was Angela Davis. The 15,000 shares of Gulf stock held by the Church were voted there in favor of these candidates. The storm of controversy which broke out after this became known indicated pretty clearly that the action had neither the prior knowledge nor the approval of the membership of the United Presbyterian Church.

Why are these respected church groups so involved with these communist-backed terrorist movements? I think the reason is that at least 99 percent of the membership know nothing of what is going on in their name, as was the case at the Gulf meeting. As for the other one percent, or whatever that percent is, I think it is a case of bemusement by fuzzy semantics. First it was the Winds of Change. That originally was a throwaway line uttered by the late Harold MacMillan in a speech on Africa. But it was taken up and developed into something resembling holy writ, or some immutable law as infallible as the law of gravity. It was the clinching argument in any discussion of Africa. When the Portuguese settlers and the black citizens of Angola took some of the wind out of the Winds of Change we haven't heard so much about that slogan. But there are other slogans and semantic concoctions. There are "colonialism" and the "right of self-determination." Fair enough. But where do they apply? The Portuguese deny that their overseas possessions are colonies, but have long been provinces constituting an integral part of the Nation, just as Alaska and Hawaii are parts of the United States, although they are geographically separated from the mainland.

It is fair to ask why, if these good churchmen so sincerely believe in their cause as to condone war and a great deal of human suffering, should they be concentrating on a small, friendly, allied country? What about the Soviet Union? It was a vast colonial power before World War II. Since World War II, it has absorbed totally the unhappy coun-

tries of Latvia, Lithuania and Esthonia. And if they have not made colonies of the other East European countries, at least they stand for no self-determination or any other nonsense on their part, as was convincingly demonstrated in Czechoslovakia. Do these good Churchmen consider that there is more colonialism and less self-determination in Portugal than in the vast areas ruled by the big communist powers? Is there less self-determination in Portugal than in Cuba?

These questions were raised only last month by some reporters invited to the Overseas Press Club in New York by four prominent Church groups gathered there to discuss their tactics this year in dealing with U.S. corporations doing business in southern Africa. The only answer was an embarrassed silence.

It seems to me that Americans should be thinking more in terms of national self-interest than in such fuzzy semantics. In the case of Portugal they should have a good honest look at realities as they are today. Portugal is a friend and ally. It is a small country, but it has some very interesting geographic and geopolitical aspects.

To begin with the mainland, it is situated at the mouth of the Mediterranean, an area long coveted by the Russians. It has friendly ports of call and is the base of IBERLANT, one of NATO's principal headquarters. Is it better for us that way, or would we be better off if this were hostile territory?

Although neutral in World War II, Portugal gave us the use of the Azores, a base of absolutely inestimable importance. We still maintain our air and naval facilities there. Is that bad?

Other Portuguese islands in the Atlantic which occupy highly strategic positions in the air and sea traffic of the Atlantic are Madeira and, especially, the Cape Verde Islands. The Portuguese have the best natural ports on both the East and West Coasts of Southern Africa. These are friendly ports of call for both naval and commercial ships of the United States today. Nacala, on the northern coast of Mozambique, is the greatest natural, protected, deep water port in East Africa. It is big enough to accommodate the entire Seventh Fleet. That is worth thinking about at this time when the gigantic new Russian Navy is expanding in the Indian Ocean. Western Europe depends on 70 percent of its oil from the Middle East via the Cape Route. An average of 27 tankers and super tankers per day pass the coasts of Mozambique and Angola en route from the Middle East oil fields to Western Europe.

One other point. The ports and railroads of Angola and Mozambique provide virtually the sole access to the landlocked countries of the interior of South central Africa which embrace the famed Copper Belt. This area contains a major portion of the world's minerals of both strategic and economic importance. More than half of the United States imports of cobalt, manganese ore, uranium, and diamonds, and over one-third of such commodities as chromite, platinum group metals and coffee, come from countries dependent on the ports and railroads of Angola and Mozambique.

When you stop to consider how our interests would be affected if these areas were in unfriendly hands, it should make one wonder whether it is worthwhile, after all, to trade off our old friendship with Portugal just to prove that perhaps the Winds of Change really are inexorable.

But the Radicals and the Church and Liberal organizations keep at it. They continually protest even the most normal transactions between our country and our small ally. A good example was the furor raised last year when the State Department licensed the private sale of two Boeing 707 transport planes to the Portuguese government. The protesters included two very prominent United States Senators, one of whom is run-

ning for President this year, who gravely pointed out that these planes *might* be used to transport troops to "wage colonial war."

These two senators never have made any mention of the American Company which signed a contract with the Russian Government to design the biggest heavy truck producing plant in the world on the Kamu River. At least if they have mentioned it, it has escaped my attention. Yet this plant is expected to turn out 150,000 three-axle diesel-powered trucks per year, more than the entire American output of heavy trucks in 1970 and enough to meet all Russia's military needs, which just might include the transport of troops to wage war, colonial or otherwise.

Paraphrasing, this phrase "to wage colonial war" is one of the favorite phrases in the lexicon of double-talk employed against the Portuguese. It is trotted out on all occasions; the most normal transactions with Portugal are deplored as assisting the Portuguese "to wage colonial war." One could well hesitate in some company to eat a plate of sardines without being so accused. So far as I know, the Russians have laid no claims to having invented this phrase, like baseball. But they may do so some day. The first recorded use of it that I have seen was in an item in the New York Times of June 10, 1961. It was used by the Russian delegate to the United Nations in an amendment to the resolution I mentioned earlier which called upon the Portuguese to "desist forthwith" from defending themselves. The amendment would have condemned Portugal for "waging a colonial war against the Angolan people," the Times reported.

A sober examination of this phrase can illustrate much about the way propaganda is employed by the communists and how supinely it is adopted and accepted in western countries. The phrase instantly conjures up the image of aggression, attack, invasion. But the Portuguese did not start these wars, they have attacked nobody and they have not invaded an inch of the territory of anybody else despite the most grievous provocations over these last eleven years. They have simply defended the land they have occupied for five centuries and their peoples who would like nothing better than to live there in peace.

One of the principal charges leveled against the Portuguese in Africa was that of employing forced labor. Some Portuguese companies and individuals have sinned on that score in the past. But these conditions have been long since corrected and there are strict laws, strictly enforced, against these abuses. In 1961 the International Labor Organization sent a blue-ribbon commission to Angola and Mozambique from Geneva to investigate charges made in the U.N. of the use of forced labor and other abuses in the provinces. After an exhaustive survey, the ILO commission completely absolved Portugal of these charges.

The ILO has made two inquiries since then and not only have they refuted the charges brought against the Portuguese, but have commended them for the measures they have taken to protect workers and improve their lot.

Some of the unique humanitarian aspects of the Portuguese society have been totally overlooked by the so-called liberals who attack Portugal. Portugal has led the world in its multi-racial policies. Discrimination on the basis of skin color has never existed in the history of Portugal, at home or overseas. There never has been any busing problem in Portuguese schools, at home or abroad, because they have been integrated from the beginning. Despite the grim picture painted for so long by communist propaganda of "dictatorship" in Portugal, justice there is mild and evenhanded. Portugal was one of the first countries in the

world to abolish the death sentence more than a century ago. Laws are strictly enforced, but sentences are mild and treatment of prisoners is lenient. Yet Portugal has one of the lowest crime rates in the world. Visitors are invariably impressed, in this day of the urban crime and violence, by the perfect safety with which anyone can walk the streets of Lisbon, Luanda, Lourenco Marques, or any other Portuguese cities at any time of the day or night.

The last eleven years have tested the souls and the resources of the Portuguese. But despite the terrible drain of blood, manpower and resources, there has been a bright side of the picture for these unusual people, and a very bright side at that. The shock of the events in 1961 awakened the Portuguese from a long sleep. It revived their ancient pride and brought about a national unity they had not known in modern times.

The results have been remarkable. Dr. Salazar was asked late in 1961 by a foreign dignitary how long he thought Portugal could carry the financial burden of its defense. He replied, "as long as necessary." Events have proved him right. In March 1961, Portugal's gold and foreign exchange reserves amounted to around \$600 million dollars. Today these reserves stand at \$1.8 billion dollars.

Despite the cost of the war, the growth of the GNP has averaged between 6 and 7 percent. New and modern industries have sprung up. In the last seven years LISNAVE was created in the port of Lisbon and it already has become the biggest and busiest ship repair yard in the western world. Tourism has increased more than tenfold.

Many social reforms have been instituted, especially in the field of education where the battle against illiteracy is rapidly being won.

The biggest growth of all is in Angola and Mozambique. These areas, as big as the United States east of the Mississippi, have become a booming new frontier where foreign investment is now welcome. As Ambassador George Kennan pointed out in an article in the Foreign Affairs Quarterly last year, primary education in the African provinces has increased by 500 percent and secondary education by more than 850 percent since 1961. Two new, fully accredited, universities have been established in Angola and Mozambique.

Back in 1961, that admirable London publication, the Economist, joined the general hue and cry for immediate independence for Angola and, in some rather stiff avuncular editorials, advised the Portuguese that colonialism was dead and they had best get with it, man, and pull out. Last week I received the February 26, 1972, issue of the Economist which carries a 23-page special supplement on Portugal, reviewing the progress of the last decade. I'd like to quote one of the lead paragraphs:

"Some people would add that the alliance (with England, 'the world's oldest alliance') is a matter of psychology as well as politics: that the Portuguese, so much more sober and reserved than their Spanish neighbors and with such splendid memories of oceanic empire, resemble no one so much as the Victorian English. Up to this day, it is hard for an Englishman not to feel at home in Lisbon. . . . Even in their *saudade*, their melancholy laced with nostalgia for past greatness, the Portuguese have something in common with the postwar British."

It is just possible that these unique Portuguese people, gentle and reserved, with a brand of politeness matched only by their stubbornness in matters of principle, some day may look back on the events unleashed in 1961, despite their horrors, as having been a blessing in the long run. Those events just may prove to have rekindled the national genius which five centuries ago sent the Portuguese navigators out to discover the world.

Gentlemen, I thank you for your courteous patience.

## WELFARE CHEATERS AND THE REST OF US

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, all of us are shocked by reports of "welfare cheaters." All of us hate the idea of our hard-earned tax dollars being drained by loafers who are able, but too lazy, to work. All of us are distressed that a few rotten apples get on the welfare rolls and defraud the public by collecting undeserved payments from the public purse.

But how many of us are equally horrified by tax loopholes which allowed 112 Americans with incomes exceeding \$200,000 to pay no Federal income taxes in 1970? How many of us hate the idea of our hard-earned tax dollars going to agribusinesses to the tune of over \$3 billion a year not to grow crops? How many of us are disturbed that the public pays \$4.3 billion a year for assorted "tax favors" to the petroleum industry, plus \$5 billion for oil import quotas, for a total of \$9.3 billion?

The reason that the public is outraged at the welfare cheater, but not distressed by the wealthy individual and conglomerates who have their hand in the public till, is that the public is told of the welfare cheater, but not informed of the others. It is easy to blast a faceless welfare recipient who does not contribute to political campaigns; a poor person who does not own a well-heeled lobbyist to contact people in high places; an individual who does not rub elbows with influential person on the cocktail party circuit.

How many times have you heard the Governor of your State blast the oil interests—or the agribusinessmen—or the wealthy who, because of tax writeoffs, pays no taxes?

Mr. Speaker, I definitely favor welfare reform in order to put the welfare cheater out of business. But, at the same time, I favor closing the loopholes and eliminating the subsidies to the superrich.

While we remove the welfare cheater's hand from the public till, let us also close the public purse to the fat cats.

At this time, Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD the following article which appeared in the Washington Post on March 12:

### WELFARE CHEATERS AND THE REST OF US (By Meg Greenfield)

In my fantasy we are having lunch at an expensive Washington restaurant. My guest is an old friend—a lawyer, perhaps, who worked for the government under a previous administration and is now a consultant or counselor (which is to say, a lobbyist) for one of the big oil companies. Actually, it may be premature to call him my guest, since it is not yet clear which of us will pick up the check, only that the meal and drinks will go on one of our expense accounts and ultimately be split with Uncle Sam.

When I permit the fantasy to become elaborate, I see my friend going directly from the restaurant to an airport, where he boards a waiting company plane. Guided by subsidized navigation and instrument services, he takes off for a combined business and pleasure

trip, all of which will be accounted a business expense on his income tax return. Sometimes I cast the pleasure part of his journey as a day's stopover with a cherished, aging uncle on a farm in the South who is living on government payments for cotton crops that he and his "partners" (family) are not growing. The only constant in this picture is that somewhere between the deductible artichoke and the written-off veal marengo, we talk about welfare cheating. We say how terrible it is.

The point of this exercise is not to set up some "you're another" justification of welfare cheating. Hanky panky down on the farm or at an ostentatiously appointed table for two does not make welfare hanky panky any more acceptable. And the broad range of more and less fraudulent activities that go by the generic name of "welfare cheating" are real, quite costly to the taxpaying public and—where deliberate fraud is involved—reprehensible. The point is that in relation to equally real, costly and reprehensible finagling of government funds that goes on at every other level of our society, welfare cheating seems to have acquired a grip on the national imagination all out of proportion to its place in the scheme of things. It can evidently enrage as few other forms of treasury raid can. Indeed, people seem not just willing but positively eager to believe that fraud accounts for most of the nation's welfare disbursements. And although it is true that just about all of us work part of our day—or at least pay part of our taxes—to support numerous of the undeserving rich along with numerous to the undeserving poor (and to do so far more handsomely), it is a strange fact that we seem to resent such outlays to the poor far more.

The resentment begins, as such things often do, with a rather murky and misleading idea of what we even mean by "welfare cheating" and what is known about its character and extent. For example, it seems to be widely assumed that what politicians and others have in mind when they deplore welfare cheating is extensive, deliberate fraud. This would encompass falsifying eligibility information, say, or setting up several separate "accounts" to get extra benefits or doing similar things that would be the equivalent of a taxpayer's deliberately failing to report income or inventing false exemptions, as distinct from his merely working the loopholes and ambiguities of the tax laws to his advantage. Yet most of those who have bent their attention to the welfare cheating problem tend to agree that deliberate falsification or fraud accounts for a comparatively small part of the outlays considered questionable or illegitimate. California Gov. Ronald Reagan himself, not exactly known for his permissiveness on the subject, told U.S. News & World Report last year that so far as welfare work incentive programs in his state were concerned, for example, "we're caught up with a legal kind of cheating on this." He explained: "It isn't cheating in the technical sense, because it's all legal and aboveboard under the existing federal regulations."

Welfare experts, who might not share Gov. Reagan's perception of which programs and regulations lead to a "legal kind of cheating" when exploited to the full, nonetheless seem to agree that much of what is commonly discussed under the rubric of "welfare cheating," in fact represents adroit manipulation of the legal rules—more or less in the manner of a Kern County farmer's rearranging the technical ownership of his land to increase his subsidy payment, or a taxpayer's seizing what opportunities he can in the preparation of a return. Moreover, welfare department accounting procedures are often so sloppy, and the maze of bureaucratic and statutory arrangements under which benefits are currently granted is so complex, that it is probably a wonder that more advantage is not taken of the rules.



That this situation obtains was highlighted in a recently published HEW study of errors in welfare disbursements. The survey showed that the percentage of recipients receiving either overpayments or payments to which they were not entitled at all—"welfare cheating"—was far higher than many defenders of welfare programs had wanted to suppose. But the findings also went a long way to discredit the popular notion that such payments were pretty much the result of dissembling and subterfuge on the part of poor black families receiving aid under the AFDC program. Put simply, the findings were these: that almost equal percentages of AFDC families and Adult Category recipients (the aged, blind and disabled) were receiving benefits for which they were wholly ineligible (5.6 per cent of the first, 4.9 per cent of the second); that almost 25 per cent of eligible AFDC families and 12 per cent of eligible Adult recipients were receiving either overpayments or underpayments, the eligible AFDC families being overpaid and underpaid at twice the rate of the eligible Adults (15 per cent to 8 per cent for overpayment, 10 per cent to 5 per cent for underpayment); and that of the errors traceable to recipients in both programs, a very small percentage had yielded evidence thus far of intention to defraud.

As testimony to the deficient procedures under which federal, state and local governments disburse welfare funds, there was the further finding that more than half the accounting errors that resulted in these mispayments originated with the welfare agencies themselves, not with the recipients. Thus in the controversial AFDC program, where roughly 30 out of every 100 families were being mispaid (five ineligible altogether, 15 receiving more than they should and 10 receiving less), 15 of these families would have been responsible for the error themselves, while the other 15 would have been receiving wrong payment that was a result of welfare agency error. Balancing underpayments against both overpayments and payments to wholly ineligible recipients, and projecting its findings to cover recipients not included in the 41-state survey, HEW accepted an estimate of \$500 million as the annual net amount of overpayment to welfare recipients under the principal federal welfare programs. The money represented combined federal, state and local funds.

Half a billion misspent public dollars. It is an awful lot of money to dish out by mistake, even by mostly honest mistake—even by mostly honest mistake more or less split between agency and recipient. Never mind: Let us make it worse. Let us first put the most sinister construction we can on the data at hand. We will, for example, suppose that—contrary to HEW's findings—all 15 per cent of the AFDC recipients who were responsible for accounting errors made errors in their own favor. We will also suspend the notion of "honest error," conceding instead at least a strong possibility that each of these recipients was attempting to defraud the public purse. And, flying further in the face of the HEW findings, we will leave the Adult categories out of it altogether, pretending instead that the suspect AFDC recipients were responsible for the entire financial loss. Having done this much, let us now double both the sums and the percentages involved. That way, for purposes of argument, we will be talking not about \$500 million in net overpayment, but a full 1 billion, not about 15 per cent of AFDC recipients who were responsible for errors that led to a part of this loss, but 30 per cent of AFDC recipients on whom we wish to blame the whole thing.

There are a couple of good reasons to alter the data this way, to make the findings twice as alarming. First, we cover ourselves against slippage (these things have a way of turning out to be worse than early evidence indicates). Second—and perhaps more impor-

tant—only by so distorting the evidence at hand can we begin to bring "welfare cheating" data into the realm of relevant comparison. For if a full 30 per cent of AFDC recipients (not 15 per cent) were known to be responsible for errors in payment, and if all these (not some) were responsible for errors made in their own behalf, and if each and every one was therefore open to at least a strong suspicion of trying to shortchange the government, we would approach among AFDC recipients the moral and proportional equivalent of the one-third of the nation's personal income-tax payers who, according to tax expert Joseph Pechman, annually under report or fail to report their income. With our full \$1 billion loss, however, we would still fall \$3 billion short of a monetary equivalent. For the year 1968, Pechman's figures indicate an estimated \$30 billion in under-reported personal taxable income, at an estimated loss to the government of \$6 billion—only \$2 billion of which was ultimately recovered by the IRS. None of this takes into account tax loophole work, or what Gov. Reagan, in the welfare context, has called the "legal kind of cheating."

The object of such comparisons is not to minimize or dismiss the high cost of welfare overpayments or the built-in failings of a statutory and administrative structure that permits many recipients to work the program to unfair advantage. Rather, it is to put what we commonly think of as welfare cheating into perspective, to fix it in a reasonable relationship with comparable forms of activity. When you view the problem of welfare cheating in this framework, it is, I think, quite natural to wonder at the disproportionate hold it has on our capacity for indignation and to marvel at the intensity and self-righteousness of our response. For that response is characterized, first of all, by the nearly universal acceptance of a double standard of judgment, one that seems to be as unconscious as it is convenient. Members of Congress, for instance, who accommodate all manner of personal corner-cutting (and worse) where campaign contributions, lobbying quid pro quo's, junketing and the rest are concerned, apparently see no irony in their moral outrage on this subject—just as Gov. Reagan, who managed to pay no state income tax whatever for 1970, seems comfortable discussing the burden that "a legal kind of cheating" by welfare recipients imposes on the rest of us.

Beyond this thoughtless, almost touching, sanctimony, there is the vengeful and ultimately self-defeating character of much of what we recommend by way of remedy. Both sentiments seem firmly grounded in resistance to evidence that what we regard as welfare cheating is (1) not indulged in exclusively by poor black people, (2) not indulged in by anything like a majority of those receiving benefits generally and (3) not dramatically different in either kind or degree from other forms of angle-working.

Consider some percentages. Along with the highly suspect AFDC recipients, the relatively cherished and respected recipients of aid to the aged, blind and disabled (Sen. Thurmond, for instance, has set these apart as "deserving" recipients) logged in around 5 per cent total ineligibility for benefits received. It is possible that they are no better and no worse than their AFDC counterparts? And is it possible that the estimated 2½ per cent of ineligible recipients in both these programs who initiated the payments to which they were not entitled are more or less on a par with the estimated 3 per cent of area dentists, physicians and non-physician specialist who, according to the president of Washington Blue Shield, were involved in a recent fee-inflation episode and obliged to repay Blue Shield funds to which they were not entitled? Is it possible that there is some percentage of a given population—whether welfare beneficiaries or area practi-

tioners or Kern County farmers or personal income-tax payers—that represents a usual moral and/or accounting lapse rate? A local Blue Cross official described the practitioners' errors as having proceeded from what he termed "misunderstanding or fraud or in between." A Kern County farmer observed philosophically of those working the subsidy program to unfair advantage, "This is what people have been doing for years. It's human nature." Is it possible, then, that any or all of this applies equally to erring welfare recipients?

Maybe it is not possible. Maybe further evidence will demonstrate that welfare recipients are, in far larger proportions, guilty of intentionally abusing the system. But it is curious that so many of us insist on assuming this essential difference despite what the data on welfare cheating thus far shows and despite the fact that none of us finds it hard to believe that the majority of doctors or farmers or income-tax payers as a group are abiding fairly by the rules.

That we persist in generalizing from the particular where welfare cheating is concerned, and that we have—relative to the size of other "doles"—such an extravagant resentment of the revenue forked out, suggests that it may not be "welfare cheaters," but welfare recipients as a class that we object to. It suggests that perhaps we do not accept the equity or legitimacy of the principle of public assistance to the poor at all, that we in fact regard *all of welfare* as "cheating." Only such a presumption can explain the oddities of our behavior. Even at a time of 6 per cent unemployment, for instance, people incline easily to the view that welfare recipients must be predominantly loafers and connivers and should somehow be made to pay the rest of us back—and not just in money either, but in ways that carry, at least subliminally, overtones of punishment and humiliation.

Whether our leaders share in this attitude or are merely catering to what they consider an insatiable public appetite, their statements on the topic tend to reinforce, the idea that we wish to exact something beyond financial compensation from those populating the public assistance rolls. Mr. Nixon, for example, has quite rightly insisted upon job and job-training programs as an essential part of any welfare reform. This could (and should) be viewed as a practical and hopeful commitment to ending the welfare recipient's condition of dependency, a commitment to the idea that welfare recipients do not relish or seek out that condition any more than the rest of us would. So dignity, respect and a better break are all latent in the concept. Yet Mr. Nixon seems incapable of conceding them. In discussing the subject last spring, for example, he did not, as he might have, allude to the possibilities of employment as hospital orderlies or in other medical service jobs that have their more and less attractive features. Rather he saw fit to wax enthusiastic specifically about how "emptying bedpans" might qualify as appropriate and dignified labor for welfare recipients—pointing out that in his own family this onerous chore had at one time been undertaken.

There is more at issue here than a simple failure to distinguish between the morale drawn from a personal hard-luck story and a presidential suggestion relating to the prospective employment of a whole class of depressed people in whom we are seeking to instill some hope. What brought the image to mind in the first place? What particular mindset compels us invariably to dredge up from our own or others' experience the most singularly disagreeable labors we can think of as examples of the kind of work for which welfare recipients might be fit? How is it that when a successful businessman has bilked the IRS of a hefty debt in some grey area of the law, we do not insist that he pay it all back by emptying bedpans (in

perpetuity, if required), but rather agree to a negotiation with IRS for some part of what he owes, forgiving the rest. Or try to fix this image in your mind: the directors of the Penn Central Railroad, picking up trash on pointed sticks along Fifth Avenue by way of compensating the public for having recklessly driven a valuable public resource into bankruptcy and dependency on the public "dole." The image is repulsive, is it not? Does it not have more to do with punishment than recompense?

One answer might be that monetarily speaking, the analogy is absurd because that labors on the part of prosperous businessmen would do nothing to mitigate the costs to the public of their king-sized misadventures and that—at any rate—the public interest is better served by trying to keep them and their enterprises afloat than by yielding to our desire to retaliate. But the argument would be more effective if it did not also apply to many of those welfare recipients from whom we are seeking retribution. For more than imagery is involved in our apparent desire to punish. Indeed, some jurisdictions have been seeking to impose "crackdowns" that could actually be very costly to the state and at the same time render affected recipients even more dependent, even more cut off from the circumstances under which they might function normally in community life both as workers and as householders. In California and elsewhere, for instance, it has been proposed that regulations be established severely limiting to a few hundred dollars worth of goods the amount of personal property a person might own and yet qualify for benefits. The fact that such regulations would produce at most a minor treasury gain and that the inspection and appraisal apparatus to bring it off would be extremely costly as bureaucracies go, has not seemed to deter enthusiasts of the idea. Nor has the fact that much of the personal and household goods confiscated and/or sold off would in time probably have to be provided the recipients in some other form by the state. For this evidently is an attempt to render justice by reduction, by disabling the recipient of public assistance and enhancing his dependence on the state if necessary to do . . . to do what? To prove a point? It is relevant, I think, to recall in this connection that in the same quarters where such a wholesale disposal of welfare recipients' assets was being urged, it was well understood why Lockheed—to take a case—ought not be required to dispose of its assets last summer to avoid going broke, why it might be in the public interest to give Lockheed financial aid—no matter who was more responsible for its predicament, the company or the government that fed it business. The completion of defense projects was seen to be in the larger public interest. So was Lockheed's capacity as an employer. People can see, then, the wisdom and urgency of forgoing any desire for retribution in relation to a company that, with help, can provide much-needed employment (a social good). Why should it be so difficult to take the same logical step in relation to a welfare recipient's employability, his capacity and incentive to live and work normally in the community of which he is a part? Surely that would be also in the public interest, equally a social good.

The answer, I think, has something to do with our perspective on the poor and especially on poor blacks. Their burdens seem less burdensome, their advantages (given or taken) more expensive. We, as a society, became much more exercised over the horror of random terrorist bombings when those bombings left the setting of Negro homes and churches in the South and came North in the form of anti-war, anti-establishment violence. And through years of amiable acquiescence in the knowledge that superior athletes and off-

spring of prominent alumni got first crack at college admissions, although they might not be intellectually fit, we did not register outraged complaints about what this might do to the academic standards of our places of higher learning. That came only with the issue of "open enrollment" and the effort to assist not wholly qualified, but wholly eager, black students in entering and completing college. One forbears imagining what the national political response would have been had it been such a student—rather than a University of Texas football star—who allowed in public a few years back that, truth to tell, he "couldn't read a lick."

Just so, we seem to approach the question of welfare cheating with a probity and a sense of loss and a desire to punish that are wholly out of phase with our complaisance in relation to cheating ("legal" and otherwise) that is at least as reprehensible and immensely more expensive. Two-and-a-half per cent, 3 per cent, 5 per cent, 15 per cent—the data could eventually be disproved, of course, but for now you would think that we would be able to deplore the genuinely costly drain of welfare cheating on the public purse and yet do so in the context of that rather apt remark of Hemingway to Scott Fitzgerald concerning the rich. The poor, in this case, seem to be different from the rest of us primarily in that they have less money.

MRS. CAROLYN BEIL OF YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO, PROPOSES "NATIONAL CLEAN-UP WEEK"

HON. CHARLES J. CARNEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. CARNEY. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a thoughtful letter from Mrs. Carolyn Beil, a constituent of my congressional district, proposing a "National Clean-up Week." In her letter, Mrs. Beil explains her idea and outlines some of the worthwhile projects which may be undertaken during "National Clean-up Week."

Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert Mrs. Beil's letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this time for the information and consideration of my colleagues in the House and Senate:

YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO,  
March 6, 1972.

HON. CHARLES J. CARNEY,  
House Office Building,  
Washington, D.C.

SIR: As a concerned citizen in your Congressional district, I would like to propose a National Clean-up Week in which people could voluntarily donate their time to helping clean up our environment. Idealistic as it may sound, with the proper thought and planning, it may work.

Some suggestions as to the nature of the work are (1) volunteers could come to homes to collect old papers, bottles, cans, etc., to be taken to our local recycling centers; (2) people could be sent to roadsides, parks, swamps, and other public places which have been defaced by careless litterers. I am sure that many, although certainly not all, Americans would be willing to donate a couple of hours during the week to such a project.

I am aware that this would entail a considerable amount of time, planning, and financing, but our government spends a tremendous amount of money in the littering and destruction of other countries by the use of weapons and warfare; I'm sure this money could be put to better use.

Necessary to ending pollution is a more vigorous campaign against it—the one going on now is certainly not strong enough. People must be aware that environmental control begins in their own homes, where good and bad habits are formed. Most people, including myself, are not aware of what we personally can do to clean up our homeland. This needs to be corrected.

Please give this some thought. A million Americans can do more in one week to clean up our environment than sporadic bills passed by Congress can do in one year.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. CAROLYN BEIL.

#### A WALK FOR AN EAGLE

HON. VERNON W. THOMSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, this year during Earth Week, April 17-23, Wisconsin young people are being invited to participate in the "Walk for an Eagle" program to raise funds which will be used to establish a 1,000 acre wilderness eagle preserve. I am most pleased to sponsor this fine program being organized by Eagle Valley Environmentalists, Inc.—EVE—and urge concerned citizens of every age to lend their support to this effort to protect our endangered national bird, the bald eagle.

I can think of no more worthwhile activity to constructively translate the concern for our environment which inspires Earth Week into real accomplishment than participation in Walk for an Eagle. Too often our undirected enthusiasm and idealism is wasted because it is not channeled into a realistic and realizable program. The Walk for an Eagle program is as well-conceived as it is well-motivated.

To those living in southwestern Wisconsin, the sight of a soaring bald eagle during the months of November through March is not uncommon. But our cherished winter visitor is in danger of losing his already severely limited domain as wilderness areas fall before the relentless push of civilization. Fortunately, one sheltered valley along the Mississippi River is, as yet, untouched and uninhabited. It provides a safe refuge for these magnificent birds.

EVE has already begun its planned purchase of 1,000 acres to save this valley and provide a permanent wilderness refuge for bald eagles during the winter months. With public support, this dream can be fulfilled, saving our eagles, thousands of other wild creatures living in the area, and providing an outdoor retreat for man to wander and reflect. As Aldo Leopold so aptly put it in his Sand County Almanac:

Raw wilderness gives definition and meaning to the human enterprise. Wilderness is a resource that can shrink but not grow.

I am hopeful that the Walk for an Eagle program will become the ecology crusade for 1972 and encourage school classes to consider organizing a Walk for an Eagle in line with the recommendations of Eagle Valley Environmentalists.



I include at this point, instructions for participating groups prepared by EVE:

The purpose of Walk for an Eagle is to raise money for saving a Wilderness Valley for the Bald Eagle. The time is Earth Week, April 1972. The day for the walk, Saturday, April 22. Who? Members of your organization, your club, your school, or your class. The Where—a stretch of road or section of town that can be properly supervised by local police. Consult with them for the final selection of a location for your walk.

How—

1. Develop publicity of the event through your local news media, radio, paper, television, etc.

2. A week or so in advance of the walk, have members canvass the town or community. Divide it into parts and go door-to-door. Don't overlook businesses, teachers, organizations, civic groups and industries. Get a pledge of so much a mile for each mile a member walks; let these people know that you are doing something positive about saving the environment.

3. Keep a list of each pledge, who made it, the amount of the pledge per mile, and to whom the pledge was made.

4. On the day of the walk, have someone be an official record-keeper. He must keep a record of each person starting and how far that person walked.

5. After the walk, the pledges should be collected by the participant who originally solicited them. A statement signed by the official record-keeper showing the miles walked by each participant should be shown to each person who pledged for the walk when they go to collect the pledges.

6. Send your proceeds to EVE, Secretary-Treasurer, 390 S. Chestnut St., Platteville, Wisconsin 53818.

7. Each person, class, school or organization that is able to raise \$100 or more will receive a certificate of appreciation from EVE. If interested, any school able to pledge \$1,000 or more will have an opportunity for a free school Assembly by EVE's Executive Director, Terrence N. Ingram, during Earth Week or as soon thereafter as scheduling will permit.

## TRIBUTE TO THE FLAG

### HON. ELWOOD HILLIS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. HILLIS. Mr. Speaker, Roy H. Shepherd, of Anderson, Ind., has written a tribute to the flag of the United States. I would like to share it with my colleagues and invite them to contact me with their reactions:

#### TRIBUTE TO THE FLAG

Fellow Americans, before you is unfurled our country's flag! It is not in a spirit of boastfulness but rather in a sense of justifiable pride, we would have you remember that . . . that flag never has known defeat. It has ever gone forward, victorious, triumphant! Not like the Roman Eagle or the Crescent of the Saracen to conquer and to crush, but to make men free. No symbol—save the cross—epitomizes so much suffering and devotion, and radiates more hope than that flag. It is the symbol of your noble heritage, your kingly prerogatives, and your civic duties as American citizens. We call you to an active exercise of those prerogatives—with prudence and nobility of purpose, and to the performance of every duty with unflinching spirit. We here solemnly pledge you to an unquestioning obedience to the mandates of that flag. Should your country command you—obey! Give to your country, your serv-

ice, your purse, and even your life, if necessary, to the end that our nation may ever go forward upon its lofty mission, and stand in the Congress of the nations of the world—the champion of an ever freer, nobler, happier, humanity. And continue our prayer, oh God, that out of such devotion Thy Kingdom may come—Thy will may be done—on earth here as it is there in Heaven, and we will continue to give Thee all the praise—both now and forever and ever.—Amen.

ROY H. SHEPHERD.

## GIRL SCOUTS OF THE U.S.A.

### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 6, 1972

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of the resolution offered by my colleague from Idaho (Mr. HANSEN).

This is Girl Scout Week and an appropriate time to give due recognition to the 60-year-old organization of which millions of girls have been members over the years.

Juliette Low brought Girl Guiding to the United States from England in 1912 and organized the first troop in Savannah, Ga. The name was changed 2 years later to Girl Scouts.

In my home area of Buffalo, N.Y., Girl Scouting began in 1917 when a troop of 13 girls was formed under the leadership of Mrs. George Trumble. The Girl Scout Council of Buffalo and Erie County, Inc., was established, and Miss Ada M. Gates became the first commissioner.

So, as the national organization marks its 60th, our Buffalo area council marks its 55th year of dedication to the purpose of inspiring girls with the highest ideals of character, conduct, patriotism, and service.

In the 55 years of its existence the Buffalo area council has served about 834,000 girls, of whom 25,790 are registered at the present time, supervised by 4,488 adults.

The Girl Scouts, as with other youth organizations, would not be able to function on a continuing and effective basis without the dedicated cooperation and participation of adult volunteers. No greater community service can be provided by adults than to take the time to help with youth activities such as the Girl Scouts.

There can develop great personal satisfaction for the adults in this volunteer work. They can observe first hand the results of their patience as they help young people learn the fundamentals of good citizenship, good health, sportsmanship, craftsmanship, togetherness, and so forth.

Since that day in 1920 when the Buffalo Council held its first camping session at Kidder Farm in suburban Williamsville, the scope of activities has expanded to where the council now owns eight properties and leases two others. These properties cover 1,354 acres and have a ledger value of nearly \$741,000. Included is a canoe base across the international boundary in Algonquin Provincial Park, Ontario, Canada.

It is a pleasure for me to join with my colleagues in this 60th anniversary salute

to the Girl Scouts of the United States and to extend a special accolade to the Girl Scouts of my own Buffalo and Erie County area who are marking their 55th anniversary.

## REVIEW, OVERHAUL NEEDED OF FOREIGN AID PROGRAM

### HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, with Federal deficits growing larger, and with greater and greater demands being made for revenue sharing with State and local governments, the time has come for a reappraisal, review, and revamping of the foreign aid program.

It is difficult to reconcile the continued expenditure of billions of dollars overseas when there are so many pressing domestic needs for the Federal budget dollar at home.

In this connection I insert in the RECORD my newsletter Capitol Comments, because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this most important matter:

CONGRESS PASSES \$3.1 BILLION FOREIGN AID BILL FOR SOME 98 NATIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

(By Joe L. Evins)

Congress recently completed action on a \$3.1 billion foreign aid bill which has grown like topsy from a temporary program for a few nations to a gigantic giveaway of billions of American dollars to many nations. The total of \$3.1 billion finally appropriated for this year was \$1.1 billion less than the President requested and \$622.8 million less than appropriations for foreign aid the previous year.

Congress passed this aid bill on the insistence of the President. The bill as finally approved exceeded the appropriations initially approved by both the House and the Senate and was enlarged in the Conference. The bill was "in Conference" when the First Session of the 92nd Congress was concluded—and a continuing resolution was passed to set the funding at last year's level pending final passage of the bill.

Your Representative in recent years has voted against the annual foreign aid bills because it is my feeling that a review and comprehensive overhaul of this program and its goals and objectives are long overdue. In my opinion appropriations for this program overall are excessive, although I recognize that certainly some military and economic assistance under the program can be used to strengthen friendly allies.

It is my considered opinion that we cannot even be sure foreign aid creates friends—for example, 37 nations who have received foreign aid voted against the position of the United States in the United Nations that Taiwan—Free China—should continue as a member of the UN.

These are some of the other factors that concern me:

This money is urgently needed at home. Our nation is operating in a huge deficit situation of \$44½ billion currently, and has a projected budget deficit of \$98 billion for 1972-73. Our cities and states are advocating a large program of revenue-sharing for domestic needs. The channeling of \$3.1 billion to other nations at this time when our own states and cities have many unmet needs is difficult to reconcile.

Our national debt is \$85 billion more than the combined public debt of all the other nations of the world. Reason would dictate

that most of the funds diverted overseas should be used at home.

More than \$20 billion is available for expenditure for foreign aid from prior year appropriations and borrowing authority.

Foreign aid worsens the balance-of-payments deficit which is at its highest peak in history, as well as our nation's trade deficit. Our country had a trade deficit this year for the first time in this century. Studies indicate the United States has paid to foreign nations \$49 billion more than they have paid to us in trade exchanges.

Foreign aid has cheapened the dollar abroad and contributed to many of our monetary problems at home and abroad.

Because of the gold drain, attributed by many authorities to the outflow of U.S. dollars in foreign aid, our country's gold holdings have been reduced from \$22 billion to \$10 billion.

It is obvious that this foreign aid program must be reviewed, revamped, or curtailed. Where famines, floods and other disasters occur, the United States is always generous and magnanimous. However, our taxpayers are today heavily burdened while waste and extravagance mark much of this nation's foreign aid programs. It's time for a change in the foreign aid program.

#### VIETNAM CUTBACK

### HON. WILLIAM L. SPRINGER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, when the President took office, there were 550,000 troops in Vietnam. Today there are fewer than 125,000 and they are coming home at a fairly rapid rate. The President is achieving what he said he would do when he was elected in 1968. The most important thing is that he has done it without our loss of prestige among our own allies all over the world and especially in the Far East. Crosby S. Noyes, foreign affairs writer for the Washington Star, has written a most interesting article in the Thursday, March 9, 1972, issue which I know my colleagues will want to read. The article follows:

[From the Washington Star, Mar. 9, 1972]

#### NIXON HAS LITTLE TO FEAR FROM THE WAR ISSUE

(By Crosby S. Noyes)

Whatever else they may prove, we would hope that one result of the early primary elections will be to remove Vietnam as a major issue in the coming presidential election.

It's a curious thing. The very ones who most bewail the divisiveness of the war seem the most reluctant to let the issue fade from the consciousness of the voters.

And, though it is quite evident that the average citizen is far more concerned about a variety of domestic issues—unemployment,

inflation, busing and so on—on which the administration is far more vulnerable, it still is on Vietnam that President Nixon opponents insist on concentrating their fire.

In fact, admitting that Vietnam is the most unpopular war in the country's history, Nixon's record so far is one of his strongest arguments for re-election in November. He has virtually ended active American participation in the fighting. And he has done so in such a way that none of the objectives for which the United States went into Vietnam has been sacrificed.

Call it the luck of the devil or grace of God, none of the dire predictions about the result of an American withdrawal has yet come to pass. The South Vietnamese have not fallen to pieces; they are fighting better and with higher morale than at the peak of the American effort.

The much-advertised offensive of the North Vietnamese has not materialized for reasons which are best known to the leaders in Hanoi. No one, at this point, can predict with any great certainty the course of events in South Vietnam over the next few years.

What one can say with some confidence is that, given continued American support, South Vietnam will survive the American departure and Nixon's program for ending American participation in the war has every chance of succeeding.

In this situation, critics of the administration are left in the position of saying that they would have achieved the same results more quickly or, more simply, that South Vietnam is not worth saving. But those who seriously dissent from the results achieved in Vietnam at this stage are likely to be classified as extremists on one side or the other by a majority of voters.

The extremists on the right argue, as they did in the case of Korea, that the war in Vietnam should have been fought through to a clear-cut American victory over North Vietnam.

They never have understood the concept of a limited war for limited objectives. They never will concede that "victory" in Vietnam consists in a successful withdrawal or that the essential objective of the American effort has been accomplished. They also are, mercifully, a small percentage of the voting population.

And so, one suspects, are the extremists on the left—those who also do not want to see a successful American withdrawal from Vietnam, those whose abhorrence of war and its tragedies has led them to the conclusion that it is inherently wicked and immoral for men to fight for their freedom and equally wicked and immoral for the United States to help them do it.

For no matter how it may be distorted by those who concentrate on what they call the "corruption" of the Saigon regime, this is the essential issue in Vietnam. The simple fact is that the vast majority of people in South Vietnam prefer this regime to rule from Hanoi and they have fought for this preference for a generation.

Today that fight, thanks to a massive American sacrifice, appears to be won. Although fighting certainly will continue as long as the leaders in Hanoi choose to send their armies

into South Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, they are most unlikely to attain their objectives by military means. They are no more likely to win control in South Vietnam through any political process that is not wholly rigged in their favor.

It can be argued, of course, that what has been accomplished in Vietnam was not worth the cost. Many people in this country believe strongly that American troops never should have been sent to fight in Indochina and that the sacrifice has been wholly incommensurate with the achievement. Certainly the Nixon doctrine, opposing direct American participation in wars on the Asian continent, reflects the prevailing public sentiment.

But surely it does not follow from this that what has been accomplished at such high cost should be systematically undone by withdrawing all further support for the government in Saigon and precipitating the collapse of military resistance in South Vietnam. Those who propose, in the name of humanitarian interests, to pull the rug out from under the South Vietnamese and turn the country over to the Communists have a difficult case to make to the average American voter.

#### AGRICULTURE EXPANDS IN MISSISSIPPI

### HON. CHARLES H. GRIFFIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished director of the Mississippi Cooperative Extension Service, and my good friend, Bill Bost, has recently forwarded me a report on the progress of the "1.5 by 75" program in Mississippi. This 10-year program, begun in 1965, has as its goal the increasing of the value of farm production in Mississippi to \$1.5 billion by 1975.

Now at the conclusion of the sixth year, I am pleased to note that through the dedication and hard work of our Mississippi farming community this program is ahead of schedule and well on its way to becoming a reality.

I commend the progress that is being made and believe that it speaks very highly of the willingness and dedication of Mississippians to work together in a common effort to achieve a goal that will surely benefit not only themselves and our State, but indeed the entire Nation.

I include here in my remarks a copy of the summary of the report of the outstanding progress being made by the Mississippi Cooperative Extension Service in increasing farm production and contributing greatly to the economy of our State:

#### VALUE OF MISSISSIPPI FARM PRODUCTS—PROGRESS OF 1.5 BY 1975 PROGRAM

[In millions of dollars]

	1964	1971	1975	Projected increase 1964-75	Increase 1964-71	Goal reached 1971 (percent)		1964	1971	1975	Projected increase 1964-75	Increase 1964-71	Goal reached 1971 (percent)
Cotton.....	389	375	440	51	Minus	89	Poultry and eggs.....	146	188	284	138	42	30
Soybeans.....	65	163	175	110	98	89	Forestry.....	65	136	150	85	71	84
Food grains.....	16	20	30	14	4	29	Catfish.....	17	20	20	20	17	85
Feed crops.....	67	58	103	36	Minus	20	Flowers and shrubs.....	2	11	15	13	9	69
Horticultural crops.....	17	22	42	25	5	20							
Meat animals.....	104	265	185	81	161	201	Grand total.....	928	1,321	1,535	607	393	65
Dairy (milk).....	57	66	91	34	9	26							



Mississippi farmers have again demonstrated their willingness to adopt the new techniques essential to achieve the annual goals of 1.5 by '75. At the end of the sixth year in this 10-year program, the value of farm production stands at a new high of more than \$1.3 billion. This represents 65 percent of the goal of farm production having an annual value of \$1.5 billion a year by 1975 and is 5 percent beyond the schedule required to meet the 1975 goal.

The greatest gain in 1.5 by '75 has been in meat animals, already considerably above the 1975 goal. The value of meat animals produced in 1971 was estimated at a record high of \$265 million, \$22 million above the previous high in 1970. More than \$226 million of the 1971 total was from cattle and calves.

The value of cotton production in 1971 was estimated at \$375 million, an increase of \$35 million over 1970 and continuing the upward trend of recent years. Soybean production at \$163 million for 1971 represented a slight gain over 1970 and a new record. At 89 percent of the 10-year goal, soybean production is still far ahead of schedule.

For forest products, the value of \$136 million for 1971 is \$11 million more than in 1970. This increase puts forestry at 84 percent of its goal for 1975. The value of catfish production continued its upward trend.

Poultry and egg production suffered a \$15 million decline from 1970, reversing its steady march toward the 1.5 by '75 goal. Although the value of broiler production increased almost \$3 million, that of eggs was \$19 million less than the \$90 million of 1970.

Horticultural crops, valued at \$22 million in 1971, made a small increase but are far short of schedule. A slight decline in fresh and processed vegetables was more than offset by a sharp pecan crop increase over the near failure of 1970. The flower and shrub business continued its steady climb.

The value of milk production was less than in 1970. The food grains, rice and wheat, were up in value from 1970. The feed crops—mainly corn, sorghum, and hay—experienced a decrease.

#### ADMINISTRATION CAVES IN ON AID TO ECUADOR

### HON. LIONEL VAN DEERLIN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. VAN DEERLIN. Mr. Speaker, one should not be too surprised, I suppose, by the decision of the Nixon administration to revoke the congressional ban on aid to Ecuador.

This lamentable action, taken last week by Secretary of State Rogers, is but the latest in a long and shabby series of shams and double dealings in our relations with Ecuador, and any other country with a bent for picking our fishing ships off the high seas.

Mr. Rogers invoked an obscure Executive order which authorizes him to act on behalf of the President in managing the foreign assistance program. The Secretary signed a document which stated that removal of congressionally imposed restrictions on aid to Ecuador is in the national interest. The President had no public comment on the issue.

State Department personnel, however, have never attempted to conceal their distaste for the prohibitions ordered by Congress. Long before Mr. Rogers acted, U.S. diplomats in Quito, Ecuador's capi-

tal, were going out of their way to assure Ecuador that the administration had no intention of enforcing the amendment for cutting off U.S. aid.

One statement put out by our embassy told Ecuadorians the administration "has opposed the Van Deerlin amendment both in the form in which it was presented to the House in December and in its present form." The first version was a flat prohibition on assistance to Ecuador, while the compromise language finally adopted would permit aid—but only when the President deemed it important to the national interest of the United States.

While our Government may be technically within the letter of the law in acting to permit resumption of aid, I submit that in this instance there has been an almost studied defiance of the clearly expressed intent of Congress.

Our colleague (Mr. PASSMAN), the esteemed and able chairman of the appropriations subcommittee handling foreign aid, left no room for doubt as to the will of Congress in the Ecuadorian matter, during debate February 24 on the foreign aid conference report.

Release of funds to Ecuador could be justified, said Chairman PASSMAN, "only in the cases of emergency."

In lifting the ban, Secretary Rogers made no pretense that an emergency exists. I would construe an emergency situation as one in which assistance were urgently needed to relieve the suffering caused by a natural disaster, or other cataclysmic event. No one can quibble with lending a helping hand in such circumstances. But on this score, Ecuador simply does not qualify.

By continually interfering with our fishermen on the high seas, however, Ecuador has richly earned the rebuke which Congress tried to administer.

It is my feeling, strongly reinforced by recent events, that if our Government had been a little tougher with Ecuador in the past, our problems might have been resolved long ago and we would not have to be talking now about the desirability of withholding aid.

Throughout this dreary affair, I have been particularly upset with State Department officials in Washington and Quito who seem to be taking Ecuador's side in the dispute.

Since when, my colleagues, is it a responsibility of our diplomats to apologize to another nation for the actions of the U.S. Congress?

An article illuminating the State Department's negative attitudes was carried in the Washington Star last Thursday. I include the article at this point with my remarks:

[From the Washington Star, Mar. 9, 1972]

AMENDMENT TO U.S. AID BILL ROCKS ENVOYS IN ECUADOR

(By Jeremiah O'Leary)

QUITO, ECUADOR.—Life rarely is a bed of roses for American diplomats in Ecuador, what with tuna boat seizures and revolutions, but the Van Deerlin Amendment to the U.S. foreign aid bill has them ready to drape the embassy in black.

The amendment (or "enmienda," as it is called here) specifies that no part of any appropriation in the aid bill may be used to provide assistance to Ecuador unless the Presi-

dent decides it is important to the national interest. Its approval by Senate-House conferees virtually guaranteed it will remain in the bill sent to the White House.

The singling out of Ecuador, a Colorado-sized land of 6 million people, came like a bombshell to Ambassador Findley Burns and his country team in Quito, but it hit the Ecuadorean government with the impact of an Andean earthquake.

"God, what timing," said one U.S. official bitterly. "We're trying to make some headway on the tuna thing with the new government here, and now we're all the way back to square one."

Ecuador's armed forces ousted five-time President Jose Maria Velasco Ibarra Feb. 15, and there have been hopes that the new regime headed by Gen. Guillermo Rodriguez Lara might be disposed to some mutually satisfactory arrangement on the fishing issue.

If there ever was a chance, the "enmienda" put it on the back burner.

Burns did have a chance to salvage something out of the situation, mainly because he was able to prepare President Rodriguez for it a few hours before the story began moving on press wires.

The embassy also issued a statement that said, "The administration of President Nixon invariably has opposed the Van Deerlin amendment both in the form in which it was presented to the House in December and in its present form."

The embassy statement went on to emphasize that the bill leaves aid to Ecuador to the discretion of President Nixon.

This fast footwork by the embassy grabbed the headlines in Ecuador's daily papers, mainly because it was available to them first. It may have mollified the man in the street, but it didn't do much for the disposition of President Rodriguez who is understandably a bit touchy in the first weeks after his assumption of power.

Rodriguez, a U.S.-trained professional soldier, issued his own statement soon after, saying that the Ecuadorean government considers the "enmienda" a clear act of political imperialism by the U.S. Congress.

He stuck to the normal Ecuadorean concept that foreign aid is not just an altruistic gesture and that Congress acted as it did because of the "illicit activities" of the U.S. fishing boats in the 200 miles of Pacific Ocean coastal waters claimed by Ecuador.

Ecuador has not seized a fishing boat since Feb. 6, probably because the tuna no longer are swimming in schools and the boats do not find it profitable to chase individual tuna with their expensive gear.

Assistant Secretary of State Charles A. Meyer has been here three times since last November and seemed close to an agreement when the revolution came. Now the diplomats have to start all over again over the same rocky path.

#### OPEN LETTER IN FAVOR OF RADIO FREE EUROPE AND RADIO LIBERTY

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, I insert into the RECORD an open letter to the junior Senator from Arkansas by Mr. Aloysius A. Mazewski, president of the Polish American Congress.

As I understand, Mr. Speaker, despite the intense interest of many leading Americans in maintaining the effective service rendered by Radio Free Europe

and Radio Liberty, the junior Senator from Arkansas remains as the one obstruction to their continued operation. Mr. Mazewski, in his letter, eloquently makes the case for Radio Free Europe:

AN OPEN LETTER TO SENATOR J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT, CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

POLISH AMERICAN CONGRESS, INC.,

March 6, 1972.

DEAR SIR: According to information coming from the Senate-House conference on certain disputed items of foreign expenditures, you have threatened to veto, single-handedly, modest appropriation for Radio Free Europe.

Your contentions seem to be that in view of President Nixon's forthcoming visit to Moscow, we should be "nice" to the Russians, or they will revert back to their old intransigence, and block our policy of accommodation which is to supersede that of confrontation.

You are entitled to your opinion. And although sharply disagreeing with it, I respect it.

However, your rather autocratic statement at the conference that you will not allow Radio Free Europe to continue its activities, brings to my mind the concept of the "arrogance of power" which you misapplied in your dissertations on America's noble post war efforts in foreign aid.

Actually, arrogance of power came into being much earlier, during the Yalta conference in 1945.

It was then, that the United States, through its diplomacy, acceded to the power politics of the Soviet Union and tacitly agreed to the application of the arrogance of power, sealing the fate of 150 million people in Central and Eastern Europe without consulting them and against their national will.

Through diplomacy, we, as one of the victorious powers, have consented to give to Soviet dominations vast lands which were not ours to give.

We have tacitly agreed to the destruction of the basic liberties and fundamental rights of man in entire nation with historic tradition of democracy and millennial ties with the Western civilization and culture.

Official explanation of these give-aways to which we had no right was, that the compelling reason for them has been the forlorn hope that Soviet Union will be less truculent in post war dealings with the free nations of the West.

History proved otherwise. After the Yalta agreement and shortly after the cessation of hostilities in Europe, we entered the era of Cold War.

An earnest contest for the mind of the modern man has begun.

In this struggle, Radio Free Europe stands out as the most effective instrument in reaching the people cut off by the Iron Curtain from the free flow of objective news and the interplay of ideas of the open societies of the West.

For those people, whose fate was sealed by the arrogance of power at Yalta, the Orwellian nightmare arrived much sooner than 1984.

The "Big Brother" concept of a closed, totalitarian society with concomitant thought control, directed news and commentaries, and educational system geared to bring up young generations in restrictive communist sophistries, have become the way of life for nations of the Eastern half of Europe.

For them, the only contact with the West, the only source of objective news, the only breath of freedom comes through the Radio Free Europe facilities.

As an institution of man, RFE is not perfect. However, it has learned respect, confidence and unprecedented popularity among

the people living under communist tyranny and longing for freedom.

Whatever it is, RFE is not an aggressive or offensive weapon. Its only mission is truthful, objective reporting of events on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

What can the Soviet Union give in exchange for the liquidation of Radio Free Europe? Nothing in this particular area of news dissemination.

The Soviet Union does not need any facility similar to Radio Free Europe, since every Communist party in the West is in fact a propaganda agency for Moscow.

To close down Radio Free Europe just because it is inconvenient to the tyrants of Moscow and their satraps in satellite countries would be equivalent to telling the subjugated nations that the United States is no longer interested in their present travail or in their future.

It would, indeed, be a raw and inhuman display of the arrogance of power.

I do not believe American people would accept this newest concession to the Soviet Union at the expense of the people who believe in our good will and see in the United States the hope and the promise of a better future for humanity.

I hope that as a scholar statesman of considerable knowledge, experience and influence you will reconsider your position regarding RFE and take under advisement its intrinsic value and relevancy which far surpasses any shortcomings it may have in term of political expediency.

Respectfully,

ALOYSIUS A. MAZEWSKI,

President.

#### COMMON CAUSE

HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, I know that my colleagues will be interested in reading the attached profile of Common Cause, the citizens lobby. This article is written by Charles E. Claffey of the Washington Bureau of the Boston Globe. It appeared in that newspaper on March 5, 1972.

Among the reforms of the Congress sought by Common Cause are a reconsideration of the "closed rule" which precludes legislation being amended on the floor of the House and the barring of the public from the caucuses of both political parties in Congress.

The article follows:

COMMON CAUSE: REFORMERS READY TO GO TO THE PEOPLE

(By Charles E. Claffey)

WASHINGTON.—John W. Gardner bristles at suggestions that Common Cause, the citizen's lobby, is an elitist organization, estranged from the realities of the society it would reform.

"We do not regard ourselves as speaking from some morally superior vantage point outside the system," the chairman of Common Cause said recently. "We are also part of the system."

What are they up to?

ON SPENDING

Common Cause lobbied extensively for the campaign financing bill, which was signed into law by the President Feb. 7.

The new bill contains fairly strict limitations on radio and television spending, and a strong section on reporting campaign receipts and expenditures. But it contains no

limits on the amount an individual may contribute to a campaign.

Individual limits was a strong feature of the Common Cause position, as was a strong provision regulating the supervising of reporting, another drawback in the bill as viewed by Common Cause.

Fred N. Wertheimer, Gardner's chief lobbyist against the war and in favor of a strong independent consumer protection agency, will play a major role in the organization's policy of enforcing the campaign financing and spending act.

"We see our job as trying to fill a vacuum—of making sure the law does what it's supposed to," Wertheimer says.

Wertheimer and other staffers will be helped by a staff of volunteers in Washington that could number as many as 1000, as well as others in state capitals.

Common Cause will try to insure that filings of receipts and expenses are made on time (a complaint procedure is provided in the law enabling direct court action for infractions), and to try to evaluate and interpret the disclosures.

"We're also going to try to track down special interests," says Wertheimer, "from labor to corporations in looking for violations and evasion patterns."

Concerning the volunteers who will assist in this formidable project, Wertheimer says that a lot of them will be lawyers and business people, such as accountants, but there will be no limit on anyone's background.

IN CONGRESS

In the field of congressional reform, Common Cause will stress the dual points of accountability and the need to open the "congressional machinery to younger, less senior members."

At the same time, it is avoiding the framing of specific legislative proposal, while recommending a "bill of particulars," which includes:

Subjecting each chairman and each minority party ranking member to an automatic open caucus vote at the beginning of each Congress.

Opening committee sessions for all but matters dealing with national security and personal privacy.

Re-considering the "closed-rule" which allows the House Ways and Means Committee a "unique privilege" in that all legislation it takes to the floor is debated under a device barring floor amendments.

Both parties should open their caucuses to the public.

The minority party should be entitled to a definite percentage of the budget of each congressional committee. It currently is subject to the whim of a chairman.

POTENTIAL FOR CHANGE

"If Common Cause members were to ask hard questions of candidates on only these issues," concludes its director of legislative activities, John Lagomarcino, and secure commitments on them from a broad cross-section of those running for Congress, the potential for change in the next Congress would be as great as any time in recent history."

Naturally, lobbying is Common Cause's major tool in trying to effect change. Not all veteran lobbyists enjoy working with the self-described "citizen's lobby," and some claim the organization takes too much credit for action on bills in which it was only peripherally influential.

At least one, however, thinks otherwise, "I'm glad they're here," says Marvin Caplan, legislative representative for the industrial union department of the AFL-CIO. "Often our objectives differ from theirs. But at times, they are quite complementary."

And the system itself, which Gardner wants to improve, has greeted his attempts at bet-



terment with a bipartisan mixture of applause and abuse.

In fact, it is the question of whether Common Cause actually is bi-partisan that has engendered much of the criticism directed at the organization.

"Monday," the Republican National Committee's publication, has raised that point, and the Committee's Chairman, Sen. Robert Dole (Kansas) last year called Gardner's attacks of President Nixon's Vietnam policies "political efforts to get headlines."

And at the White House, the Nixon staff does not consider Common Cause a friendly group. "They are going to find it very difficult to maintain that non-partisan image because they have nearly always come down against us," one presidential aide has been quoted as saying.

But Jack T. Conway, a former industrial union official who joined Common Cause last March as president, says he is attempting to keep the organization as politically balanced as possible.

"I've tried in everything that I've done here to either maintain a bipartisan balance where it existed, or to achieve one where it hasn't. This is a conscious policy. And the same holds true with any structures that we build in the Congressional districts and the states," Conway says.

Common Cause is now about 18 months old, its membership (the yearly fee is \$15) stands at about 230,000, according to Tom Mathews, Gardner's special assistant for public relations.

#### TOP PRIORITIES

Mathews also disclosed the results of a recent Common Cause poll in which members were asked to name their own top priorities for action in 1972.

The first choice was attempting to stop the Indochina War, including total US troop withdrawal; the next was congressional reform.

Only 5 percent or less mentioned judicial reform, drug abuse, involvement of youth, foreign policy, taxes, health care and education.

Rating high in member priorities were economic problems; involving more people in government, and environmental problems.

Concerning the organization's current image, members evaluated it as "a dynamic, growing and liberal organization with no limiting categorization for the young, or for the older."

The membership list includes Massachusetts Gov. Sargent; S. I. Hayakawa, president of San Francisco State College; Barbara Laird, wife of Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird; former US Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark, and women's activist Gloria Steinem.

During its first year, Common Cause concentrated on internal matters—membership, publicity, forming a staff.

Now its target areas—campaign financing and congressional reforms—have been set and national field offices have been opened, including one in Boston.

### THOMAS GURICK WINS NEW JERSEY VFW VOICE OF DEMOCRACY CONTEST

#### HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, I am privileged and very pleased to announce that Thomas Gurick, a 17-year-old constituent and a junior at Gloucester City High School, has won first prize in the New

Jersey State competition of the 25th annual "Voice of Democracy" contest sponsored by the VFW and the ladies auxiliary of the VFW with the cooperation of the National and State Associations of Broadcasters.

This year's theme, "My Responsibility to Freedom" focused the attention of youth on the principle that freedom is a responsibility and not a license, and called for a personal evaluation of their responsibility in preserving our freedom heritage.

Tom's speech was judged to be the best of 30,000 entries throughout the State of New Jersey. In addition to a scholarship of \$1,500, he has already enjoyed a 5-day, expense-paid trip to Washington, D.C., for the purpose of competing for national honors and a chance for the first-place national award of a \$10,000 scholarship.

It all started, Tom said, when—

One night I was sitting around the house with nothing to do (and) I thought about the contest and decided to give it a try. I sat down and wrote the speech off the top of my head in about a half hour. The next day I took it in to my speech teacher, Mr. Joe McCullough, and we made a few minor corrections.

From there he went on to the tedious task of taping his speech and, with his finished and perfected product, he initially won the preliminary competition in Camden County. As the VFW divides the State's 21 counties into a northern, central, and southern area, Tom also had to compete with the contestants in the southern area before going on to eliminate the winners of the northern and central areas to become the first-place winner in the State.

I have known Tom's parents, Bernard and Eloise Gurick, for many years as fine citizens and outstanding Americans and it is gratifying and reassuring to see Tom following their example in his own right.

Also to be congratulated for his participation in the contest is a young man from my hometown of Pitman, N.J., Kevin Wildes. Kevin was the winner of the Gloucester County competition and finished second to Tom Gurick in the competition against the seven other county winners in the VFW's southern district.

Mr. Speaker, it is heartening to see so many of our young people participating in the VFW's "Voice of Democracy" competition throughout the country and I think it is appropriate to commend the VFW, the ladies auxiliary of the VFW, and the National and State Associations of Broadcasters for making this opportunity a meaningful experience for the thousands of young people who voluntarily contribute their time, ideas, and skills.

#### MR. COOPER SAYS FAREWELL

#### HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure that I submit the following article from the Louisville Courier-

Journal & Times Magazine, by John Ed Pearce, about a man who serves the people of his State and country with ability and distinction, my friend and Member of the other body, JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, of the Commonwealth of Kentucky.

Having suffered the slings and arrows that political life is heir to, JOHN SHERMAN COOPER has endured them and emerged as a statesman in the eyes of the world. The treasured quality of humility and the deep feelings he holds for the problems of his fellow man are revealed by his unending willingness to lend his ear to those who wish to be heard, and to speak for those whose needs go unvoiced.

JOHN SHERMAN COOPER was born and reared in Somerset, Ky., which is in the Fifth Congressional District. The people of the Commonwealth fondly refer to him as "Mr. Kentucky," and I am indeed honored to count this man, for whom I have the greatest respect and admiration, as one of my constituents. The article follows:

#### MR. COOPER SAYS FAREWELL

(By John Ed Pearce)

Let philosophers argue whether the end of a brilliant career is less painful than the end of a dismal one. There is hurt in either case. Nothing is done for the last time but is done with regret, and when on Jan. 21, 1972, John Sherman Cooper came home to Kentucky to announce that he would not seek re-election to the United States Senate, his voice was choked, and there were tears in his eyes and on the cheeks of his wife beside him.

He spoke, at a Lexington meeting of the Kentucky Press Association, for less than three minutes, in the halting, half-mumbled manner that has become, over the past 25 years, a Cooper characteristic, and what he said was: Thank you. This is what I set out to do, and now it is done. And it has been a privilege.

Then, before returning to Washington for the final months of his Senate career, John Sherman Cooper went back to Somerset, back to Pulaski County where he was born 70 years ago, and the welcome by the people who gave him his start was touching, moving. He spoke in the Courthouse where once he sat as county judge, and later was guest of honor at a noisy, hollering, old-time rally at the Cumberland Falls State Park lodge for Republicans of the mountain counties of the 5th District, and sat, smiling, embarrassed, as judges, U.S. representatives and senators compared him with Lincoln. The meeting was long, and at 70 a man gets tired. But there were hands to shake and politics to talk before he could drive back to Somerset for a night's rest in his brother's home, just seven houses down North Main Street from the white frame home in which John Cooper was born on Aug. 23, 1901.

The drive from Somerset to Cumberland Falls takes only a few minutes, but the way there for John Cooper wound through a life that reads like a testimony to the value of virtue. It would have been a repudiation of the American ethic had John Cooper, first son and fourth of seven children of John Sherman and Gertrude Tartar Cooper, not risen from the mountain town to walk, as one orator at the rally declaimed, with kings.

His was a boyhood reminder of things gone by—the tight-knit family, the father a farmer-lawyer-judge of limited means but distinguished family ("he was good to all of us, but believed in discipline"), the mother ("she was a strong woman") directing a home of books and good cooking, and leading the family on Sunday to the Baptist Church.

John had his chores—keeping the lawn mowed, milking the cow, tending the garden. As he grew older, he delivered newspapers, worked in the local railroad yards, drove a coal truck, worked in his father's Harlan County coal mines. He spent his first four years of schooling in private schools, and had to fight his way out of the resulting reputation as a sissy when he transferred to public school. Tall, athletic, a hungry reader ("Our home was full of books. Everybody read. I read 'Vanity Fair' when I was 12.") he starred in football and basketball, was graduated second in his class at Somerset High School and earned a yearbook notation for his tendency to be tardy for everything, a trait aides say still clings.

He played football and basketball for Centre College's famed Praying Colonels for a year, transferred to Yale where he played three years of basketball (and was team captain for two years) and was tapped for Skull and Bones before graduating and entering Harvard Law School. He did not make Phi Beta Kappa, a source of regret in later years, or the Harvard Law Review, but his grades were always respectably high.

Then, suddenly, his father died, at the end of John's first year at Harvard, leaving little but land, and it had no immediate sale value. A family conference was held at which it was decided that John would return to Harvard, but at the end of his second year he came home, passed the Kentucky bar exams and hung out his shingle in Somerset, intent on paying off family debts and helping to support his brothers and sisters.

He ran for the state House of Representatives, and was elected for the two-year term without opposition ("largely because of my father, who had died only two years before and who was greatly respected") and served creditably if without distinction.

"John didn't make much of an impression on the House floor," recalls veteran Frankfort newsman Clay Wade Bailey, "but he did on the dance floor. He was tall and handsome, and an elegant dresser. Very courtly, you know, gallant. He and Mac Swinford and St Eversole were the social trio. He was always popular with the women."

Back home, he ran for and was elected county judge in 1930, serving two four-year terms through the hard days of the Depression. His father and grandfather had been county judges, and his great-grandfather had held a similar post before the Civil War. It was an emotional moment when he entered the courthouse to be sworn, and the eight years in the office left a deep impression on him, as he saw the suffering of a rural people caught in the collapse of a nation's economy. But with his hard work, his obvious compassion for people and the slow repayment of the debts for which he was neither legally nor morally responsible, John Cooper was building a foundation of grassroots regard from which he could reach for higher things.

His start for higher things was not impressive. He ran in the Republican primary for governor, and was defeated by King Swope of Lexington. The campaign, though, whetted his appetite for another try, but before he could make it World II erupted and he enlisted in the Army, where he served from 1942 to 1945, rising from private to captain.

He returned home to become circuit judge, a post to which he had been elected in absentia, but served only a few months before filing in 1946 for the unexpired Senate term of A. B. "Happy" Chandler, who had resigned to become baseball commissioner. Running against the popular Democrat John Young Brown in a normally Democratic state, he was an obvious dark horse, and most newsmen watching his early efforts, predicted that he would remain one.

"I remember," says Allan Trout, long-time Courier-Journal Frankfort bureau chief and

state political authority, "when John opened his campaign in a tent at Lancaster. My first impression was of his incredibly bad delivery. No polish, no flourish whatever. He searched for words, he mumbled, he seemed always to be preparing to apologize. But then I began noticing that he was having an almost hypnotic effect on the crowd. I couldn't figure it out."

"Then, in the courthouse in Richmond, I noticed these little old ladies, the kind who wear black velvet bands at their throats, sitting straight on the edge of their chairs as though they were at tea, and they were gazing at him with rapt faces. They weren't the type to turn out for a political rally, but they turned out for John Cooper. And then it dawned on me that his pained expression as he stumbled along, groping for words, seemed to say, 'I know I'm not much of a politician, but I'm sincere. If you can't vote for me, at least feel sorry for me.' He was everything a politician is not, and they loved and trusted him for it. It's been his trademark. And his fortune."

He won. He had dreamed of the U.S. Senate since boyhood, and now he had made it. He was 45 and "felt that I had gotten started a little late. But I was on my way."

But his newly launched career would not prove an uninterrupted victory march. The unexpired term to which he had been elected was only two years, and in 1948 he was defeated for re-election by Democratic Rep. Virgil Chapman. He might have sunk into political obscurity had not President Harry Truman, in 1949, named him U.S. delegate to the United Nations General Assembly. The prestigious post kept him in the limelight, and his prestige grew when, in 1950, Secretary of State Dean Acheson made him adviser to the original North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Council of Ministers, and the following year sent him on a diplomatic mission to the NATO nations. When Virgil Chapman died in 1952, Cooper returned to Kentucky and was elected to another two-year unexpired term, defeating Democrat Tom Underwood. But two years later, running for a full term, he lost a gruelling race to the redoubtable Alben Barkley.

Again, it seemed his career was finished, and again he was rescued when President Dwight D. Eisenhower appointed him ambassador to India and Nepal in January 1955. But when, on April 30, 1956, Barkley dropped dead while addressing the students of Washington and Lee University, Cooper resigned his post, returned to Kentucky, filed for the unexpired term and won the election, defeating former governor Lawrence Wetherby. He was back in the Senate, and he would stay there for the next 16 years.

And for John Cooper, the past would indeed prove to be prologue. It was as though his whole life had been spent preparing for the position. And his record throughout his 19 years in the Senate (second in duration for Kentuckians only to that of Alben Barkley) showed the unmistakable imprint of his years in the Pulaski County Courthouse. It was his Depression-born compassion for people caught in the clutch of circumstance that led him, during the years from 1948 to 1972, to become the leader of the liberal wing of the Republican Party, a force in world politics as a Seante power and the confidant of presidents, and the Senate's "voice of conscience," as one newspaper described him, in the search for world peace.

Cooper's Kentucky constituency was not always happy with his consistent support for foreign aid, arms control, civil rights, welfare legislation and federal aid to education. Conservative Republicans often grumped that "John Cooper is getting too left-wing for my taste." But they weren't about to dump him; his voting record, as well as his personal appeal, won for him a bipartisan base whose values could not be ignored. And

he mollified many of his rural detractors by championing bills guaranteeing tobacco farmers parity-price support, and efforts to develop Kentucky rivers.

"I had seen how hard it was for the small farmer to make ends meet, and I was convinced that he wasn't going to be able to compete in an uncontrolled, competitive tobacco market. If we could limit tobacco production to actual demand, and keep prices high, everyone could survive. Otherwise, the little boys would be squeezed out."

"It was the same with rivers. When I went to the Senate not one Kentucky river, with the exception of Kentucky Lake on the Tennessee, and a few floodwalls, had any development. Farmers, small-town residents, not just in East Kentucky but there particularly, were being ruined."

It was the same with welfare legislation and such volatile issues as Medicare.

"I know there are abuses in the welfare program. I know it hasn't worked exactly as we hoped it would," he says. "But we had to try, and I'm glad we did. The same with medical care. When the Medicare bill was up, I got thousands of letters from back home, most of them against me. The doctors and hospital people were against it. But I noticed that the old country doctors and the county officials—people who had been out in the country and seen the plight of the people who live in the hollows and down the dirt roads—they were for it. And I remembered my experiences as county judge in Pulaski County, when I'd go out in the county and see these people—desperate, hungry, sick and nowhere to turn, and no one with any money to help them. You just can't let people go hungry. You can't just let them lie there sick and die. Not in this country. Not with all we've got."

His small-town, rural background also influenced his stands on such matters as the TVA and the Rural Electrification Administration. Both aimed at bringing not just electricity, but a better life in general to the people "who lived in the hollows and down the dirt roads," and Cooper fought for their appropriations, often against the majority of his own party, and in one instance against his party's President. During the Eisenhower years (and to some extent during the recent Justice Department regime of John Mitchell) he found himself consistently critical of administration and congressional efforts to legalize wire-tapping, electronic bugging and security searches without warrants.

"After the Supreme Court decision in the Mallory case, restricting the right of police to detain suspects without informing them of the charge against them, there were several efforts in the Congress to limit the effects of that decision, to limit the constitutional right against self-incrimination, and later efforts to permit search and seizure on suspicion, and I opposed them as hard as I could. From my father, and from law school, I got a respect for the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. When I was county judge I had lots of moonshine cases, moonshine stills, and I found that though these people had obviously violated the law, the evidence against them had been gathered by illegal search and seizure, without warrant, and I turned them loose, and was criticized for it."

In a sense, Cooper's entire career has involved a basic effort to compromise his basic belief in the stern Republican virtues of his youth with the policies he felt impelled to follow as a result of his early experiences. As a result, his convictions have led him into frequent conflict with presidents of his own party, something of an embarrassment in view of his close relations with, particularly, John F. Kennedy. The years of his greatest frustration, he admits, came during the Eisenhower years when he found himself in opposition to the administration's Dixon-



Yates scheme to cut the heart out of the TVA, and its efforts to expand police authority at the expense of what Cooper regarded as sacrosanct individual rights. He also felt that the party of Lincoln was lagging in the fight for minority rights.

His friendship with John Kennedy was, of course, a natural. "We just seemed to get along," he says. Not all of it was ideological. There was personal warmth between them, plus the fact that their wives liked each other, one more instance showing the soundness of his marriage, on March 17, 1955, to Lorraine Rowan Shevlin, the beautiful, wealthy Washington socialite. The marriage might have occurred earlier had it not been for the imposing home at Georgetown's 29th and N streets where they now live. It was her home, and Cooper did not want to move into a house he did not own ("hill pride, I guess"), and she did not want to give it up.

Strangely, Alben Barkley solved their dilemma by beating Cooper in 1954, after which President Eisenhower appointed Cooper ambassador to India. "So we didn't have to move into her house or my house, but into the embassy," Cooper recalls, "and by the time we came home that sort of thing had solved itself."

(When Cooper appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for confirmation, Barkley, with whom he had always enjoyed pleasant personal relations, endorsed him warmly. "I'm glad to say that I did John a good turn," he said, "though he may not appreciate it. I beat him, and now he is going to have a very interesting position. And second, he is going to marry that nice girl I've been trying to get him to marry for the past two years.")

It was an ideal marriage. Both had been married before (She to Robert McAdoo of California and to Thomas Shevlin, wealthy New Yorker, he in 1944 to Army nurse Evelyn Pfaff, from whom he was divorced in 1948). They complemented each other: She had wealth and social grace; he had international stature and political prominence. Except for the brief Kennedy years, an invitation to dinner with the John Coopers has been more prized than a bid for the White House.

(A loyal and hard-working campaigner for her husband, Lorraine Cooper charmed the people of Somerset when she and John returned home—or nearly all of them. One courthouse hanger-on, seeing her walking past Somerset's Fountain Square [which she and Cooper donated to the town] under a white parasol, exclaimed, "Godamighty! She pranced down there under that white umbrella and it wasn't even raining.")

Cooper's last term in the Senate has been clouded, characteristically, by his conflicts with the White House over the ABM and the Vietnam war, both of which he has long opposed. Again, his stand on these issues, like his tireless work for the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), can be traced back to his Army service in World War II. "I became convinced it was no longer a solution to anything. Ever since the war I have abhorred violence. In any form, from any quarter. It can't be excused, in Vietnam or on campuses or in the ghettos. It's not the way."

His criticism of defense spending, his fight for arms control and his joint efforts with Democratic Sen. Frank Church to prevent the use of U.S. troops in Cambodia, Laos and Thailand have led to charges from conservative quarters that Cooper is soft on security and naive about the threat of communism, as did his earlier defense of individual rights against those of society and security. The charges both amuse and irritate him.

"I knew about the Communists at first-hand long before these people," he says. "I was legal adviser to the commanding officer of Allied Zone Three in Germany after the war, when we were trying to repatriate displaced persons brought from Russia by the

Germans as slave labor. And I found out how ruthless and cruel the Russians could be, when they demanded that their nationals be sent home, but he forced to leave behind the foreign wives they had married and their children." Cooper, though only a captain, managed to block this, save thousands of families from being separated, and was cited for his work. As U.N. delegate, he introduced the only two resolutions of censure ever levied against the U.S.S.R., and after a diplomatic mission to Moscow for President Kennedy warned the President that dealing with the Russians would require toughness. He was also a strong, early supporter of NATO, and backed foreign aid as a means of curbing the expansion of communism, though he later criticized the waste and lack of coordination in the whole foreign-aid program.

Perhaps the most gratifying development of his final term was the initiation of the SALT talks, which he has attended three times at the request of the President, and to which he plans to return this spring. "I believe this year is going to produce something really substantial in the way of an arms agreement between the U.S. and Russia," he says. He sees, on the other hand, a continuing danger in conflicts between small nations that could embroil the giant powers, and he worries about the desire in some Washington quarters for a continued U.S. presence in Southeast Asia after the war in Vietnam is wound down.

"There is no need for us to remain there, not in a military sense," he says. "In fact, we might only prolong a conflict that might otherwise be settled. I believe that, increasingly, the people of this country want to see us involved, militarily, only where our security is actually at stake."

Though he apparently decided some months ago to step down, Cooper has continued to do his "homework" as any successful politician must, attending homestate receptions, seeing hundreds of back-home visitors to the capital, speaking for party candidates and handling a steady flood of mail. For a man approaching 70, this has not been easy. His health has long been the subject of political rumor, and his seeming lassitude feeds speculation, which seems always to surface at election time, that he is not well.

Yet the fact seems to be that, except for a blood clot in his leg, Cooper is in good physical shape. He carries his 177 pounds easily and gracefully on his erect, 6-foot-1 frame, only 10 pounds heavier than his college weight. He drinks sparingly, an occasional Scotch and water, doesn't care for wines, tends to "eat what is put before him," and tries to get eight hours of sleep a night. His one vice is cigarettes, which he smokes rapidly and nervously, and every now and then a cigar after dinner. His gray hair is still fairly heavy, and though his hearing is getting bad, he does not consider it bad enough to warrant a hearing aid.

"He's still the best-looking man in Kentucky," warbled a portly matron at the Cumberland Falls rally. "I just love him."

With so much going for him, his decision not to run again came as a surprise to many people. Few men who can have a Senate seat for the asking turn it down, and John Cooper, in the opinion of seasoned political observers, has become unbeatable in Kentucky.

"It doesn't make any difference what John says," declares Allan Trout. "People believe him. He's unique in our history, more so than Alben Barkley. Barkley was a fierce partisan, Mr. Democrat. John is above party. You couldn't beat him. To tell the truth, the Democrats have never really gone after him. They never had a good issue, but that shouldn't stop them. In Kentucky, if you don't have an issue, you manufacture one and then blow it up. But they were afraid to attack John, afraid it would backfire. Attacking him would be almost poor taste."

As Clay Wade Bailey said: "John has perfected his Jesus image."

But in the end it was neither age nor the prospect of another campaign that persuaded John Cooper to retire.

"I felt," he says, "that it was a new day, a new era; this is almost a new world. The things we fought for have changed nature, direction, emphasis. Civil rights has shifted from constitutionality to practicality. TVA, flood-control dams, soil conservation—all the things once sought by conservationists—are now suspect. There are the problems of the cities, next to arms control probably the toughest we face, and I know, really, very little about urban problems. There are whole new sets of problems, and they are not as distinct and clear as they used to seem. I decided that maybe a younger man, not tied to the old problems and their solutions, could do as well or better."

His announcement poses a stickler for Kentucky Republicans, who now face the problem they faced 25 years ago, before Cooper started the trend toward Kentucky Republicans in the Senate.

"He's earned his rest," said Sen. Marlow W. Cook. "I'm glad. No one wants to see him kill himself."

"He has achieved greatness," wrote his old friend, Judge Homer Nelkirk of Somerset, "through devotion to the betterment of others. But we can't lean on him forever."

State Senate Minority Leader Harold Demarcus echoed this sentiment. "John Sherman Cooper is the only man I have known who has traveled the spectrum of social and political life and left only dignity, honor and respect wherever he walked."

Cooper is not unaware of this esteem, or unaffected by it. He is not without his vanity, about his looks, about his record.

"I have worked hard," he says. "I have done the best that I could. You always hope that, along the way, you may do something of value, and in a few instances I think I have tried. My only limitations were my own abilities, which are not the greatest. But not the worst, either."

He will not leave without some regret.

"Actually, I wish that my term could have expired two years from now. There are so many things that I'm interested in, that I would like to work on. But I've always given the job here my full energies and capabilities, physical and mental. I'm not sure I could do it for another six years. There comes a time to step down. The decision was traumatic for a while, but I've known all along that I would quit."

What are his plans now?

"Well, I'll be looking for a job. I've worked all my life; I can't just sit down now. And I'll need a job. Aside from a share of some land my father left us, a little plot I bought while working for a Washington law firm between terms, and a part interest in my brother's stone quarry, I have no money. I want a job I can go to every day. And I think I have something to offer."

"I'd like to travel some, but for a purpose, not just to travel. And I think I'd like to go back to school for a while, go to some outstanding university and hear lectures on history, literature, philosophy. I've always regretted that I didn't study harder, read more in college, and since then I haven't had the time to do the reading I'd like. Oh, I've read Kant, Spinoza—but sporadically, not systematically. I hope now to have time, read."

"But mainly, looking toward leaving, I'm grateful. And not dissatisfied. Looking back, I find that there's not much to be sad about. I've been fortunate through all my life."

Out of gratitude for the good fortune, and in salute to the country he has served, he concluded his announcement of retirement with words of Lincoln:

"Thanks to all. To the great Republic; for the principles it lives by and keeps alive; for man's vast future. Thanks to all!"

## SHIFT ON IIT STORY BY LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR REINECKE

## HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, the role of California's Lieutenant Governor in the receipt of a \$400,000 contribution to the Republican Convention by a subsidiary of International Telephone & Telegraph is a mysterious and confusing one.

At first, it appeared as if Mr. Reinecke was going to reveal the workings of the entire matter. Then, in a change of position that did more to raise further questions than answer them—Lieutenant Governor Reinecke changed his story and recanted previous admissions about his role.

All this leads one to believe that the Lieutenant Governor is not being as candid with the matter as he should be.

I would hope that his change of heart has not come from pressures exerted by his superiors in the Republican hierarchy.

A recent newspaper article in the Sacramento Bee puts this "shift" in excellent perspective.

The article follows:

## LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR REINECKE'S SHIFT ON IIT STORY

The startling turnabout in Lt. Gov. Ed Reinecke's story about presenting a corporate financing offer to bring the Republican National Convention to San Diego, has raised questions from Washington to Sacramento.

And Reinecke, the man who could resolve them, is no longer available to the press to do so. This conduct contrasts sharply with last week when Reinecke, an affable man with ambitions to run for governor in 1974, was easy to reach.

Now that it is clear that either version of his story contradicts former US Atty. Gen. John Mitchell, President Nixon's political strategist and confidant, the doors to Reinecke's office are closed.

"If you have specific questions we will answer them," said a staff aide. "He has said all he is going to say on this other than to answer specific questions."

The Bee has not yet received any reply to questions posed in writing yesterday.

Until last Friday, Reinecke and Edgar Gillenwaters, director of the Department of Commerce, had told numerous reporters, including a representative of The Bee, they reported to Mitchell last May in Washington on financial arrangements for bringing the convention to California.

Among the arrangements was a \$400,000 financing guarantee by the Sheraton Hotel Corp., a subsidiary of International Telephone & Telegraph Co.

Mitchell, whose Justice Department settled an antitrust prosecution against another IIT subsidiary in July, has maintained he knew nothing of convention financing and that the offer had nothing to do with the settlement.

In an interview with The Bee last Thursday Reinecke was asked, "I understand you and Ed (Gillenwaters) talked to Mr. Mitchell sometime in May, was that right?"

"That's right," the lieutenant governor replied.

"Was Reinecke the first to inform Mitchell of the Sheraton underwriting offer?" Reinecke was asked.

"I discussed it with the attorney general," Reinecke replied. "Whether I was the first one or not I didn't ask him."

"But we did discuss it and he was very pleased to see the progress we'd made, not just with Sheraton but with getting the city and the county to come around (with more money), because the President had indicated apparently to him—never to me—that he would like to see it come to California, and so this . . . in other words, we were doing what they wanted to see done, and so they were delighted to hear it."

And in the same interview Reinecke mentioned seeing Mitchell during Reinecke's May trip to Washington to promote the space shuttle project:

"This was strictly a political thing between Sheraton and their desire to help get the convention to San Diego. The fact that I was talking to John Mitchell was not that he was attorney general. He was, you might say, the political arm of the administration."

"And so when I went to Washington on space shuttle business I made it a point to go there to see what we could do about bringing this convention to San Diego . . ."

That was Thursday.

On Friday Reinecke called a press conference for a clarification: "On the May 16, 1971, trip to Washington, D.C., we did not meet with Atty. Gen. Mitchell as I had previously reported," Reinecke declared.

The lieutenant governor went on to add a statement which had raised a major and still unanswered question.

The statement: "My discussion with Atty. Gen. Mitchell concerning the convention was at 9:30 a.m. on Sept. 17, 1971 . . . This would have been the first time either of us (Reinecke or Gillenwaters) discussed any such offer with the attorney general."

The question arises because of the timing in Reinecke's correction. San Diego was publicly selected as convention site last July 23. By then the financing offers were firm.

Why then would Reinecke be reporting to Mitchell on convention financing in September, and why would Mitchell be "delighted" at that date to hear of Reinecke's progress?

Other questions of credibility are arising in comparing Reinecke's statements with Mitchell's. Last week, for example, the outgoing attorney general told a news conference:

"I don't know the faintest thing about the convention financing. . ."

## ORDER OF AHEPA

## HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, it gives me great pleasure today to extend my warmest congratulations to the officers and more than 46,000 members of the Order of AHEPA on the observance of the golden anniversary of the founding of this outstanding fraternal and civic organization.

Today AHEPA—American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association—holds its 20th biennial national banquet in Washington at the Sheraton Park Hotel in honor of the Members of Congress. Since coming to Congress 8 years ago, I have attended every banquet of AHEPA, never missing a single one, because this banquet stimulates me as an

ethnic and I am so proud to be a participant in a banquet given by the entire Greek community in honor of all of the Congressmen and Senators of the greatest democracy in the world that embodies all of the principles set forth by the Greek philosophers who actually gave the world democracy.

It is the Nation's Capital, however, that is honored by the presence of the members of AHEPA, for all of us recognize the great debt the world today owes to the Greece of old as well as to the sons and daughters of Greece and their descendants who, by their energy, enterprise, and integrity, have contributed so much to the culture and prosperity of America.

Some 2,500 years ago Greece was the fountainhead of Western civilization. Drama, poetry, art, architecture, and philosophy flourished—and we are all familiar with the great names of Homer, Aristotle, Aeschylus, Aristophanes, Euripides, Plato, and Socrates. Greece has indeed given much to our democracy, and in fact gave us the term democracy. We, too, have in turn given to Greece, and since the end of World War II, our power and purse were opened to that historic country in order to set it anew on the course of its real destiny.

AHEPA stands as a firm and enduring link between the achievements of Hellenic civilization and contemporary American society. The objects of AHEPA are:

First, to promote and encourage loyalty to the United States of America;

Second, to instruct its members in the tenets and fundamental principles of government, and in the recognition and respect of the inalienable rights of mankind;

Third, to instill in its members a due appreciation of the privileges of citizenship;

Fourth, to encourage its members to always be profoundly interested and actively participating in the political, civic, social, and commercial fields of human endeavor;

Fifth, to pledge its members to do their utmost to stamp out any and all political corruption; and to arouse its members to the fact that tyranny is a menace to life, property, prosperity, honor and integrity of every nation;

Sixth, to promote a better and more comprehensive understanding of the attributes and ideals of Hellenism and Hellenic culture;

Seventh, to promote good fellowship, and endow its members with the perfection of the moral sense;

Eighth, to endow its members with a spirit of altruism, common understanding and mutual benevolence and helpfulness; and

Ninth, to champion the cause of education and to maintain new channels for facilitating the dissemination of culture and learning.

These objectives are a reflection of the ideals of Greek democracy, and by its objectives, AHEPA has exemplified the practice of good citizenship of Americans of Greek descent. During the 50 years of its existence, AHEPA has contributed generously to so many worthy causes—



especially in the fields of education, charity, and civic improvement.

Our country is richer today because of the diverse contributions of people from many lands. However, until the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1965 were enacted, the quota for Greece, and indeed for many other countries, was disgracefully low. As one of the early supporters of this change in the immigration law, I am pleased to note that up to 20,000 Greeks annually can now immigrate to the United States since the law has been changed.

Mr. Speaker, I congratulate the Order of AHEPA on the proud tradition it continues through its activities and the many valuable contributions it has made to our American way of life. Perhaps its greatest achievement has been its success in identifying Greek Americans with the larger American community. I salute Greek Americans in Chicago and in our Nation, and especially the officers and members of AHEPA. May the years ahead bring continuing fulfillment and success to the members of AHEPA as they generously and public spiritedly serve their fellowmen.

#### YOUNGSTOWN ZIONIST DISTRICT HOLDS 15TH ANNUAL "KFAR SILVER SCHOLARSHIP" PROGRAM

#### HON. CHARLES J. CARNEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. CARNEY. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, March 5, 1972, I had the pleasure of attending the 15th Annual "Kfar Silver Scholarship" program at Temple Emanu-El in Youngstown, Ohio. The program, which was sponsored by the Youngstown District of the Zionist Organization of America, featured guest artist Cantor Moshe Taube, an internationally acclaimed television and recording personality. Cantor Taube, accompanied by Edith Farkas, presented an excellent concert consisting of Yiddish, liturgical and operatic selections.

The goal of the "Kfar Silver Scholarship" program is to raise funds to enable deserving youngsters to attend the Kfar Silver Agricultural High School in Israel. The Kfar Silver Agricultural High School was established in October, 1955 and dedicated to the late Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, world Zionist leader and past President of the Zionist Organization of America. From a modest beginning, the school now numbers some 400 students. With continued expansion of facilities and buildings the agricultural high school is expected to house and train 1,000 students. Kfar Silver is the only American chartered high school in the State of Israel. Today, it is a showplace in the Jewish State and the pride of the Zionist Organization of America. Kfar Silver has recently been expanded to include a Teachers Training Seminar and the Mollie Goodman Academic High School.

During the "Kfar Silver Scholarship" program, Abraham Pianin, a veteran Zionist and communal worker, was honored as the recipient of the Zionist Service Award. A member of the Zionist Organization of America for over 50 years, Mr. Pianin is President of the Golden Age Club of the Jewish Community Center and a board member of the Youngstown Zionists, Temple Emanu-El Congregation, and B'nai B'rith. He is also Chairman of the Annual Yiddish Concert sponsored by the Zionist Farband with the proceeds equally divided between the "Kfar Silver Scholarship" program and the Jewish National Fund. Last year Mr. Pianin received a 50 year membership award from the B'nai B'rith organization. He and his charming wife, who made delicious Jewish pastry for the occasion, have two daughters, Mrs. Helen Passell of Youngstown and Mrs. Bette Sasmor of Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Through the years this fundraising effort has become a tradition in our community, and this year for the first time a "Kfar Silver Scholarship" souvenir program journal was printed. The souvenir program journal was dedicated in honor of Philip A. Levy, a devoted friend of the State of Israel and a lifelong Zionist. The journal contained statements by Joseph Hill on behalf of the past presidents of the Youngstown district of ZOA, Rabbi Dr. Sidney M. Berkowitz on behalf of the life members of ZOA, Dr. Saul S. Friedman, president of the Youngstown Zionist District, and Joseph Berkowitz, chairman of the Kfar Silver Scholarship Fund campaign.

The members of the Kfar Silver Scholarship program committee are:

#### THE COMMITTEE

Joseph Berkowitz, General Chairman.  
Philip A. Levy, Marvin Scheer, Bernard Schwartz, co-chairmen.  
Arthur Waldman, Secretary.  
Marvin Levy, Treasurer.  
Mrs. Joseph Berkowitz, Journal Secretary.  
Joseph Hill, Concert Reservations and Tickets.  
Mrs. Leon Dunn, Jewel Page, Mrs. Joseph Hill, Memorials; Mrs. Rhea A. Safranek, Happy Thoughts; assisted by Joseph Barth, Sanford Barth, Mrs. Max Berkowitz, Rabbi and Mrs. Harold Brockman, Leon Dunn, Dr. Saul Friedman, Sam Ellenberg, Mrs. Meyer Levick, Saul Newman, Dr. Melvin Polk, Atty. and Mrs. Irwin Kretzer, Harry Schulman, Dr. David Shapira, Mrs. Marvin Scheer, Mr. and Mrs. Irving Ozer, Max Schwartz and Mrs. Herman Roth.

Hostesses for the evening are Mrs. Joseph Berkowitz, Mrs. Sanford Barth, Mrs. Philip Levy, Mrs. Leon Dunn, Mrs. Joseph Hill, Mrs. Marvin Scheer, Mrs. Martin Hazer, Mrs. Rhea Safranek, Mrs. Harold Brockman, Mrs. Melvin Polk, Mrs. Morris Kessler, Mrs. Bernard Schwartz, Mrs. Mike Stein, Mrs. Sol Newman, Mrs. Maurice Lipscher, Mrs. Jules Passell, Mrs. Meyer Levick, Mrs. Herman Roth, Mrs. Max Schwartz, Mrs. Sam Ellenberg, Mrs. Arthur Waldman and Mrs. Morris DeVorkin.

The Officers of the Youngstown Zionist District are:

#### OFFICERS OF THE YOUNGSTOWN ZIONIST DISTRICT

Dr. Saul Friedman, President.  
Dr. Sidney Berkowitz, Vice President.  
Attorney Eugene Green, Vice President.

Arthur Waldman, Recording Secretary.  
Joseph Hill, Corresponding Secretary.  
Aaron Udell, Treasurer.

#### DISTRESSING SITUATION FOR SENIOR CITIZENS

#### HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise to comment on a very distressing situation in my own congressional district which I imagine is being repeated all over the Nation. For some time now, Service Opportunities for Seniors has been making meals available to elderly citizens who desperately need this service. Last fall, we heard a lot of talk from the Nixon administration about how they are concerned about the elderly. A lot of promises were made—modest goals for providing a decent standard of living for the elderly were set. Yet, as in so many other things, this is apparently just talk to the Nixon administration.

In my own district, the meal program is in danger of being discontinued. The administration has failed to request further funding for the emergency food and medical services program. Funds under S. 1163, assuming that the President signs it, cannot be provided soon enough to allow the program to continue. The administration apparently feels that the food stamp program will take up the slack and be a viable replacement for these services for senior citizens. We know that the food stamp program cannot do this. For those elderly who are relatively immobile, it will be a hardship. For those elderly who are unable to buy and cook their own meals, whether for medical or social reasons, it will be a disaster.

I would like to direct the attention of my colleagues to a letter written to me by Emma Vargas, who is the director of the senior citizens programs in Hayward, Calif. Her efforts in behalf of the elderly citizens of southern Alameda County have been great. It is a tragedy that this dedicated woman may not be able to continue to serve the people of the area in the future as she has in the past. I would also like to commend to the attention of my colleagues two letters written to me by constituents familiar with the meals program. Mrs. Emily Harrington is a participant in the program and Mrs. Wallace Samuelson is the daughter-in-law of a participant. The distress of these citizens explains the problem more eloquently than any speech ever could.

The above-mentioned letters follow:

SERVICE OPPORTUNITY FOR SENIORS,  
Hayward, Calif., February 18, 1972.  
Congressman DON EDWARDS,  
Cannon Building,  
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN EDWARDS: We have been serving meals in Southern Alameda County. We serve 125 meals to the home-bound elderly in seven cities: Castro Valley,

Fremont, San Leandro, Hayward and Union City, and Livermore and Pleasanton.

We have been funded by Emergency Food and Medical Services. Now I understand that Emergency Food and Medical Services have only 3½ million dollars for Indians and Migrant Workers. I feel that many programs such as mine should be funded. I know that if we weren't serving these meals, these 125 persons would be in a rest home or institution-type place by now and this would cost the taxpayers more money. Not only that, it would take away their dignity which they so rightly deserve since they are the people who paid taxes for the past 40 years to make this country what it is today.

Please do something about getting some money to Emergency Food and Medical Services through the office of Economic Opportunity.

I am aware of the Program of Nutrition for the elderly through Mr. Kennedy's bill No. S. 1163 but \$250,000,000 will be a drop in the bucket for 50 states.

In a country as rich as ours, the richest country in the world, no one should be hungry. A country that can afford 78.3 billion dollars for National Defense should be able to allocate some money from somewhere for Emergency Food and Medical Services, who feed not only elderly but little children that will someday be fighting and dying for our country. How can you not do something about this? This is your country too.

My immediate problem is I need \$24,000 to continue my program for the months of April, May and June—until such time, hopefully, I will get funds from the new S1163 nutrition for the elderly Bill.

Please see what you can do for more money for emergency food and medical services and please insert this in the Congressional Record.

Thanks a million.

Sincerely,

EMMA VARGAS,  
Director of Senior Citizens Programs.

FEBRUARY 22, 1972.

Re Meals on Wheels.  
Congressman DON EDWARDS,  
Cannon Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN EDWARDS: I am writing for my 83 year old mother-in-law who has trouble seeing and walking. She has been advised that the Meals on Wheels provided her by the Southern Alameda County Economic Opportunity Agency, 1435 Grove Way, Hayward, Ga. 94546, Phone No. 582-1263, will be discontinued by the end of March.

Since she started the Meals on Wheels, her health is better. This well balanced meal 5 days a week provides many people with better health. Good nutrition for the elderly saves the taxpayers, like ourselves, money.

Thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

Mrs. WALLACE E. SAMUELSON.

FEBRUARY 21, 1972.

Hon. DON EDWARDS,  
Cannon Building,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN EDWARDS: I have just learned that "Meals on Wheels" program is going to be discontinued soon. I am a participant in this program and have been very grateful for the service, and think it would be shameful and disgraceful to phase out this program. It's another slap in the face for the elderly, infirm and needy, the disabled and disadvantaged. Will you kindly see what you can do in our behalf to stop this thoughtless act and go to bat for us—the poor, who can really use this service—a very good and needy one.

Sincerely,

Mrs. EMILY E. HARRINGTON.

# TO HELP SOVIET JEWISH REFUGEES IN ISRAEL

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, pending in the Committee on Foreign Affairs is H.R. 13070 which my distinguished New York colleague (Mr. BINGHAM) and I introduced on February 2, 1972, which would authorize the Secretary of State to furnish assistance for the resettlement of Soviet Jewish refugees in Israel.

This legislation would authorize funds, not to exceed \$85,000,000, for the Secretary to furnish, on terms and conditions he considers appropriate, assistance to Israel for such direly needed things as housing, clothing, food, medical care, education and training.

Mr. Speaker, many of us have been misled to believe that the needs of the persecuted Jews who manage to emigrate are being adequately met. Although substantial assistance is provided refugees by United Jewish Appeal agencies, much more is required by these emigrants who, once they apply for exit permits, are invariably fired from their jobs and without income for extended periods.

Most of the reasons which compel the Jews in Russia to seek emigration are familiar to all of us and have been eloquently recited in this chamber. However, one of the best compendiums of these has been prepared by the Niagara Frontier Council on Soviet Jewry in Buffalo, N.Y., under the direction of council Chairman Mr. Arthur Burke.

At this time, I insert the contents of the council's "Soviet Jewry Fact Sheet":

## SOVIET JEWRY FACT SHEET

Q.—How many Jews are there in the Soviet Union?

A.—In 1959 the official Soviet census recorded 2,268,000. The Soviet government press agency, *Novosti*, made a projection based on the 1970 census, which indicated a total of 3,000,000 Jews.

Q.—Where do they live?

A.—Jews can be found in all fifteen Soviet Republics, with 38% living in the Russian Republic, 37% in the Ukraine, 7% in Byelorussia. Over one million Jews live in four Soviet cities (Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, and Odessa). 95% of the Soviet Jewish population is urban.

Q.—Is there any interest in Yiddish culture among the Soviet Jews?

A.—Of all the Jews included in the last census in the USSR, 20.8% listed Yiddish as their mother tongue. Yet there are no Yiddish professional theater groups, no Yiddish schools, only one Yiddish newspaper and the publication of only six Yiddish books since 1959 (these books, mainly for export and published in response to world pressure!). The Soviet government maintains that there is no interest in Yiddish in the Soviet Union.

Q.—Are the restrictions imposed upon Jews really different from those imposed upon other nationality groups?

A.—It is strange that, at a time when the Soviet government is encouraging other nationality groups to expand their cultural activities, they are limiting Jewish cultural expansion; indeed, hindering Jewish cultural survival. For example, the Maris and the Yakuts are two small nationality groups in the USSR, numbering 504,000 and 230,000 respectively. In 1961 alone, the Maris pub-

lished 62 books and the Yakuts 144, each in their own language and each on Soviet government printing presses. There has not been a Jewish history text published since 1917 in the Soviet Union. Russian history books seldom mention Jewish history, and even fewer mention the sacrifices of the Jews in World War II. Thus, Jewish children have no way to learn of their Jewish past. In all of Russia, there is not one Hebrew school, Yiddish school, or Jewish history or culture course for children. There is not one class given, even in the Russian language, which covers Jewish topics. In addition, Soviet Jews are not permitted to have contact with Jewish institutions abroad.

Q.—The Soviet Government pressures all religious groups. Aren't Jews experiencing the same religious pressures, but merely over-reacting?

A.—Let's look at the record.

There has been no Hebrew bible published since 1917 (nor has there been a Russian language translation). The study of Hebrew has been outlawed. Not one Jewish religious book has been printed since the early 1920's. In contrast, the Russian Orthodox Church in 1959 printed 50,000 Russian Orthodox bibles. In 1958, 10,000 Russian language Protestant bibles were printed by the Baptists. In the same year, 9,000 Moslem Korans were published in Arabic and reprinted again in 1962. The Baptists published 25,000 hymnals in 1956. The Lutheran Church of Latvia produced 1,500 psalmsters. Religious calendars are freely available to other religious groups, but not to the Jews. Other religious groups have been permitted to produce religious articles, such as church vessels, vestments, beads, crucifixes, and icons. But no taleism (prayer shawls) or tefillin (phylacteries) have been produced for Russian Jews since 1917.

For 40,000,000 Russian Orthodox believers, there are 20,000 churches and 35,000 priests, apart from the 69 monasteries and convents. This comes to one church for each 2,000 believers and one priest for each 1,100 believers. For 3,000,000 Baptists, there are 6,000 parishes and pastors, which comes to one church and minister for each 500 believers. There are 58 synagogues and less than 24 rabbis left in all of Russia for one million believers. That comes to one synagogue for each 16,000 believers and one rabbi for each 40,000 believers.

The Russian Orthodox have five seminaries and two academies. The Moslems have madrasa where their mullahs are trained. Also some students have been permitted to advance their studies in Cairo. Baptists have attended seminaries in England and Canada. There is no seminary for Jews in Russia, nor has the Jewish community been allowed to send students abroad for rabbinical study. Thus there are no replacements for the rabbis of Russia, most of whom are in their seventies.

The Jewish congregations that remain are not permitted to maintain nationwide federations, as for example, the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians (Baptists), The National Ecclesiastical Assembly of the Armenian Church, the Lutheran Churches of Latvia and Estonia, or the Moslem Board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan.

Q.—What is the USSR policy on anti-Semitism?

A.—Soviet ideology condemns anti-Semitism and there are laws against incitement of hatred of religious and national and social groups. There have been a few public pronouncements from Lenin in 1917, to Premier Kosygin in July 1965, assailing anti-Semitism. In 1969, *Pravda* and *Izvestia* responded to criticism by denying the existence of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union.

But there have also been frightening manifestations of anti-Semitism in Soviet practices, even in post-Stalin years, such as the so-called economic trials in the early 60's.



In the guise of anti-religious propaganda, the attacks on Judaism have been virulent, anti-Semitic and racist. While Soviet officials criticized the notorious Judaism without embellishment by Trofim Kichko, after world-wide public protests, other equally vicious material has continued to be printed by government and Party publishing houses, newspapers and broadcast on State radio.

Since the June 1967 Six Day War in the Middle East, Kichko, in Judaism and Zionism (1968), Yuri Ivanov in Beware Zionism (1969), and other Soviet propagandists have intensified their anti-Jewish output, attempting to debase Jews and Judaism and suggest a world-wide Jewish conspiracy against socialism, using medieval stereotypes.

This campaign reached a peak in March of 1970, when mass meetings were organized, and prominent Jews, under pressure, publicly denounced Judaism, Zionism and a natural affinity to Israel. In defiance of official displeasure, however, other Soviet Jews countered with petitions to the Soviet government.

Q.—What is the overall Pact of these practices of Soviet Jewry?

A.—Despite localized Jewish manifestations, Jewry in Russia is an atomized and isolated community, much of which lives in a state of insecurity. It is a community which, if Soviet policy persists indefinitely, would be doomed to cultural and spiritual extinction.

Q.—What has been the effect of these practices on Jewish consciousness?

A.—Despite hostile pressures, there are increasing expressions of vigorous and courageous Jewish identification. Examples:

—In 1969 Soviet Jews began to assert their Jewish self-expression within the Soviet Union by a series of petitions to the United Nations and to leading Soviet authorities. For example, in November 1969, a dramatic petition to the United Nations was made public from 18 Jewish families in Soviet Georgia, where there is still an atmosphere of Jewish belief and piety, as well as a strong affinity to Israel. These Jews demanded freedom to go to Israel where they would be fulfilled as Jews. Jewish consciousness is evident also in the Caucasus and Central Asia. Early in 1970 additional petitions were divulged at the UN from many other Soviet Jews in places as widespread as Moscow, Riga, Kiev, Leningrad and Kharkov.

A remarkable phenomenon in recent years has been that of tens of thousands of young Soviet Jews, who know little Yiddish or Hebrew, gathering to sing and dance outside synagogues in various cities on Simcha Torah. This practice has begun to spread to other festivals.

In those Western areas under Soviet control since World War II, the determination of those with strong Jewish backgrounds to remain Jewish is clearly evident. Hebrew is being taught on a one-to-one basis; informal study groups are being conducted.

Individual Jews, such as Boris Kochubiyevsky, have publicly protested, usually on pain of imprisonment. Jews have increasingly sought to leave for Israel or to rejoin broken or scattered families, there or elsewhere. It was estimated in November 1969 that tens of thousands had willingly registered to emigrate, despite the ensuing counter-pressure at schools, factories and in local communities.

Nearly 500,000 Soviet Jews officially regard Yiddish as their mother tongue. Thousands of others consider it a second language, not listed on census tracts. The Soviet authorities speak of the lack of interest in Yiddish, but despite this, thousands of Soviet Jews have jammed the halls for the token Yiddish concerts occasionally permitted.

Q.—Can anything be done to change Soviet policy?

A. The voices of concern have been growing. Thousands of champions of human

rights throughout the world have protested, despite Soviet denials. Major Communist and Socialist parties, including those in France, Holland, Austria, Britain, the United States, and Australia, have publicly reflected their concern, as has the Council of Europe, the United States Government and the Socialist International. The American Jewish community, and others, have demonstrated their determination to continue to expose a pattern of discrimination against Soviet Jewry until Soviet policy is reversed. Recently groups interested in advancing the cause of human rights for Soviet Jews have been formed in several European and Latin American countries.

Q.—Have protests and interventions been helpful?

A.—There is evidence to indicate that Soviet officials are increasingly concerned about the unfavorable impressions circulating abroad. Only after public protests became widespread did the Soviet Government launch a counter public relations campaign and make new promises and minor concessions. Articles on Soviet Jewry by *Novosti* Press Agency and in publications such as *Soviet Life*, aimed almost exclusively for foreign consumption, appear frequently. Other evidences:

Official condemnation in 1964 of Kichko's book;

A lifting of the ban matzot;  
A few Jewish books in Yiddish or Russian;  
A slight easing of emigration restrictions;  
A virtual end to the economic crime trials;  
The printing of 10,000 prayer books;

Publication of the previously mentioned Yiddish literary journal, *Sovietish Heimland*.

While this tokenism is welcomed, it still fails to provide the basic cultural and religious instrumentalities essential for Jewish survival. However, it does give hope that ultimately the Soviet government will act on the demands of an enlightened and outraged public opinion.

TIMOTHY BURKE TREADWELL

HON. JOHN S. MONAGAN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. MONAGAN. Mr. Speaker, Sunday morning, February 20, a great tragedy struck the family of First Selectman Timothy Burke Treadwell of Newtown, Conn., and the town of Newtown itself. Tim Treadwell died in a fire which destroyed the home where he resided with his wife and three young sons. Tim Treadwell was a young man of great promise and potential in public life and politics. He had served his town of Newtown with great vigor and enthusiasm, and as it was stated in an editorial of the *Newtown Bee*:

The outpouring of fellow officials, townspeople and personal friends at the funeral service in Trinity Episcopal Church . . . gave evidence of the place of affection, esteem and admiration in which Tim was held, not only in Newtown but in the neighboring towns which he also served through the Regional Council of Elected Officials, the Fairfield County First Selectman's Association, and the Connecticut Council of Mayors.

Mr. Speaker, I enclose editorials of eulogy which appeared in the *Danbury, Conn., News-Times* and the *Newtown, Conn., Bee*.

The eulogies follow:

EDITORIAL, INK DROPS

TIM TREADWELL

The untimely death of Tim Treadwell deprives a family of its father and a town of its elected leader. In both cases the loss is tragic.

The outpouring of fellow officials, townspeople and personal friends at the funeral service in Trinity Episcopal Church on Wednesday afternoon gave evidence of the place of affection, esteem and admiration in which Tim was held, not only in Newtown but in the neighboring towns which he also served through the Regional Council of Elected Officials, the Fairfield County First Selectmen's Association, and the Connecticut Council of Mayors.

Those who knew Tim well and watched him in the performance of his duties in office have long been impressed with his energy and stamina. Prompted by his love for Newtown and his desire that its future be protected and insured, he made it a part of his administration to watch over the proceedings of all boards and meetings which might influence that future.

If Tim had a fault, it was his personal attention to matters which might safely have been delegated to others. And yet, within our memory, no First Selectman has worked as hard serving the town as did Tim from the day of his first appointment in April, 1968, to the day of his death last Sunday. Regardless of long hours or road blocks intentionally thrown in his way, we are sure he considered his job as a labor of love for this town.

Others will remember Tim for his enthusiasm of youth, his devotion to duty, his unbounded energy, his tendency to always look ahead, tackling projects which he believed would work for the future benefit of the town. He was thoughtful and kind by nature, and an obvious gentleman by training and habit.

Beyond all that, we will never forget the help he extended to us when this newspaper changed from letterpress to the offset method of printing in 1967. We thought our staff was prepared for the change, but unexpected problems were soon encountered.

Tim was then with the Varityper Division of Addressograph Multigraph Corporation and knew the offset process much better than we did. Seeing our troubles, he rolled up his sleeves without being asked and worked long hours with us until the problems were solved. It was the sort of service beyond the call of duty which seemed to afford as much satisfaction to him as it did relief to us.

Coupled with his sense of the need for future town and district planning, Tim has always shown much interest in young people. It seems most appropriate, therefore, that a Timothy Treadwell Memorial Fund is being established for a future Youth Center in Newtown.

It is high tribute to Tim that his place in town will not be easily filled. His years in office deserve a capable successor. May we suggest, in townwide appreciation of Tim, that partisan politics be played in low key in the search for that man.

FIRE TRAGEDY IN NEWTOWN

The sympathy of many people throughout this area goes to Mrs. Timothy Treadwell and her three young sons in the tragic death of First Selectman Treadwell of Newtown in the Sunday fire which destroyed their home.

It is tragedy enough that a young father has been taken from his family, but the sense of tragedy is compounded by the loss to the town of Newtown of its chief executive and to the area as a whole of one of its most vigorous municipal leaders.

Mr. Treadwell represented a new generation of first selectmen who recognize that the problems and challenges of today are not limited to the town which elects them.

Accordingly, he was active in the Regional Council of Elected Officials, serving as its treasurer, president of the Fairfield County First Selectmen's Association and a member of the Connecticut Conference of Mayors.

He was also not content with merely meeting the problems of the present or catching up with those of the past. He sought to anticipate problems of the future by good planning and effective early action so that his town and the area as a whole would be better places in which to work and live.

Fire tragedies occur so often in winter months, yet they usually seem remote to most people. Mr. Treadwell's untimely passing is a reminder of how swiftly and savagely fire can strike, and not only when unexpected but where unexpected.

His death leaves a void which will be most difficult to fill.

#### MATZOH OF HOPE

### HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, Eli Wiesel, in "The Jews of Silence," June 1966, said: I went to Russia, drawn by the silence of its Jews. I brought back their cry.

The strength and magnitude of the silent scream of the Soviet Jew has penetrated through closed eyes and thick walls, through the uncomfortable memories and feelings one would prefer to keep hidden and through the passive and inactive sympathetic leanings so often voiced by those who think they care and they understand but feel also it is better not to become too involved and that it is better to maintain their cool and rationally interested distance.

This time, however, men did not ask themselves what can I do to rescue the sinking ship which bears the entire remains of the Soviet Jewish community? What can I, myself, do to stop this oppression? This time individuals did not ask themselves how to become involved, how to effectively act. This time, each man, in his own way, knew.

March 29 begins the holiday of Passover for the Jewish people. During the oppressive bondage of the Hebrew people under Egyptian domination, God inflicted a series of plagues on the Egyptian populace, according to the Passover Hagadah. In the final and most severe of these afflictions, the Angel of Death entered the homes of all families, striking down each and every firstborn, "passing over" only the households of the children of Israel. Passover has come to symbolize the belief in and the struggle for freedom, for survival. For, in sparing the lives of the Hebrew sons, the entire people was granted the continuity of life. In the generations which followed, each combating anew its own oppressor, be it an Egyptian Pharaoh, a Hitler, or a Russian program, the Jewish people have remained a dynamic, growing, and vital nation.

"Matzoh of Hope" is a project formulated by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, New Jersey region. Residents of all religions are being urged to

mail a 1-pound box of matzoh, the unleavened bread which was not given time to rise before baking in the haste of the exodus of the Hebrew people from Egypt land, to Soviet Ambassador Anatoly F. Dobrynin in Washington, D.C. Labels issued by the ADL to be placed on all boxes read:

This matzoh, the symbol of freedom for 3,200 years, now symbolizes hope for the three million Jews of the Soviet Union and reminds you that freedom-loving Americans stand by them in their struggle.

According to Robert C. Kohler, ADL regional director:

We've accepted this Jewish symbol of freedom to give an indication of our solidarity with the plight of Soviet Jews—the ones who are in jail as well as those who are prisoners and captives in that they are not permitted to emigrate to Israel or to any other country of their choosing.

Mr. Kohler has stated that if the Soviet Union is willing to accept the matzoh but does not have the means to deliver it to Soviet Jews before their seders on the 29th, he feels certain he will be able to arrange for this delivery by jet aircraft marked, "Free the Prisoners—Let My People Go." If the Soviet Union refuses to accept the matzoh, he has arranged for New Jersey truckers to deliver the matzoh to orphanages, old age homes, and hospitals in the Washington-Baltimore area.

It is important to note that the State Catholic Conference and the New Jersey Council of Churches, the latter holding a membership of 3,000 congregations, have actively given their support for the just cause of Jewish freedom in Russia. Msgr. Aloysius J. Welsh, director of the New Jersey Catholic Conference, has sent leaflets to four Roman Catholic dioceses in the State, suggesting that their newspapers explain the "Matzoh of Hope" program and its aims. In addition, the Israel Youth Squad has been formed; 40 leaders of various youth groups throughout the State visit shopping centers, local markets, and additional public locations prepared to explain, clarify and answer all questions concerning Soviet oppression of its Jewish citizens. It is this co-operation, this active interest and this great participation of all individuals from so many different ages, life styles and backgrounds which, I feel certain, will bring this project to its successful completion.

As chairman of the House Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality, and having had the recent privilege of being elected chairman of ICEM, the Intergovernmental Committee on European Migration, and also having advocated use of the parole authority by our Attorney General specifically for the Jewish people of the Soviet Union who wish entry into the United States, I have deep concern for the situation of Soviet Jewry today. While 1971 can properly be called a "Year of Progress" in this area, 1972 appears destined to be a "Year of Challenge." For as men have taken their stand and joined the silent scream of the Soviet Jew, the chorus of our expressions and the strength of our actions have not only penetrated those walls which previously could not be disturbed, but have actually disrupted their very foundations.

GOVERNMENT STUDY, "THE ECONOMIC IMPACT OF POLLUTION CONTROL," INDICATES THAT STRICT WATER POLLUTION CONTROLS ARE ECONOMICALLY FEASIBLE

### HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mrs. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, those of us in Congress, and particularly those of us who are members of the Public Works Committee, have been the subjects of a barrage of claims from industry and its lobbyists about the impossibility of doing a first-class job on water pollution control without bankrupting everyone in sight.

A Government-sponsored study, "The Economic Impact of Pollution Control," has just been released. It indicates that although the costs of pollution control and abatement will be substantial, they will by no means be catastrophic.

H.R. 11896, the Water Pollution Control Act Amendments of 1972, will shortly be before the House for consideration. It is in a number of critical respects weaker than S. 2770, the bill which passed the other body last fall by a vote of 86 to 0, and it is my hope that some of these weaknesses will be ironed out before the bills go to conference.

For the information of my colleagues, I append to my remarks the text of the New York Times' story on the new pollution study:

CURBS ON POLLUTION COSTLY BUT FEASIBLE, INDUSTRY IS ADVISED  
(By E. W. Kenworthy)

WASHINGTON, March 12.—A Government study released today concluded that Federal standards for abating air and water pollution could be met without "severe" adverse effects, either on industry or the national economy.

The study declared that the cost of abating pollution would not threaten "the long-run viability" of any industry.

Furthermore, it concluded, the national economy would not be severely damaged by the imposition of antipollution standards, although the effect would not be insignificant.

Because of the mounting controversy between environmentalists and industry spokesmen over the cost-benefit ratio of Federal antipollution laws and regulations, the conclusions of this computerized study made for the Federal Government by private contractors were regarded here as having considerable importance.

Many industry organizations, with support from Maurice H. Stans, former Secretary of Commerce, have contended that environmentalists in Congress, the members of the White House Council on Environmental Quality and officials in the Environmental Protection Agency, in their zeal for abating pollution, have given insufficient attention to the impact on costs, prices and employment.

For example, before his departure from the Commerce Department to handle the finances of President Nixon's re-election campaign, Mr. Stans several times delivered a speech entitled, "Wait a Minute," in which he said:

"We must weigh environmental goals against the economic reality and say, 'Wait



a minute. How do the benefits of one affect the cost of the other?"

The study released today—entitled "The Economic Impact of Pollution Control"—acknowledged that costs of the magnitude needed to meet Federal standards would result in price increases, some of which would have to be absorbed by industries under competitive pressures, with a consequent decline in profits.

The study also recognized that there would be some plant closings and unemployment, particularly where the plants were small, old and inefficient.

#### GNP DROP PREDICTED

The study estimated that for the next several years pollution control would probably result in a relatively small decline in the gross national product—the money value of the nation's output of goods and services for one year—that could have been anticipated without investment in abatement machinery.

The study said, finally, that the cost and price increases from pollution control could be expected to swell imports, lower United States exports and thus adversely affect the United States balance of payments, possibly by as much as \$700-million annually between 1972 and 1976.

The study was careful to emphasize that it dealt only with estimated control and "dislocation" costs for meeting Federal standards on air and water. It does not deal with the costs of treating solid waste or noise, for example.

Further, even on air and water pollution, the study is limited to manufacturing industry.

The study is in two parts. The first, called "micro studies," estimates the abatement and economic dislocation costs for 14 industries from 1972-76. This termination date was selected because air and water standards will be operative by 1976.

The second, called the "macro study," estimates the effect on the entire economy of meeting the standards by 25 industries from 1972-76 and 1972-80.

One official of the Council on Environmental Quality said, "We chose those industries that create most of the pollution, that would have to bear the largest cost and that have been screaming the loudest."

In constant 1971 dollars, the macro study estimated that the total 1972-76 air pollution control costs would be \$18.2-billion. The cost for water pollution control would be \$14.4-billion. Adjusted for annual depreciation, the total cost would be \$31.6-billion.

The constant dollar is used by economists to eliminate increases due solely to inflation.

The pollution control costs, the macro study stated, will increase industry and consumer prices. They will also create demands for investment in pollution control facilities. However, the report says, the effect of rising prices, which tend to slow the growth of demand in the economy, would outweigh the stimulating impact of investments in pollution control facilities.

Consequently, the Macro study predicted an average annual retardation of growth in the gross national product amounting to \$6-billion a year between 1972 and 1980.

But officials pointed out, with an average annual GNP, over the same time span of \$957-billion, this retardation was an extremely small price to pay for compensating benefits in cleaner air and water.

However, the macro report cautioned regarding these cost estimates. The costs, it said, could be substantially lowered by development of less expensive abatement methods, by reduced prices for equipment and by laws permitting tax-exempt financing of investment in control machinery.

Nevertheless, on the basis of the "model" used, the micro studies found the following potential adverse impacts on the 14 industries:

Depending on the economic situation of the industry, prices "are likely to rise from 0 per cent to 10 percent over the period 1972-1976," with an average annual increase of 1 per cent to 20 per cent for eight of the 14 industries and less than 1 per cent for the other six.

For concerns unable to pass on the full cost of pollution control—chiefly small and old plants—there will be a corresponding decline in profits.

Between 1972 and 1976 approximately 800 of the 12,000 plants in the 14 industries studied would close for reasons not associated with pollution abatement costs, and 200 to 300 more would close because of these costs. However, a majority of the latter, it was estimated would likely have closed before 1980 because they were "vulnerable for other reasons."

From 1972-76, job losses because of plant closings might total 50,000 to 125,000. This would be 1 per cent to 4 per cent of the total employment in the 14 industries covered.

The 14 industries covered were: automobiles (costs of emission control devices only), baking, cement, electric power, canning and freezing of fruits and vegetables, iron foundries, leather tanning, aluminum, copper, lead and zinc smelting and refining, petroleum refineries, pulp and paper mills and steel making.

The authors of the study emphasized that it presented no real cost-benefit analysis of pollution control, because while it dealt with abatement costs, it did not deal with the economic costs of pollution. For example, the Environmental Protection Agency estimates health and material damage from air pollutants is \$16-billion a year.

The study, which cost \$350,000, was prepared for the Council on Environmental Quality, the Environmental Protection Agency and the Department of Commerce. The White House Council of Economic Advisers also assisted.

#### WORLD-CHANGING WEEK

### HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, thousands of editorials have been written about President Nixon's historic and precedent-breaking trip to China.

But of the many dozens which I have read in publications large and small in terms of circulation, few have captured the significance of the President's meeting with Chinese leaders with more insight and succinctness than that which appeared in the March 2 edition of the Suburban Press, an excellent weekly newspaper published in the village of Orchard Park, N.Y., in my congressional district.

Under the able direction of Mr. John W. Coleman, editor and publisher, the Suburban Press consistently provides residents of Orchard Park, the town of Boston, and other portions of Erie County, fair and thorough accounts of events affecting their daily lives. While such coverage is, for the most part, of more immediate local concern, the Suburban Press does not hesitate to speak out on the larger issues which affect not only its readers, but all of us.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I insert for the benefit of my colleagues, the editorial entitled "World-Changing Week":

#### WORLD-CHANGING WEEK

By traveling to China with newspapermen and TV crews, President Richard Nixon has achieved the most remarkable of many victories in his administration. He has truly opened up China to the eyes of the world and what has been observed is not the monstrous dragon everyone during the last 25 years had supposed.

Little girls skip rope in China as elsewhere. Their elders exhibit the same beguiling curiosity seen in other parts of the world. The reciprocal gifts of redwood saplings and panda bears elicit the same sentimental feelings in both countries.

Even Premier Chou En-lai showed completely human traits, as when he became disappointed that President Nixon called a halt to drinking toasts though he, Mr. Chou, was ready to belt down a few more. Would Winston Churchill or Nikita Khrushchev have stopped in similar circumstances?

The realization that we are all people, though people with differences, is what President Nixon set out to prove and succeeded in proving. Even Premier Chou cannot be unhappy to have had American media show to the remainder of the world how healthy, how industrious, and how dedicated his countrymen are.

And thus the two leaders agreed "we can talk about our differences without fighting about them," whereas in the last generation we came close to fighting the Chinese in North Korea and the two countries have been imputing diabolic motives to each other ever since.

It seems foolish for those with previous, automatic, non-Oriental grievances against President Nixon to start picking flaws in the part of the communique dealing with Taiwan. The 8000 soldiers on Taiwan are support troops, not combat, and were going to be drawn down with the progress of the Vietnamization program, anyway.

Furthermore, the President has reiterated this country's pledge to defend Taiwan against aggression. It remains to be seen if Taiwan and mainland China can affect a reconciliation and unification, when, say, the regime of Chiang Kai-shek comes to an end.

President Nixon has shown marvelous foresight and insight into the China problem. On his trip, he conducted himself magnificently, imperturbably, and with not a little stamina as he climbed walls and then tried to knock them out in what must have been gruelling talks with a resolute man talking on his own home grounds.

The President has dropped the yeast of goodwill into an inert mixture which soon will work into a stimulating draft.

#### HORTON SALUTES KODAK GIFT TO NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

### HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, last week, I had the privilege of attending a ceremony at the Eastman Kodak Co.'s marketing center in Washington during which Kodak presented six films to Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton and the Director of the National Park Service, George B. Hartzog, in recognition of the 100th anniversary of the Park Service.

The Kodak productions, filmed in six of the most beautiful national parks by Kodak's Frank Pallo, are truly representative of the natural beauty of our national parks which has been so success-

fully preserved by the Park Service. Kodak should be commended for its outstanding artistic achievement in capturing the mysterious lure of nature unchanged by civilization. I would also call my colleague's attention to the fine work of Mr. Pallo, who captured the untamed magnificence of the parks on color film. The films are a fitting tribute to the superb job which the Park Service has done in preserving our parks for the enjoyment of future generations.

Van Phillips, Kodak vice president, made the presentation. Calling the films a "gift to the people of the United States," Mr. Phillips said:

It is our hope that the films will enable their viewers to better understand the beauty and magnificence of these parks and the special wonder inherent in their creation. Perhaps some will be stimulated to take a more aware look at the environment of the immediate world around them.

In his remarks, Mr. Phillips quoted President Nixon as saying:

The national parks have enriched the citizens of this land beyond measure, and have inspired more than 100 nations to set aside over 1,200 national parks and preserves . . . and this past year, through the Legacy of the Parks, we have embarked on a new era of bringing parks to the people.

Rochester Mayor Stephen May, Monroe County Republican Chairman Bill Dwyer and his administrative assistants, Bill Roberts, and Marty Birmingham, Rochester banking official were also at the ceremony. Jim Hawkins, Robert Schulz, Gene Richner and Don Lewis of Eastman Kodak attended the presentation and should be congratulated for their efforts toward the production of these films.

Created, produced, and filmed by Kodak as a public service, the films were produced in Yellowstone National Park, Wyo.; Acadia National Park, Maine; Everglades National Park, Fla.; Grand Teton National Park, Wyo.; Arches National Park, Utah; and Olympic National Park, Wash.

The films are being circulated to the five regional educational television networks for local programming as a salute to the National Parks Centennial. In addition, each park will receive copies of the films for use in information and tourist centers. The films will also be shown this summer at the Kodak Gallery, 1133 Avenue of the Americas in New York City.

A capsule description, giving the flavor of each film follows my remarks. I hope that all Americans will have the opportunity to see these films and that many will be able to experience firsthand the wonders of our country's national parks. The description follows:

#### ACADIA AND THE ATLANTIC

A quick tour would start with Acadia.

The importance of everything related to the sea comes through—the ocean itself, the marshes, the ponds, the lakes, the waterfowl, and the flowers.

Richard Black is a lobsterman. "From their 21st to 56th day, little lobsters swim near the surface. Oil slicks can kill them. Why do we have to spread pollution everywhere?"

John M. Good is the park superintendent. "This park is closest to the metropolitan northeast where things are toughest. A visit here can open the shutters of your mind and help people who don't relate very well to the natural world we depend on. If it (the park

and natural world) goes under, we go under with it."

#### THE EVERGLADES

Everglades is at the other end of the eastern seaboard.

Its delicate balance is being threatened and its lifeblood, water, is shown, followed and discussed.

Erwin Winte is the district ranger. "Some birds are in danger. Life and death in the everglades survive the droughts and dry winters, but even the mighty alligator is in trouble."

Pat Miller is the district manager. "The Everglades is an endangered park."

#### OLYMPIC ON THE PACIFIC

At the other end of the country, almost as far away as possible in the continental United States, is Olympic, on the northwest, rocky, rain forest coast of Washington.

The variable moods of this park shine through the photography and frequent rain—a nearly isolated stretch of ocean beach and snow covered mountain peaks, broad alpine meadows and lush overgrown streams in the rain forest, majestic cedars and firs contrasted with rocks and water shrouded in ghostly fog.

Minnie Peterson is 73 and a horse trail packer. "You're sitting on top of the world in this park. My pleasure is taking people in where they can get a picture of the game, be close to 'em, and capture a memory to take home."

Roger Allin is the Park's superintendent. "The real essence here is that visitors have a chance to be in a natural museum with a cathedral quality in which they can commune with God."

#### ARCHES NATIONAL PARK

The newest National Park is Arches in southern Utah.

The role of wind, sand and water in creating the park panorama of freestanding stone arches and formations and gullies that look as if they were created by a giant comb raking the land are shown and discussed.

William M. Taylor is the supervisory park ranger. "The desert for us is a window to our total world. Those that depend totally on the desert for survival take care of it. Others are a little careless. Perhaps those who come here will look a little more closely and a little more critically at the things regularly around them."

#### TWO IN WYOMING

Grand Teton has the most majestic mountains and the film is dominated by them, although there is much on the incredible beauty and contrast of the Snake River, including float trips, and valley floor near Jackson Hole, Wyoming.

Howard Chapman is park superintendent. "It's one thing to be standing out here looking at those mountains and another to be up there looking for the next hand hold or foot hold. There is an inner feeling, impossible to describe, that you've gotten there by your own power."

Boyd Evlson is assistant superintendent. "The whole effect of the place is not just an assemblage of resources. There is an infinite array of possibilities for human experience. I'd like to see a closer relationship between the typical visitor and the park itself. Many of the same principles and emotional impact found here can be found closer to home."

#### YELLOWSTONE

Yellowstone is the granddaddy of all National Parks, celebrating its 100th anniversary year beginning March 1. It is presented, in rock formation and geyser activity, in plant and wild life, as one of the wonders

of the world of nature and a place of unique geology.

William W. Dunmire is Yellowstone's chief naturalist. "In a way, the ecosystem of this thermal basin is very fragile, stable but fragile. If this ecosystem changes, it could be a threat to our own lives."

And perhaps speaking for all the narrators, all the dramatic footage in this "Legacy", Dunmire says, "This park is the sounds and smells of a walk on a trail. It is an awakening to clean air, water and wild land. The bison preserved here are a symbol of what parks stand for."

"To set aside this land in perpetuity was an audacious idea. Yet it is an idea America gave to the world."

It is a "Legacy" and the films are one way to learn a little more about "these gifts from nature and the past that belongs to all of us."

#### NEW BAILOUT FOR LITTON?

#### HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, the General Accounting Office recently completed one of its excellent staff studies on the amphibious assault ship—LHA—program. That report reveals that problems at Litton Industries' new shipyard in Pascagoula, Miss., have not ended.

In its report, the GAO reveals that the Navy, according to the latest Selected Acquisition Report, expects the LHA program to cost \$960 million. Thus far, the Congress has appropriated \$941 million for five ships. The original LHA program called for nine vessels, but, in January 1971, the Navy decided to cut the program back to five. The cancellation fee which the Congress appropriated for the four ships was \$109.7 million. Thus, the Government was asked to pay \$109.7 million to Litton Industries for not building four ships.

The Congress should not cough up another dime to pay for Litton's inefficiency, but it will now be asked to come up with as much as \$123 million as a new bailout to Litton Industries' shipbuilding programs.

When the \$19 million of additional appropriations the Navy estimates is added to complete the LHA program is added to the \$104 million that Litton has told the Navy it expects to collect in escalation charges the total cost of the five ships will be an additional \$123 million.

The Congress was told last year that \$109.7 million to Litton Industries for not building four ships was a final payment. Instead, Litton expects Congress to come up with another \$123 million to finance cost overruns that are clearly Litton's fault.

The LHA program is 12 to 14 months behind schedule and has suffered a tremendous cost overrun which the GAO report describes. There are also unconfirmed reports that problems on the LHA program have caused a slowdown in the 30 destroyer program planned at Litton.

Litton's performance thus far would be a comedy if it were not so expensive. Litton simply does not have the person-



nel or the managerial skills to do a decent job. The turnover rate and labor force has been extremely high and many of Litton's senior managers are novices in the shipbuilding industry.

The information provided by Litton to the Navy concerning the real delivery schedule for the LHA program has been so incomplete that the Navy has been forced to conduct a special audit just to find out how late the ships will be.

Later this month Litton will begin negotiations with the Navy over a series of questions including late delivery fees, escalation charges, and claims on both sides.

It is my hope, Mr. Speaker, that the Navy will finally get tough with a giant contractor. Neither the Navy nor the Congress should give Litton another penny until they prove that the cost overruns in the LHA program have clearly been the Government's fault.

Let's stop financing inefficiency and force Litton to finally pay for its own bad management.

#### REPEAL MEAT QUOTA LAW

#### HON. CHARLES A. VANIK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, March 9, the administration announced that the level of meat imports for 1972 would be restricted at 1.24 billion pounds—about 3 percent of the total annual meat consumption of the American people. This quota level is totally inadequate to meet the demands of the American public for meat at a stable price.

On Friday, March 10, the administration announced that, despite phase II, wholesale prices increased by 0.7 percent in February—which means that retail prices will soon increase by a similar amount. Farm prices and processed foods rose 1.8 percent in February, and the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors reported that—

Half of the total increase in the index was accounted for by livestock, poultry, meats and fish.

The situation will get worse before it gets better. An examination of month-to-month food price changes in previous years shows that food prices—particularly meats—will continue to rise through the spring and early summer.

It is obvious that something must be done immediately to control these rising food prices. I have already asked the Cost of Living Council and the Secretary of Agriculture to extend price controls over foods.

Because of the news of last Thursday and Friday, the news of an inadequate meat import level and the continuation of rising food prices, I am today introducing legislation to repeal the meat import quota law.

I opposed this anticonsumer legislation when it passed the Congress in 1964.

It has simply provided protection to a few large cattle ranchers at a terrible cost to the American consumer—particularly the low-income consumer who must rely on the cheaper meats which foreign producers specialize in.

I hope that my colleagues in the House will support this effort to provide immediate repeal of the meat quota law.

#### ONE-SIDED LAWS CREATE SLUMS

#### HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, the degrading philosophy which too many people today advocate with regard to many of our urban ills is that crime, poor housing conditions, schools which fail to educate students, and a host of other problems are almost always caused by either teachers, landlords, or society at large. The implication is that the men and women involved are not fully "human," not able to accept any responsibility for their own actions and their own lives.

Thus, the young murderer or thief is reacting to an environment which did not prepare him for a more meaningful life. The tenant who wrecks his home, is protesting against mistreatment by the landlord, and the student who does not learn is the result of schools which receive less money than they should. It is never suggested that criminals, slum dwellers, and slow learners may bear at least a portion of the responsibility for their own plight.

While there is not the slightest doubt that there are many landlords who mistreat their tenants, who refuse necessary repairs, and who keep their properties in a run-down condition, the fact is that many tenants mistreat property which is not their own and create the poor conditions in which they live.

This point was recently made by the Reverend Henry Mitchell, a black leader in Chicago. In an article written in the Star News, he criticizes what he calls the "one-sided laws" which create slums.

The Reverend Mitchell writes:

Slums aren't rained down from Heaven. Slums are created by one-sided laws that bring the slum landlords into court, but not the slum tenants. Such one-sided laws have turned many landlords into rent collectors. One thing the do-gooders do not want to understand is that the landlord does not knock holes in the walls, tear out plumbing, break out windows or use his hallway for a toilet.

The Reverend Mitchell declares that—

It is high time for Americans to wake up regardless of their color, race or religion. Rich or poor we are all being duped by these do-gooders.

I wish to share this article with my colleagues, and insert it in the RECORD at this time:

#### ONE-SIDED LAWS CREATE SLUMS

(By Rev. Henry Mitchell)

I realize that we have some slum landlords and tenants. City Councils only bring the

landlords into court. Yes, we have absentee landlords and slum landlords. The do-gooders are constantly crying to end slums. If that do-gooder wants to end slums, why don't they pass laws to bring that slum tenant into court, just as they have done to bring the slum and absentee landlord into court?

Doesn't that make sense?

I can't call a man a landlord that doesn't keep his property in livable condition. He is only a rent collector. Yes, we have rent collectors and the only thing they want to hear from the tenant is, "I have my rent".

We have many landlords and tenants who do everything in their power to keep up their homes and premises.

Have there always been slums in Chicago?

I can recall back in the middle fifties, we had only three blocks of slums and they were on Madison skid row.

Slums aren't rained down from Heaven. Slums are created by one-sided laws that bring the slum landlords into court, but not the slum tenants. Such one-sided laws have turned many landlords into rent collectors. One thing the do-gooders do not want to understand is that the landlord does not knock holes in the walls, tear out the plumbing, break out windows or use his hallway for a toilet.

The do-gooders have been passing "End Slum" laws since 1965. If their "End Slum" laws were the answer to ending slums, why do we have more slums today than ever before? One thing these dudes (do-gooders) must understand, laws are not the answer to all problems. Their "End Slum" laws have proven to be a failure.

The simple answer to the problem of slums is education and dedication. The do-gooders are bleeding the tax-payers in the name of educating the Appalachian white and black ghetto dwellers. They have failed to give their dedication and concern.

I have asked many ghetto blacks and Appalachian whites what they thought of the O.E.O. and Model Cities programs. Ninety-nine and a half per-cent of them did not know what I was talking about.

Isn't that strange, when a program has been designed to help people, they don't know anything about it?

I do not expect our readers to take my word for the saying, but I do expect our readers to question our statements as we know a person can be sued for false propaganda.

It is high time for Americans to wake up regardless of their color, race or religion. Rich or poor we are all being duped by these do-gooders, black and white niggers. Yes, niggers.

My understanding of a nigger is a person who uses others for selfish gains. The so-called do-gooders must understand that if a man has a cancer on his little finger, the doctor must kill that cancer there. If not, the cancer will spread over the whole body, eventually causing it to lie in the grave.

Likewise, with the problems of housing, education, poverty, racism and slums, if they aren't stopped where they exist, they will spread over our entire land. There are hundreds of thousands of vacant lots and boarded up buildings in the city of Chicago. Why don't they (the do-gooders) renovate the boarded up buildings and build private homes on the vacant lots and sell them to families who want to own their own homes, with low down payments and low interest loans?

I say to our many concerned Americans that the sin of commission is upon the do-gooders. When we fail to rectify the poor conditions that exist in our land through our physical, spiritual and financial means, we are guilty of the sin of omission.

Which sin is greater?

## RAPE

## HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Martha Weinman Lear, author of "The Child Worshipers" and a freelance writer who is working on a book about woman's sexual attitudes, wrote an article on rape that appeared in the New York Times Magazine, January 30, 1972. She points out that, according to the FBI, rape is the least reported of all crimes. Still, reported rapes rose in number nationally by 93 percent in the sixties.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times Magazine, Jan. 30, 1972]

Q. IF YOU RAPE A WOMAN AND STEAL HER TV, WHAT CAN THEY GET YOU FOR IN NEW YORK? A. STEALING HER TV

(By Martha Weinman Lear)

(NOTE.—"A 21-year-old woman was raped by two youths who followed her into a ladies room near Bethesda Fountain in Central Park at 9 a.m. yesterday. The police said they were looking for 'two young white males in their mid-20's in the assault, which did not involve robbery.'"—the New York Times, January 7.

("Authors have written and time has told us that every woman resists to a certain degree and the male must be the aggressor. When the defiled female says, 'That is the gentleman who raped me,' we need corroboration. If her jaw is broken, for example, that is proof of force. Otherwise, how do we know she was raped? The difference between rape and romance is a very thin line and we have to be careful. When a man is charged with rape, he loses a tremendous amount of posture in the community.")—State Assemblyman Joseph F. Lisa.

Most rapes in Central Park, as elsewhere, have no more particularity than most muggings. Occasionally there are cases with Gothic overtones—an 83-year-old woman is picked up bodily from a bench on Fifth Avenue in the 60's, lifted over the park wall and raped in the bushes; a girl, just raped, cries out to a man passing by, "Please help me, I've been raped," and the passer-by rapes her—but even these cases are likely as not to wind up in a two-inch squib on Page 27.

The Central Park rape of Jan. 7 is atypical in fact, primarily in that it made the papers. Rape is the least-reported of all crimes, according to the F.B.I.; in 1970, 37,270 rapes were reported, and an estimated four or five times that number were committed. The case is prototypical, however, in this regard: Should the assailants be apprehended, they stand in no danger whatever of being convicted for the crime of rape. One is tempted to think that they read the law, and proceeded accordingly.

New York State law provides that every material element of a rape—penetration, force and the identity of the rapist—must be corroborated by evidence other than the victim's testimony. The presence of semen in the victim's vaginal tract, for example, would be taken as corroboration of penetration. The testimony of an uninvolved witness to the event would be taken as corroboration of identity. The victim's prompt complaint, disheveled appearance, distraught manner, bruises, might be taken as corroboration of force, although not necessarily. If a woman had a few black-and-blue marks, for instance, defense counsel might convince a jury that she engaged willingly in vigorous lovemaking; certainly, as Assemblyman Lisa points out, a broken jaw would be more persuasive.

(The sociology of juries dictates that prosecutors will seek out women jurors in rape cases, and will end up with mostly men. Manhattan Assistant District Attorney Jack T. Litman says that every rape case he has tried has been before all-male juries; the women all asked to be excused on the grounds that they couldn't be objective. Jurors, especially male jurors, are considered unsympathetic to the prosecution in cases where the complainant and the defendant knew each other prior to the rape.)

Most states require no corroboration. Some require it to lesser degrees: New Jersey, for example, asks for corroboration of force. But New York's corroboration rule is by far the most stringent in the country, and therefore it is harder here to get a conviction for rape (and, perversely, there is a lower maximum sentence for rape: 25 years) than anywhere else.

Thus few rape cases clog the courts and few rapists fill the prisons. In the nineteen-sixties, the incidence of rape rose nationally by 93 per cent, less than robbery but more than any other crime of violence against the person. In 1969, the national conviction rate was 36 per cent; the rate that year in New York City, where there were 1,085 arrests for rape and 18 convictions, was 3.9. Some 18 per cent of those arrested pleaded guilty to lesser charges, mostly misdemeanors, in arrangements dictated either by questionable corroborative evidence or the staggering case load in the courts.

The young woman who was attacked in Central Park did what an extraordinary number of women do after being raped: She went home and took a bath, thus washing away ejaculate and effectively destroying evidence of penetration.

As with many distraught victims, she delayed some hours before calling the police, to some degree recovering her composure and, to the same degree, weakening corroboration of force. Nor was there gross physical evidence of force (sociologist Menachem Amir, who did an extensive study of rape patterns in Philadelphia, has pointed out that a single rapist is more likely to beat his victim in order to subdue her, whereas two need only hold her down).

Finally, there were no impartial witnesses standing around watching the rape. There rarely are.

Thus, if two suspects were to be picked up and positively identified by the victim in a police line-up, and if they were to deny her charges, the case would be dropped for lack of evidence.

Suppose the victim had been home in bed, alone, and the same two men had broken into her apartment, punched her and slammed her around to silence her screams, thrown her to the floor and raped her at knifepoint. Burglary, assault, rape and illegal possession of a dangerous weapon with intent to use; in sum, no case. The law would hold that whereas the accompanying crimes all served the purpose of committing a rape, convictions could not be sustained on these charges unless the rape itself were corroborated. The woman would have had to be beaten severely—clearly beyond the degree necessary to subdue her—for the assault charge to stand alone. On the other hand, if the men had not raped her, they could be convicted for the other crimes, which in themselves require no corroboration.

Suppose, finally, that the two men, having burglarized, assaulted, threatened with a weapon and raped, had helped themselves to the TV set on their way out. Justice would be done: They could be convicted (probably; such convictions have been upheld in courts of appeal, although the state's highest court has not yet ruled on the matter) for taking the TV set, which clearly is separable from taking the woman.

Thus the law, in effect, gives greater protection to goods. It says to the perpetrator:

If you're going to rough up a woman, don't stop until you've raped her; then they can't get you on the assault.

If you're going to rape a woman, don't rob her; they might get you on the theft.

If you're going to rob a woman, you might as well rape her, too; the rape is free.

A 37-year-old woman required 120 stitches on her face and head yesterday after she resisted a man who attempted to rape her in Central Park in daylight, the police said. They said that the woman, who was not identified, was walking near Central Park West at 81st Street at 7:30 A.M. when a man dragged her into the bushes, tried to rape her and slashed her with a razor when she resisted. Two men jogging nearby heard her screams and alerted the police. The police arrested a man . . . who they said had been arrested on charges of attempted rape in 1969 and 1970.—The New York Times, November 18.

"We've been looking for this guy for a long time. Two years ago we picked him up for attempted rape, and it was a throw-out in court: no corroboration. Now we have this poor woman, who fought like hell and didn't get raped. The guy has been indicted for assault in the first degree. She's scarred for life. And you know what she says now? She says she wishes she hadn't fought, and maybe he wouldn't have cut her up the horrible way he did.

"A lot of officers, especially the old-timers, believe that unless a woman comes in bruised, there's no rape. They also say, 'Unless a woman's a virgin, what's the big deal?' But I wonder: If one of these guys was suddenly jumped and forced to commit sodomy at gunpoint, wouldn't he be pretty upset? And wouldn't he submit?

"These women have no reason to lie. Sometimes there's a love triangle, where a woman yells 'rape' to get even with a guy, but you can screen those cases out easily enough. But, for God's sake, when the woman never saw the guy before in her life, and she tells you he raped her in the park or in the hallway, and she identifies him . . . what more corroboration should a judge need? Why isn't this woman's word good enough?—Detective Al Simon, Central Park Precinct.

Though corroboration is not required in any category of crimes other than sex offenses, it is required in certain other criminal situations. In a bribery case, for example, Accomplice A cannot be the sole witness against Accomplice B, since accomplices are held to be untrustworthy as witnesses. The analogy to rape cases is instructive.

"I've traced the corroboration requirement back to 1860, when I first found it coming into law," says Frederick J. Ludwig, Chief Assistant District Attorney in Queens. Ludwig, a former law professor, recently wrote a paper for The Brooklyn Law Review urging the repeal of corroboration. "Why was the law passed? Well, maybe one of our prominent senators in those days was accused of molesting a barmaid—perhaps he actually did molest a barmaid—and he and his learned colleagues passed this two-witness law to protect themselves . . . this capricious law which does not apply in any other crime.

"Established public figures, such as politicians, have great fear of 'women's vengeance.' These men don't want any charge ripening into an indictment. It can be ugly. It can ruin a politician. Also, you have these situations where the opposition is out to get him, to frame him, and he feels this need of protection by corroboration. But, after all, if a woman wants to entrap a man, she can easily accuse him of larceny, burglary, robbery. In sex cases, as in these other cases, the credibility of the witness should be the sole requirement. I don't subscribe to the inherent implication that females are less trustworthy than males in sexual situations. In fact, the whole thing should be thrown



out on the same basis as that Utah law on administration of estates [wherein the Supreme Court recently declared unconstitutional a law that gave males preference over females of equal claim] as a denial to women of equal protection under the law."

His sentiments are shared. Feminists, of course, are outraged by the implications of the two-witness rule. They have said that rape is the issue they intend to politicize this year, and have been lobbying for repeal by corroboration ("O.K., so it's a law-and-order position," says feminist Susan Brownmiller, who is writing a book about rape. "We never said we were for anarchy.") Family Court Judge Millard L. Midonick recently appealed to the State Legislature to correct "the miserable state of the law," declaring that the corroboration requirement "evidences an irrational belief in the dishonesty of the woman who claims to have been sexually assaulted."

Possibly a correction is forthcoming, though hardly one to hearten the feminists. For the past three years, bills to modify the law have been defeated in Albany. Others are coming up soon. One, sponsored by Assemblyman Alan Hochberg, Bronx Democrat, veers close to repealing corroboration, and has little chance. But a bill sponsored by the District Attorneys Association of New York is flexible enough to appeal even to such a staunch corroborator as Assemblyman Lisa, a Queens Democrat, who says that he finds it "very, very interesting," and just possibly it will pass without too much of a fight. Legally, it would facilitate the prosecution of rape cases. Philosophically, it makes no difference whatever.

In essence, the D.A.'s bill would repeal corroboration for identity and penetration, requiring instead "additional evidence" (such as hysteria, or bruises) beyond the victim's testimony, "tending to confirm" that a rape or intended rape had been committed. It would also permit conviction for accompanying crimes, such as a dangerous-weapon charge, in uncorroborated rapes.

According to Bronx District Attorney Burton B. Roberts, president of the D.A.'s Association, the bill is shaped by political realities: "I want you to understand that I'm a guy who's against corroboration. But it's one thing to say what we want, and another to get it passed—right?" But the bill seems to be shaped, as well, by the ambivalences of men. The crime of rape outrages them; not something in the bloodstream seems to flow back in time and sympathy to that senator who may or may not have dallied with a barmaid, and to resist a clean break with corroboration.

Roberts says: "Who gets raped? Lots of unescorted women. Say, women who are drinking in bars. I don't mean that they're there because they want to get raped, but they're there. Or you get some youngster who wears hot pants in Murray Hill; then she becomes a social worker and wears them in the ghetto. She becomes provocative without meaning to. I mean, she doesn't mean to be provocative. She's just naive. . . ."

"Now, why did society feel they needed the protection of corroboration? Quite often you get a woman who has paranoid delusions that all the young boys in the neighborhood are out to get her. Or some girl yells 'rape' to justify her conduct to her parents. Then there are these love spats. . . . Let me tell you a story:

"When I was an Assistant District Attorney in Manhattan, a lovely young Puerto Rican woman said she'd been robbed. She said her cousin had made advances—grabbed her butt when she was going to work. Then he belted her and took her bag. Well, I went to the home. I met the husband. The place was spotless and clean. I thought, ah, this is great, this is the story of America, nice little married couple making it, getting along. . . .

"At the trial the defense counsel asked if she'd written a sheaf of letters. She said no. I called for their production. They were written by her to the cousin, and they said that if he didn't come back to her, she'd make certain he never kissed another woman. When those letters were read, her husband went crazy. I said, 'Take it easy. Be forgiving.' But he gave her such a shot, it knocked her right off her chair. Boy, I never forgot that."

"Now, a grave injustice could have been done in that case. Remember breach of promise? There were plenty of grave injustices there. What we've got to do on rape is eliminate this second-class citizenship for women, and still protect men against grave injustice."

Rape victims commonly complain that along every step of the legal process, they must make their case to hostile men—skeptical police officers ("They always want to know if you enjoyed it"), insulting defense lawyers, suspicious judges. Michael Juviler, Chief of the Appeals Bureau in the Manhattan District Attorney's Office, and a principal drafter of the D.A.'s bill, says:

"I had a case of a young woman whose date said he had to put his bike away in his apartment before they went out to dinner. In the apartment, he suggested they have a beer. She testified that she was sitting on a sofa when suddenly he leaped at her, threw her to the floor and raped her. We had no corroboration, except for assault—bruises on her elbows and legs, which she said came from being thrown to the floor. Also, she was observed just afterward to be very upset."

"The Court held that since she described a completed rape, which was uncorroborated, the assault charge wasn't valid, and the guy walked. Earlier, this guy had been acquitted of a rape charge in another case. Now he's serving five years for a nonsexual crime: He split open a 16-year-old girl's head with a bowling ball."

"Now, I can't speak for the Court, but I can assume that the Court wasn't very sympathetic. She had accepted an invitation to a man's apartment, she was there having a beer. . . . You know, this is the male attitude: *She had it coming. Why was she in that apartment? Why was she walking on the street at that hour? I've heard that kind of thing from judges.*

"What can I say? The more I talk about this thing, the more my position seems to change. Now I'm not so sure we should have corroboration. I'd probably prefer it, but I'm not sure. You might say my consciousness is being raised."

For a phenomenon so stringently fixed by law, rape has been astonishingly little understood and little written-about, and remains the most myth-ridden of all crimes. In various times and places the rapist has been seen as a monster, a mental retardate, a gay blade. The crime was punishable in Saxon law by death; under William the Conqueror, by castration and loss of eyes. The punishment a society metes out for rape is an index to its sexual attitudes, of course; in 15th-century England offenders might escape sentence by marrying their victims, which presupposes the rapist as a kind of redeemable sport.

Victorian attitudes were predictably harsh: In one of the earliest (1892) psychiatric evaluations, Krafft-Ebing, in his monumental "Psychopathia Sexualis," considers rape under the heading "Lust-Murders." He writes: "The crime of rape presumes a temporary, powerful excitation of sexual desire, induced by excess in alcohol or by some other condition. . . . It is a fact that rape is very often the act of degenerate male imbeciles. . . ."

Contemporary evaluations are less baroque, and much of the literature is singularly casual about the crime. Thus, psychologist Bernard J. Oliver Jr. notes: "The rapists

tend to be emotionally immature, have deep feelings of insecurity and inferiority, are social pariahs, and seem to have considerable difficulty in having adequate social relations. . . . In summary, we may say that victims can usually escape from any prolonged effects. . . . If they are able to develop a sound emotional attitude about it."

Perhaps the most extensive study of the subject has been done by the Israeli sociologist Menachem Amir. A recent book called "Patterns in Forcible Rape" is based on his investigation of 646 rape cases in Philadelphia. Amir's findings shatter several popular myths, none more tenaciously fixed in the public imagination than the idea—Eldridge Cleaver's "ideological rape" notwithstanding—that black men go after white women.

In 77 per cent of the cases studied, both victim and offender were black; in 18 per cent, both were white; in 3 per cent, a black man raped a white woman and, in 4 per cent, a white man raped a black woman. Amir does not purport to deal with two imponderables that law-enforcement agents generally concede: that black rapists are more likely to be arrested than white, and that cases involving white victims are more likely to be vigorously pursued by the police. The figures simply depict rape as an overwhelmingly intraracial event, and the victims as overwhelmingly black. Much the same picture emerges from other studies in Florida and Washington, D.C.

Amir found further:

In two-thirds of the cases, there was no alcohol factor.

In one-third of the cases, victim and offender had known one another prior to the rape.

Three-quarters of the rapes—particularly the group rapes, which made up 43 per cent of the total—had been planned. Most were committed indoors, a third in the victims' homes; the legendary dark-alley rape was rare.

Most rapes were committed on weekends, the peak time being Fridays between 8 P.M. and midnight.

Most offenders were aged 15 to 24; most victims were 10 to 19.

Most were unmarried.

Ninety per cent of the offenders ranged from skilled workers down to the retired and unemployed; the rate of unemployed black offenders was twice as high as the rate of unemployed blacks in the city.

Now Amir's findings grow more interpretive:

Nineteen per cent of the cases are deemed "victim-precipitated." The term is defined: ". . . those rape cases in which the victims actually—or so it was interpreted by the offender [italics mine]—agreed to sexual relations but retracted before the actual act or did not resist strongly enough when the suggestion was made by the offender(s)."

Twenty per cent of the victims are deemed to have "bad" reputations. The term is not defined.

Verbal coercion, intimidation by gesture or intimidation with a weapon was used in 87 per cent of the cases; some degree of violence, ranging from roughness to choking, was used in 85 percent of the cases. Amir observes:

"As it is commonly believed that almost no woman wants to be deprived of her sexual self-determination, it was surprising to find that over 50 per cent of the victims failed to resist their attackers in any way."

No contemporary study suggests that rapists are madmen; nor that they are, as a group, oversexed; nor impotent—a myth that persists despite its patent illogic. There has been no persuasive finding that they are deprived of other sexual outlets. Why, then, do they rape?

At the Rahway, N.J., State Prison, psychologist William Prendergast runs the Rahway

Treatment Unit for Sex Offenders. By state law, anyone convicted of a sex crime must be examined by a board of psychiatrists. If he is diagnosed as a "repetitive/compulsive offender," his sentence becomes indeterminate (up to a statutory maximum, for rape, of 30 years), and he must be treated in Prendergast's unit. If he is not so diagnosed, he is sentenced as a criminal.

Thus New Jersey is one of the few states that make a clear medical and legal distinction between psychiatric and criminal sex offenders. Possibly the failure to make this distinction has perpetuated much of the rape mythology, because the difference between the two is as night is to day.

Average I.Q.'s are higher in the psychiatric population than in the criminal population.

The psychiatric offenders have a broad range of educational and achievement levels. Among the criminal offenders, the level is generally low.

The psychiatric offenders run the gamut from poverty to wealth and social position. The criminal offenders are mostly from the ghetto.

The psychiatric population is predominantly white. The criminal population is overwhelmingly black.

Much of the psychiatric population is sexually inhibited. Most of the criminal population is not.

"The typical psychiatric offender," says Prendergast, "is usually a very gentle and seductive person, and incredibly naive about sex. He'll live on masturbation and fantasy and always hide in a corner of the locker room feeling inadequate. It's not that these men can't perform, but that they feel they can't satisfy. Many of them think that their genitals are abnormally small, though this may not be true. Many are latent homosexuals. They overcompensate by committing the overt, aggressive, heterosexual act of rape."

Almost all of these men are raping their mothers. Symbolically, they are murdering their mothers; they are just using the penis as a weapon instead of a knife or a gun."

In one of Prendergast's treatment programs, volunteer offenders are regressed back to early traumas. The regressions, even on video tape, are painful to watch. One offender, regressed to age 5, when his mother had left the home, writhed on the floor crying hysterically, "Mommy, Mommy, I'm sorry, please don't leave me. . . ." Another was regressed to a time when his father held his hand on a hot stove while his mother stood passively by; as he relived the incident his hand rose into the air, grew rigid and turned bright red (this man has both raped women and sodomized boys—several sodomists in the unit have been regressed to traumas involving tyrannical fathers).

"The rage begins in childhood," says Prendergast. "Most of the time it's suppressed. They hold jobs, they're pretty good citizens in their communities, they don't steal or lie. But then something happens that triggers them off—maybe a woman behaves seductively, or even resembles the mother—and wham! That 'nice, quiet boy next door' commits some brutal, sadistic rape and ends up in here."

The psychiatric rapist knows that he is sick, Prendergast says. Typically he feels tremendous guilt and shame, and concern for his victim. One made coffee for his terrified victim after the rape, put her children to bed, sat for two hours crying that he didn't know why he had committed the crime, and waited while she called the police.

But the hallmarks of the criminal rapist are that he feels no guilt, has no concern and does not accept that anything is wrong with him; nor do his fellow inmates:

"The criminal rapist is a hero in prison, idolized as a highly masculine figure. It's the

child molester who's at the bottom of the prison hierarchy. He's the guy they really hate, the guy they call 'baby-f—', and if they had a chance, they'd kill him. But the rapist is a very popular fellow. He knows that society sees his act as evil, but he doesn't see it as evil. He has all kinds of denial mechanisms: He was drunk, the woman really wanted it . . . that kind of thing. It's like in incest: 'It's my child, and no one should interfere.' He is a sociopath, of course, but he's not necessarily 'sick' in the psychiatric sense—especially if he's young and was involved in some gang-bang and was afraid to chicken out. His whole background is one in which the man is the king of his castle and women are tolerated as slaves—and he simply takes what he wants."

"It's not because he doesn't have available sex—I've never met a criminal rapist who doesn't have available sex—but simply because he feels tremendous contempt and hostility for women, and this is his way of expressing it."

"You take a guy with this generalized hostility toward women: Is he going to become a flaming faggot, or a playboy who won't take no for an answer—which can be pretty much the same dynamic—or an assaulter? You don't deal with this hostility, it will erupt."

"Rape is a conscious process of intimidation of women."—Feminist Germaine Greer.

I am told that the potential of rape as a strong feminist issue first became apparent last year, when a topless dancer on the West Coast came to a local feminist meeting with a complaint: She had been hired to dance at a stag party several days before the guest-of-honor's wedding. After her performance the men all raped her and then threw her out, without paying her for dancing. The feminists took what must have seemed an inspired action, although, aching for the dancer, one aches as well for the bride: They picketed the wedding with signs reading: "John is a Rapist." Word of the incident traveled East, to a meeting of the New York Radical Feminists.

"I must say, at first I didn't see it as an issue for us," says Susan Brownmiller. "I thought prostitution was much stronger. But then one of our women was raped, hitchhiking home from a college weekend. I was appalled at her getting herself into such a position. We had huge discussions on that, asking ourselves, how culpable was she? Then we organized a 'Speak-Out on Rape,' and different women stood up and told how they'd been raped. One woman described how a medical student took her 'to see the residents' quarters,' and raped her. Afterward, he said, 'I'm sorry that happened. I suppose we should go out and eat.' And what enraged her in retrospect, she said, was that she went."

"You see, what we all realized was that women accept the fact that men are conditioned to be rapists, but they don't accept the fact that they are conditioned to be victims."

Other rape victims spoke bitterly of their experiences with the police. One said "They advise you not to fight, just lie back and enjoy it—enjoy it!—and then, when it happens, they ask, 'How come you didn't resist?' When it happened to me, one cop said, 'Tell me the truth, don't all women secretly want to get raped?' " (Rape is, indeed, a common fantasy theme among women. Once, for a writing project, I discussed with several dozen women the general themes of their sex fantasies. Better than half of them described rape; but it was always in the precise circumstances, and by the specific men, of their choice. It was absolutely clear from the nature of the material that these fantasies served no wish to be genuinely raped, but a wish to feel *guiltless*—"I can't blame my-

self, he made me do it"—in a desired sexual encounter. Still, the fantasy exists, and it feeds the myth.)

Feminists talk about rape as "a way of keeping women in their place," and of "marriage as legalized rape." (In a concrete and limited sense, Prendergast agrees. "Say a woman's got three kids and no place else to go, and the husband comes home drunk and wants her, and she knows that if she refuses he'll beat the hell out of her," says Prendergast. "If that's not psychological rape, I don't know what is.") But what ultimately imbues the feminist argument with a sense of overkill is what they do *not* talk about: seduction *qua* seduction.

To the male chauvinist, every rape—baring the grossest criminal assault—is a seduction, to many feminists, every seduction is a rape: "A guy comes up for a cup of coffee, and he starts coming on in that way they have. . . . 'What's the matter, are you frigid?' or 'Oh, come on, you know you really want to' . . . and he keeps at it and keeps at it until finally you give in because he's just plain exhausted you. Isn't that a form of rape?"

Well, I don't know. It is an insidious form of persuasion, certainly, but persuasion is not coercion. As Prendergast points out: "In rape, the victim submits involuntarily. In seduction, she submits *selectively*." One can refuse to be persuaded; and to claim that women's conditioned passivity makes it impossible for her to refuse is somehow less than honest. Women do, after all, play the game of No and Maybe; and men, thus, do tend to ignore the No and pursue the Maybe. One may argue validly, as feminists do, that this is a false and shabby way for human relations to proceed; but it is preposterous, in this time and place, to argue that every woman who goes into a sexual encounter saying no comes out of it as a rape victim.

A feminist told me this story: She had invited a man up to her apartment for coffee after a date. "He said, 'Hey, let's make it,' I said, 'Oh, no. No way.' He said, 'Listen, I think you'd better. You better be a good girl and cooperate,' and he grabbed at me. I tried to argue. I said, 'Look I don't want to. How could you enjoy it if I don't want to? We're the educated type, right? We're worried about whether we'll enjoy it.' He pushed me on the bed and, when I started to cry, he said, 'Be a good girl, or something bad will happen,' and he held his fist in front of my face. I felt in real danger. I gave in."

"Later I walked into the police station without a mark on me and said, 'I've been raped.' They gave me that leer—you know, that New York Cop Leer. They brought in the guy for questioning. He said, 'She was perfectly willing,' and that was all there was to it. Now, what do you call that?"

I call it rape, and share her outrage that the bloody bastard got away with it. But another feminist told me *this* story:

Her friend, an art student, went to see an artist about a job. "In the middle of the interview he put his arms around her and started kissing her, all the while talking about the job. Well, she wanted the job badly, and she figured she'd have no chance if she wasn't nice—that's how women are trained, isn't it?—to be nice—so she kept right on talking. And he kept going further and further, and this poor girl was so unable to get herself out of the victim role that she just let herself be taken off to the bedroom and raped."

I call that a dumb seduction, and it brought back memories. As a college sophomore I had been sent by the school paper to do an interview with this very same man. It was the only time I have ever, literally, been chased around the living room; but he was really testing, not menacing. Finally, as I re-



call, I shoved him in the stomach and ran out of the apartment. He yelled after me, "Call me when you grow up," and threw a nickel down the stairs which only shows how long ago it was.

I remember that he made me feel small and gauche. But it would have been unthinkable to submit because I felt gauche. And to submit to the same man, now two decades older and not as spry, would take more—or less—than Woman as Victim. It would take Person as Nincompoop.

At any rate, women will have to do their own coping with this sort of thing. More pressing is the problem of real rape victims who cannot find justice in the courts. If some young woman should walk into Central Park tomorrow, as some young woman did on Jan. 7 and be raped by two assailants who used no weapon and left no marks; should that happen—new law, old law, it makes no difference—they could be out of court and free to roam the park again next week. And that seems insane.

#### RACE, RAPE, AND RETRIBUTION

In the United States today, 14 states prescribe capital punishment for rape. They are: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia. The last execution was in 1964. Seventy-four convicted rapists are currently under the death sentence and the Supreme Court is now considering whether the death penalty violates the "cruel and unusual punishment" and "equal protection" issues which are raised in the 8th and 14th Amendments.

In pre-Civil-War Georgia—in a pattern held to be representative of the other states—the rape of a white woman by a black man was punishable by death; the rape of a white woman by a white man, by 2 to 10 years; the rape of a black woman by a white man, by a fine and imprisonment at the discretion of the court. The law made no provision for the rape of a black by a black, leaving it to the discretion of the slave owner.

Since 1930, when the Federal Government began publishing national figures, 455 men have been executed for the crime of rape. Of these, 405 were black. According to Jack Himmelstein of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Education Fund, who has directed an extensive study of capital punishment: "Overwhelmingly, in these cases, blacks were executed for raping whites. Some whites were executed for raping whites. An infinitesimal number of blacks were executed for raping blacks. We came across no case of a white who was executed for raping a black."

The preponderance of black men sentenced to death cannot be held merely to reflect the preponderance of black men committing the crime: In Georgia, in the years 1945-1965, of those men already convicted for rape, 38 per cent of the blacks were sentenced to death—and one-half of 1 per cent of the whites.—M.W.L.

#### PORTRAIT OF A RAPIST

Queens Police Detective and amateur artist Helen Pastore drew this composite sketch from the description of 14 rape victims. It was instrumental in bringing about the man's arrest. He was found unable to understand the charges against him or participate in his own defense, and is now in Matteawan State Hospital for the Criminal Insane.

His *modus operandi*, Detective Pastore says, was the same in every case. He would present himself as a delivery man with a package "downstairs in the truck." The package was too large to fit through the door: Might he use the telephone to call his boss for instructions? Having gained entrance and established that the victim was alone, he would grab her and threaten to use a knife if she didn't submit. None put up a fight.

"It's amazing, how every one of the women bought his story," Detective Pastore says, "and I think they would again today. People are so stupid about this kind of thing. There's this psychological appeal. . . . 'Oh, a package for me?'" She says that several of the victims still believed, after having been raped, that he was a delivery man. As he was leaving, one asked: "But how about my package?"—M.W.L.

#### "DOC" HALL BOWS OUT

### HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege as a friend and fellow Member of the House and yet it is with great regret that I insert in the RECORD today the announcement of the Honorable DURWARD G. "Doc" HALL of Missouri, that he will not be a candidate for reelection.

Through most of the years that "Doc" HALL has been a Member of the House of Representatives it has been my privilege to be closely associated with him in matters of legislation and legislative procedure. Never have I known a more straightforward, harder working, dedicated, and courageous Member of Congress.

"Doc," as he is familiarly known to all, never has left anyone in doubt as to his position once he knew the facts of a given piece of legislation. He is at one and the same time a great patriot, as demonstrated by his devotion to the Constitution of the United States; his long and honorable service in the Armed Forces, and an unswerving political conservative, dedicated to the preservation of free and private enterprise in this country as well as fiscal responsibility in Government.

I had known for some time that Doc contemplated retirement at the end of this session but I had hoped his many friends in the Ozarks as well as elsewhere throughout Missouri could prevail upon him to give of his talents and energy for at least another term. Since this is not to be I can only say, and I am confident that I speak for many others, that his constant presence on the House floor and wise counsel will be sorely missed after this session.

Again, I am sure I speak for many others in wishing our colleague and his devoted wife, Betty, many years of good health and contentment in their retirement.

Mr. Speaker, the following is the statement by which my good friend announced his retirement from public life and took leave of his loyal constituency in the beautiful Ozark hills and lakes of Missouri:

#### THIS WEEK IN WASHINGTON

When I first entered the Congress back in January of 1961, I carried with me a set of principles, born out of a philosophy of life, that had been inculcated and nurtured by concerned individuals, a wonderful professional life—and many memorable experiences.

I had benefited from the wise and Christian upbringing of a good mother and father, whom the Lord has seen fit to spare beyond four score years.

I had shared the companionship of a dedicated and loving wife, and a marvelous family.

I had received the advice and counsel of many enlightened and knowledgeable people, and been privileged to care for numbers of them in trying times.

I had gained an appreciation of the representative process of government, and a love of the Constitution of the United States, a document that to me, provides the very "heartbeat" of this Republic's government.

Collectively, I felt these had instilled in me a desire to use my position, as a representative of the people, to help insure that this nation would continue to reflect the ideas that had been set down by our Founding Fathers.

It was my hope,—that I could make a positive contribution to the maintenance of this Nation's position of world leadership that I had helped her attain in World War II; that I could influence the thinking of the decision-makers that would be reflected in sound economics and national fiscal integrity; that I could help provide an atmosphere whereby the Federal Government would do for the people only that which they could not better do for themselves; that I could participate in writing responsible legislation that would deter the criminal, provide protection and opportunities for all, sustain basic laws and the free marketplace, reduce our national commitments of money and personnel, and keep the legislative, executive, and judicial branches equal,—while not permitting their decisions to overstep the guidelines set forth by the Constitution; and yet—at the same time,—serve well my Nation and the constituents of southwest Missouri.

During the past twelve years I have found the challenge to be exciting, interesting, and intense, but I have watched this Nation engage in a civilian directed "no win" war perpetuated and directed by the "new frontier and great society" that has set citizen against citizen, weakened the Federal system on the pillory of doubt, and contributed to a growing mistrust of our military establishment.

I have watched practically unchallenged judicial decisions fall the constabulary and even permit the criminal to go free to perpetuate his twisted way of life, while violating our founders intent—by legislating and administering by decree.

I have watched regimentation, social experiments, conscription, and excessive taxation, and alleged security of welfare at the expense of personal freedom (all approved by votes of Congress) weaken our moral fiber and stamina, deplete our National Treasury, and reduce our traditional will to provide for ourselves.

It is with the foregoing as a background, that I have prayerfully and thoughtfully reached the decision to relinquish my seat in the House of Representatives. I am convinced it is not in the national interest to run for reelection unopposed. I will not seek renomination, nor again permit my name to be filed with the secretary of state for election to any public office. In fact, it is my belief that a six term limitation should be placed on membership in the House and a two term limit on service in the U.S. Senate. Such a limitation would contribute significantly to the demise of the ill-famed seniority system.

I do not do this with the attitude that our national outlook is hopeless. On the contrary, I feel that we are on the threshold of a rebirth of constitutional concern. It will survive, if people exercise their individual responsibility. However, I have reached an

age well past that which I had originally established as a time to reduce my commitments and workload, be it in surgery or public service; and I have no plans to resume my medical practice, nor to accept other political appointments that might be offered.

I feel that the time has come to step aside and open the way for a new personality with the youth, vigor, enthusiasm, experience, integrity, and foresight that is essential to the proper representation of the needs and desires of nearly half a million constituents who reside in the nineteen counties of the Seventh Congressional District of Missouri—the people I know, love, and respect so deeply.

I leave office with no regrets after 22 years of public service, twelve in the Congress, more than eight in the Army, and two in the Department of Interior. Indeed it has been a memorable and exciting experience. I have made many friends, to whom I'm thankful and indebted, received many awards, and have known the joy of serving in the "People's House" of the Congress (legislative branch), under a form of government that has never been equaled.

If I am remembered as a man of principle, who upheld the Constitution, emphasized honor, stood for his considered beliefs, and contributed in some small way to the betterment of this Republic, then it has all been worthwhile. I could ask for nothing more.

DURWARD G. HALL,  
Member of Congress.

CHARLES NELSON MUSSER, NEWS-  
PAPERMAN AND CIVIC LEADER

### HON. GOODLOE E. BYRON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, February 28, one of our area's most distinguished citizens, Charles Nelson Musser, died at King's Daughters Hospital in Martinsburg, W. Va. Charles Musser was a prominent newspaper publisher and the co-owner and guiding force for the Shepherdstown Independent & Boonsboro News. His works as a newspaperman will remain a tribute to journalistic integrity and the fair and unbiased reporting of news.

But Charles Musser was equally known and respected outside journalistic circles and excelled as an active and unselfish citizen in region, State, and National affairs. Prominent in all phases of Masonic activities he was a 32d degree Scottish Rite and York Rite Mason; past master of Mountain Nebo Lodge No. 91, A.F. and A.M.; past high priest of Mecklenburg Chapter No. 31, Royal Arch Masons; past commander of Potomac Commandery No. 5; member of Anointed High Priest, Knight of York Cross of Honour, West Virginia Council No. 7; Knight Mason of U.S.A.; Martinsburg Lodge of Perfection; Clarksburg Chapter of Rose Croix; West Virginia Consistory, Valley of Wheeling; Knights Commander Court of Honor of the Southern Jurisdiction of U.S.A., and Royal Order of Scotland; past patron of the Order of Eastern Star, Chapter No. 155, and at the time of his death was serving as associate patron.

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Those who knew him and those of us who knew his reputation will miss him and the unique contribution he brought to the Nation and his community.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF  
WILLIAM O'CONNELL BRADLEY,  
GOVERNOR OF KENTUCKY AND  
U.S. SENATOR

### HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, the State of Kentucky has had many pioneers, brilliant statesmen, orators, and soldiers, from the time of its first exploration and settlement. Daniel Boone, George Rogers Clark, Zachary Taylor, Henry Clay, Abraham Lincoln, and Jefferson Davis are a few of these who helped to shape the destiny of our Nation. Many fair and talented women also have lent distinction to the State.

One of the most distinguished sons of the Kentucky region was William O'Connell Bradley, born in Garrard County on March 18, 1847. Consequently, March 18, 1972 marks the 125th anniversary of his birth.

He was of Scotch-Irish descent. Nature bestowed on him some of her most precious gifts. He was magnetic, homespun, and genial in character. He was a man of the people, devoted to their best interests, and had a popularity unsurpassed. He was the father and builder of the Republican Party in Kentucky and was the first Republican ever elected to that office. Later, he was elected to the U.S. Senate and served in that capacity for a full term of 6 years, lacking a few months, when his death occurred.

Mr. Speaker, I can only call attention to certain matters connected with his brilliant achievements in all the indicated capacities, but I believe it is timely and appropriate that I make some reference to them.

William O. Bradley possessed native gifts of prime importance. He had a deep and powerful voice of baritone quality, clear and melodious. His fluency was of unusual character, and he was never known to lack a word—in public appearances he had a pungent and commanding vocabulary. The State never produced any abler orator and debater than himself. He struggled through many difficulties, and came to be one of the State's most outstanding in its galaxy of lawyers, orators, and statesmen. He and Henry Watterson, famous editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal, although of opposite parties, were close friends and worked as one to unite Kentuckians after the Civil War. As a lawyer before the court and jury, Governor Bradley was most effective.

Upon the occasion of his death in Washington, on May 23, 1914, his colleagues in the Senate—on both sides of the aisle—paid him tributes of admiration and affection that were classic in character.

Following his death, his good friend, Maurice H. Thatcher wrote a fine sonnet about him, and I insert it as part of these remarks. Similarly, Governor Bradley's famous address at Chickamauga is included herewith:

WILLIAM O. BRADLEY

O wondrous man of magic, golden tongue,  
Who, looking ever sunward, didst arise  
And pierce the glory of our civic skies,—  
How shall the story of thy life be sung  
To keep thine honored name forever young?  
How shall we term that dauntless enterprise  
Which, in Mischance, finds Fortune's skill-  
ed disguise,  
And gains and holds the ladder's highest  
rung?

No song thou need'st; thy deeds have wrought  
thy fame  
And launched it on its journey through  
the years;  
Death only raised and glorified thy name,—  
Thine youth eternal began amidst our  
tears.  
By gifts divine the heights thou didst as-  
cend,  
And time shall know and claim thee to the  
end.

The address of Governor Bradley at the ceremonies in Chickamauga Park was of magnificent character and delivered in his best form. It is self-explanatory, and under leave accorded, is submitted in full with the suggestion that it is unsurpassed in eulogies by any of the famous Greek or Roman authors of the past, with respect to their military heroes, with the difference that the Bradley address was superior because of the spirit of reconciliation which gave it a peculiar distinction.

ADDRESS AS GOVERNOR, AT CHICKAMAUGA PARK,  
ACCEPTING AND DEDICATING THE KENTUCKY  
MONUMENT—A NOBLE SHAFT—APPROPRI-  
ATELY INSCRIBED—MAY 3, 1898

(NOTE.—The State of Kentucky erected a monument on the site of the Chickamauga battlefield to commemorate the brave deeds of Kentucky soldiers on both sides of the conflict in the Civil War. This erection—the first of its kind—was made agreeably to recommendation of Gov. Bradley to the Kentucky Legislature, and, on May 3, 1898, formal ceremonies were held at Chickamauga, and shaft accepted from the Commission appointed to erect it, and turned over and presented to the Chickamauga Park Commission, Gov. Bradley making the following beautiful and patriotic speech of acceptance and presentation.)

The State of Kentucky thanks you, and each member of the Commission, for the promptness, economy, efficiency, and ability with which you and they have discharged every duty connected with this good work.

Standing within the shadow of Missionary Ridge, whose crest and sides but little more than a third of a century ago were lighted with glistening bayonets and the fires which flashed from musketry and cannon of Look-out Mountain, where contending armies mingled the colors of their uniforms with those of the clouds that hung about them; surrounded by hills and valleys, across which swept armed legions to victory or defeat; within sight of the spots hallowed by the blood of Croxton and Helm, a rush of glorious memories comes over us, causing each heart to throb more rapidly, and each bosom to expand with patriotic emotion. Here and there are beautiful monuments, erected by the various States in honor of their gallant sons; and today, Kentucky comes with gentle and loving hand, to unveil a tribute to her noble race, placing upon the graves of the dead a



wreath of immortelles, and crowning alike with laurels the brows of all who survived that terrible conflict.

Every land has its traditions, poetry, and song. In each is some monument which, with mute eloquence, proclaims, "Stop, traveler, thou treadest on a hero." History, indeed, is but the epitome of patriotism, and the whole earth its monument.

But to be enabled, as are our people, to point to numerous battlefields, where opposing armies of embittered enemies met in the shock of battle which startled the world, and, a third of a century thereafter, to behold the remnants of those armies and their descendants congregating upon this historic spot in one common brotherhood, under one flag, each striving to do it most honor, is without a parallel in the annals of time, and its like will never be seen again. This is the grandest of all monuments. A monument composed of love of country and complete reconciliation, whose base is as broad as our national domain, and from whose summit angels of love and peace soar heavenward with each rising sun.

Many monuments have been erected upon battlefields of this Republic, but it has remained for Kentucky to be the first of all the States, with tender and motherly devotion, to erect a blended monument to all her sons; a monument that carries with it, and upon it, complete reconciliation of all contending passions.

This shaft is dedicated, not alone to those who died upon this and surrounding fields, but also, to the gallant survivors who, when the frowning clouds of war were dispelled by the bright sunshine of peace, returned to their homes to repair broken fortunes, and are today numbered among the best and most distinguished citizens of the Commonwealth.

Kentucky has evinced no partiality in this evidence of loving remembrance. It carries with it no heart burning, no jealousy, no invidious distinction. It is not an emblem of honor to the victor and reproach to the vanquished—but an equal tribute to the worth of all. In the future, the descendants of chivalrous Confederates may proudly gaze upon it, realizing that the State has honored their ancestors, and that, although their cause was lost, their heroism is revered, and their memories perpetuated. And the sons of the brave men who fought on the other side may look upon it with equal pride, feeling that it fitly commemorates the gallant deeds of their illustrious ancestors, who preserved the nation from destruction. May it endure forever, standing guard over victor and vanquished, with the statue that surmounts it, in one hand holding the torch of liberty shedding abroad its benign rays; in the other grasping the sword, emblematical of the strength of one people, ready and anxious at all times to uphold the integrity of our country, and to drive, wounded and bleeding from its shores, any insolent foe that shall ever dare invade them.

The heroism of Buckner, Breckinridge, Helm, Preston and Lewis is the inheritance of every man who wore the blue; the gallantry of Fousseau, Crittenden, Whittaker, Croxton and Price, the inheritance of every man who wore the gray. They were all Americans, each, from his standpoint, contending for what he believed to be right, and now that we are one people in mind and heart, their common glory is our common heritage.

The conflict of 1861 was inevitable. For years preceding that period, we had two civilizations. One, founded on the "justice of slavery," and the sovereignty of each State, espoused by a brave and impetuous people; the other founded on the declaration that all men were created equal, and the sovereignty of the nation, espoused by a conservative and brave people. For years antagonisms and bitterness increased between the

sections until the dispute, by force of circumstances, was submitted to the arbitration of the sword.

The struggle was inaugurated by the South, not so much to dissolve the Union—though that was its natural sequence—as to preserve property rights and to vindicate the doctrine of State sovereignty. It was met with the purpose of preserving the Union, establishing the supreme power of the nation, even though slavery should die; and later, for the direct purpose of making all men free.

The statesmen of that day compare favorably with those of any period of the nation's history. The soldiers were as superb as any who ever veiled the sun with their banners, or shook the earth with their martial tread. Grant and Lee, Johnson and Sherman, Sheridan and Jackson, Longstreet and Thomas, rank with great captains of ancient or modern times. Battles were fought, which in point of fatality and numbers engaged, surpasses all which preceded or followed them.

And now, after the mists of prejudice have melted from our eyes, and we are enabled to see the bright stars of truth and reason which shine beyond, all can plainly divine the sentiments which inspired the actors in that bloody drama.

That the Union shall have been preserved and slavery abolished, all are ready to concede. That the victors won in honorable fight, no one will dispute. But while this is manifest, it is equally true that those who were fortunately defeated were inspired by sincere devotion to principles conscientiously believed to be just; that they fought with valor, equaled along by those who opposed them, but never surpassed; and their heroic suffering and bravery entitle them to the admiration of all mankind.

There could be no more convincing evidence of the righteous termination of that great struggle than the present grandeur and power of the Republic—today the richest nation on earth, the workshop and granary of the globe.

No sane man would revive the institution of slavery, for the heroic blood of our negro troops has obliterated every lingering regret of the master, and proclaimed, in unmistakable language, that the liberty of 1898 is better than the slavery of 1861.

A famous poem represents an imaginary midnight review of Napoleon's army. The skeleton of a drummer boy arises from the grave, and, with bony fingers, beats a long, loud reveille. At the sound that legions of the dead Emperor come from their graves, from every quarter where they fell. From Paris, from Toulon, from Rivoli, from Lodi, from Hohenlinden, from Wagram, from Austerlitz, from the cloud-capped summits of the Alps, from the shadows of the pyramids, from the snows of Moscow, from Waterloo—they gather in one vast array, with Ney, McDonald, Massena, Duroc, Kleber, Murat, Soult, and other Marshals in command. Forming, they silently pass in melancholy procession before the Emperor, and are dispersed with "France" as the password, and "St. Helena" as the challenge.

Imagine the resurrection of the two great armies of the Civil War. We see them arising from Gettysburg, from the Wilderness, from Shiloh, from Missionary Ridge, from Stone River, from Chickamauga—yes, from a hundred fields—and passing, with their great commanders, in review before our martyred President. In their faces there is no disappointment, no sorrow, no anguish, but they beam with light and hope and joy. With them there is no St. Helena, no exile; and they are dispersed with "Union" as the challenge and "Reconciliation" as the password.

The monument dedicated today may, in the rush of years, crumble and fall into dust, but around the summits of Lookout and Missionary Ridge, like gathered mists, shall

remain forever the memories of these historic fields, and in very heart shall be a monument of love and strength and patriotism, which will perpetuate, through all coming time, the glories of that great conflict.

Looking into the future, may not the fond hope be indulged: That, in the end, our country may, in all things, be deliberate, just, and wise? That our flag may wave in triumph, feared by tyrants in every land and on every sea? That beneath its folds shall gather the oppressed of every clime; and that the slave, struggling beneath the rod of oppression, shall feel his chains grow lighter, his heart to leap with joy, and shall hail its colors as a deliverance? That nations which have been bitten by the serpent of rapacity and conquest shall look upon its folds and be healed, as were those, who, with faith, looked upon the brazen image which was lifted up in the wilderness? God grant that ours shall be the victory of enlightenment and liberty, the triumph of right over might, of justice over injustice, of humanity over cruelty and oppression, until empires shall have passed away and the nations of earth become one!

And now, sir (to Gen. H. V. Boynton, President Chickamauga Park Commission), after thanking you for your uniform kindness and courtesy, I deliver into your worthy hands, as President of the Chickamauga Park Commission, with the full assurance that it shall be properly cared for, this heartfelt tribute to Kentucky to her valiant sons.

(NOTE.—On this monument there was inscribed the following noble inscription, vital with the spirit of reconciliation and patriotism, written by Governor Bradley, and quoted in his Arlington and Kentucky Capitol addresses included herein: "As we are united in life, and they united in death, let one monument perpetuate their deeds, and one people, forgetful of all asperities, forever hold in grateful remembrance all the glories of that terrible conflict which made all men free and preserved every star on the Nation's flag.")

## PRESENT DILEMMA IN AMERICA'S FISHING INDUSTRY

HON. ROBERT H. STEELE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 9, 1972

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Speaker, fishing is an important industry in this country. An article in the Maine Times of February 11 aptly describes the current problems in the fishing industry in New England. The effects of these problems are far reaching, for the fisherman, the processor and the consumer.

This fine analysis was written by William Langley. The text follows:

TODAY: HIGH PRICES—TOMORROW: NO FISH?

If you've been eating less fish lately but paying more money for it, you're not alone. This winter is breaking all records for the high cost of fish in Maine.

While the consumer suffers at one end and the fisherman at the other, there are indications that what is happening to the fishing industry is the result of years of neglect and abuse of the natural resources of the sea. And since the causes are not even conclusively identified yet (although there are plenty of off-the-cuff opinions), any remedy seems a long way off.

To the consumer, the problem is simple and obvious. Fish, which used to be the cheap

staple of the Maine diet, has become as expensive as the beefsteak in the supermarket.

The boat price on haddock, for example, was 30 cents a pound in November, but the cost kept creeping up and by the middle of January haddock was selling for 68 cents a pound from the fishing boat. By the time it left the boat and passed through the wholesaler, processor, or retailer, that same haddock was costing consumers as much as \$2 a pound.

Lobsters are selling for \$1.39 a pound off the boat, but it's costing consumers \$2 a pound on the button in the markets. Fishermen say this is the highest price they've ever seen on lobsters locally.

Halibut is selling for \$2.01 a pound from the boat, but by the time it passes through all the middlemen, the retail consumer is paying more than \$3 a pound.

Cod, that hallowed New England staple, is costing more than it ever has. Usually sold at a boat price of 18 to 20 cents a pound, it has been as high as 44 cents a pound, and dealers say they can't even filet 40 percent of a cod for retail. That figures to a whopping dollar a pound wholesale.

Fishermen in the Portland area have been getting from \$1.55 to \$1.60 a pound for scallops, but the retail price has ranged from \$1.79 a pound in some fish store specials to \$1.89 in other stores, and all the way up to \$2.18 a pound in some supermarkets. Scallops further Down East are reported to be getting \$1.70 per pound boat price.

And some scallopers in the Casco Bay area have had to fish two or three days just to get 60 or 70 pounds of scallops. A good day scalloping is considered anything more than 40 pounds (\$64 wholesale price).

Fishermen, wholesalers, processors, and retailers all agree that the basic reason for spiraling costs is the scarcity of fish, coupled with some bad fishing weather. The lack of fish is so acute that most people in the business think it may be too late to correct the situation.

"There's just too much overfishing in the Casco Bay area," according to Lloyd Darling, a Portland lobsterman and scalloper. "And it's almost too late to do anything about it. We need some sort of controls to make any sense out of it."

Phil Willard of Portland's Central Wharf Fisheries predicts that: "The danger is that any good ideas to save the fishing industry here will be tried too late. After the industry is dead, someone will say, 'Hey, let's try a little something here in Portland.' It will be too late then."

John Alfiero of Portland's Harbor Fish Market (after more than 30 years in the business) says bluntly: "The day is going to come when you're not going to worry about the high price of fish; you're going to worry about getting any fish at all."

One of the problems is that in Maine at least, fishing has always been taken for granted and there haven't been that many controls on the industry in the manner that beef or canned soup are controlled. But in any review of the scarcity of fish or the general decline of the industry the discussion can't be kept to Maine alone because there are national and international factors involved.

The reason for such high fish prices come down to:

1. A scarcity of fish, or a low volume of the raw material.
2. Expanding markets which command a higher price.
3. High waterfront taxes and increased capital expenditures in the industry for boats, gear, and waterfront property.

And the reasons for the scarcity of fish can be boiled down to:

1. General overfishing.
2. The preponderance of foreign fishing fleets in the Gulf of Maine and off the Grand Banks.

3. Lack of any real conservation measures, especially for ground fish.

4. And the so-called cold water temperature cycle theory.

American fishermen had the Gulf of Maine and the Grand Banks more or less to themselves for hundreds of years, but now there are up to 10 foreign nations fishing the same area (mostly Russians and Germans), and as many as 250 foreign fishing boats have been spotted in one day out there. Most of them work around the clock, don't throw anything away, and have large factory ships on hand to process the catch.

Officials have pointed out that the failure to impose any fish conservation measures on ground fish (particularly on George's Bank) have been damaging to flounder, haddock, cod, hake, pollack, cusk, halibut and ocean perch. They say that those grounds should have been left alone during spawning periods to insure normal survival of the species.

And the cold water cycle theory has it that lobster, whiting, and even shrimp are reduced in numbers during the five to 10 year cold water periods.

Overfishing has two edges, however. It costs more to overfish these days. There is agreement that more boats are fishing now, and this cuts the pie into more pieces. Increased per boat expenses continue to drive the prices higher.

With the increase of smaller fishing draggers in the Portland area, this means the traditional larger draggers have become extinct. There are only three people left in the ocean perch (or redfish or brim) business in Maine now: two in Rockland, and one in Portland.

Most lobstermen in Casco Bay now have some 2,000 traps each set out, which is generally regarded as a lot of traps for one boat. One of them is reported to have nearly 3,000 traps out.

But, as has happened with so many of Maine's natural resources harvested for commercial purposes, the fishing industry is changing in some ways while it remains relatively primitive in others. It's the classic example of the ones who actually harvest the resource, the ones who do the actual work and take the risks, not changing their outlook or methods, while the middlemen impose all sorts of adjustments for greater profit.

The big news in the fishing industry today is the large processors. None of them, of course, goes near the water. They get their raw materials (fish) from trucks and not from boats. They order their frozen supplies (fish) from all over the world and then they process it like any other raw material. And most of these facilities aren't anywhere near the water or a waterfront.

The Maine fishing industry is composed of some 200 small and independent primary processors, however, who get the largest percentage of their raw material right out of the boat and then sell to local markets as well as distant national and international markets through brokers.

But most of the Maine fishing industry is old, and most of the people in it have been in it for generations, and these small outfits up and down the coast were originally set up to do a large volume of business with an inexpensive raw material such as cod, whiting, ground fish, lobster, and shrimp.

For the variety of reasons cited above, during the past five to 10 years the fish supply has dwindled, markets have expanded, and instead of dealing with 100,000 pennies a day, these smaller outfits are now dealing with 4,000 quarters a day. In other words, there is less volume of fish at a higher price, and that's the real sickness of the industry.

The whiting fishery, for example, is believed by many in the business to be all but dead. Three years ago, some 20 million pounds of whiting were landed in Maine. Two years ago there was half of that, and a year ago

there was half again of that. Whiting has been the classic high volume, low price fish. With the decrease in whiting volume, the price has gone up from about 11 cents a pound to some 30 cents a pound, which is an impossible competitive position against the Argentine and South African imports. Even though the Maine whiting is considered to be a superior product, the middlemen can't compete with such a price differential in the international market. So Maine is caught sitting on a worthless higher priced product.

Other industry problems cited are pollution, tattered waterfront facilities, and the well-known reluctance of Maine banks to invest in fishing industry ventures.

Aside from the profit motive, everyone is in the Maine fishing business for different reasons: family tradition, as an incidental income to other operations, purely romantic visions. A few are in it quite frankly for the rip-off possibilities and are squeezing it for everything it's worth.

One of the biggest internal problems of the industry is the lack of organization, both among the fishermen and the middlemen and processors.

"The fishermen is his own worst enemy. And the processor is his own worst enemy," according to one processor. "There is a lack of concern for conservation measures, for communication, unity or purpose. And this may be more so among processors than it is among fishermen."

But most seem to feel there must be more organization within the industry, and some suggest the concept of cooperatives because they are working abroad, on the West Coast, and even in Rhode Island.

While one spokesman will flatly reject the idea of cooperatives, others will give a provisional O.K.

"It would seem to be a matter of good timing," according to one. "It can't be done, for example, during a good fishing season because everyone's busy and making money and doesn't care about cooperatives. We should try it during a slack season when everyone is idle and trying like hell to keep the bills paid."

The best cooperatives have been the result of a community effort in smaller towns in this country, Norway, and Sweden, where everyone gets involved in it one way or the other. That makes it a tough prospect for Portland, for instance, which really doesn't depend on the fishing industry as it once did.

Taking a long view, Central Wharf's Willard cited a New England planning report which report which explained that many of the area's fishing ports are run down because 150 years ago anyone who came to these ports came by water, lived close to the water, and conducted his affairs mostly via the water. The communities may have been strung out for as much as a mile along the waterfront, but the buildings would only go about three blocks deep because everything was concentrated on the waterfront.

Then the railroads came along, scooping up more travel and consumer options, even though water traffic was still a factor because the boats could still connect with the trains somewhere on the waterfront.

Then came the trucks and the highways, and there wasn't any room on the waterfront for them so they moved back away from the water. Finally, the aircraft arrived and the airports had to be built even further away from the waterfront. So a lapse developed in ocean traffic and even fishing because the action was elsewhere.

But taxes on the waterfront stayed high because it was once prime property, and taxes just don't go down.

"For these reasons and others, the waterfront sealed its own doom by just looking one way—out to sea," according to Willard. "The waterfront concentrated on anything that came and went by sea, or anything that came out of the sea. But in so doing, it



turned its back on the rest of the community and ignored progress.

"Industry is going to leave the waterfront and the area will probably be left for anyone who wants to run a motel, restaurant, or a ferry boat service. There's nothing left here to interest anyone. The inefficiencies on the waterfront and the high cost of doing business here all add to high cost of seafood."

"If I were going to build a new fish processing plant today I'd go out to Standish [about 20 miles inland] and pay only maybe \$250 a year in taxes rather than say \$10,000 on the waterfront. Then I'd get about a half dozen refrigerated trucks and zip along the coast picking up fish and bring them back to the plant."

One theory is that a central fish operation should be established on the waterfront to handle landings, processing, marketing, and merchandising all together. Among other things, it might make fishermen more knowledgeable about their product.

"Fishermen don't really know if 18 cents a pound for shrimp is half what it's worth or twice what it's worth," according to one industry source. "Everyone tells him something different. And sometimes the processors don't even know themselves."

It's believed that such a central operation would upgrade the quality of the product by, among other things, putting the fisherman closer to the consumers who eat his catch, because the fisherman just doesn't care that much now. And because of stiff competition, the processors aren't as quality conscious as they could be.

Because of the high fish price to the consumer, the low price to the fisherman, the dwindling fish catch, and the aggressive activity of the middlemen, Maine fishermen are leaving both the state and the industry in droves.

Just four years ago on the Portland waterfront, a life-long fisherman threw a husky tantrum when a friend told him of buying a couple of pounds of fish on sale at a supermarket. The fisherman became nearly apoplectic because he felt his friend shouldn't have to buy fish anytime or anywhere for any reason as long as he was a fisherman and could provide them for nothing.

"If you're my friend, you don't ever have to buy fish. Just tell me what you want and I'll get it for you. I'm a fisherman," he said.

That kind of pride in what one does is fast disappearing in the industry. That fisherman, in fact, doesn't even live or work in the state anymore.

And any casual visitor to the waterfront when the boats were unloading their fish used to be able to jokingly ask for a fish and have four or five thrown to him. These days you can't even buy a fish off the boat because of their scarcity and price.

#### ANTIBURGLAR BILL LEGISLATION INTRODUCED

#### HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing with the distinguished chairman of the Select Committee on Crime (Mr. PEPPER) legislation that would promote throughout the country the use of the latest antiburglar technique.

Our bill would authorize \$2 million in Federal funds for local communities and police forces for the purchase and publicizing of electric engraving pencils.

These electric etching pencils are the latest and hottest tactic being used to foil professional burglars. People in various communities have been using these special pencils for several years now to engrave their license numbers or social security numbers into objects of value such as televisions, stereos, and other items that appeal to burglars. In fact, some communities have purchased these special pencils in quantity and have started campaigns to encourage residents to borrow the etching pencils—usually supplied by the police departments—to mark their objects of value.

Marking objects of value with an electric engraving pencil makes it virtually impossible for burglars to "fence" or sell these valuables. Where these etching pencils have been tested, the results have been startlingly good. In Monterey Park, Calif., there have been only three burglaries in 3,000 homes which have been participating in the program since 1963. In contrast, the 7,000 nonparticipating Monterey homes have been burglarized more than 1,000 times in the same 9-year period.

Our legislation would provide for grants to local communities and police forces to buy etching pencils—which cost about \$5 apiece when purchased in bulk—who in turn will lend them to residents to use in marking their objects of value. The \$2 million authorized under our legislation would provide for about one etching pencil to be bought for every 1,000 Americans. It would also allocate money to local communities for publicizing this new antiburglar campaign, as well as for purchasing stickers which participants can slap on their doors and windows to inform potential burglars that their valuables have been marked with the special engraving pencils. These stickers generally read:

All items of value on these premises have been marked for ready identification by law enforcement agencies.

Our legislation would also require the Law Enforcement Assistance Agency to formulate a standard nationwide system for the marking of valuables.

Mr. Speaker, it is important to emphasize the potentially great benefits that could accrue from such a small expenditure of money. This is one of those very unusual areas where a very small amount of money could make a very large dent in the soaring burglary rate. The idea behind this legislation is to encourage communities all across the country to promote the use of electric engraving pencils as a major antiburglar tactic. We are very hopeful that with a couple million dollars we can prevent hundreds of millions of dollars of burglaries.

Below I would like to include three articles which explain in some detail this new antiburglar technique:

[From the Better Homes and Gardens magazine, March 1971]

#### HERE'S A PLAN THIEVES DON'T LIKE

Home burglaries in 31 Southern California communities have been reduced dramatically by a simple, inexpensive method which you can help get started in your own town. The plan works like this:

Engrave your driver's license number on your valuable possessions that burglars find

most appealing—television sets, radios, stereos, tape recorders, bicycles, cameras, typewriters, electric tools, jewelry, musical instruments.

Then, put stickers on your home's front door and other obvious places advising potential thieves that "all items of value on these premises have been marked for ready identification by law enforcement agencies."

This helps foil a thief in three ways. First, if he is stopped by police with the marked items in his possession, he can't plead convincingly that they are his own. Second, your possessions now are easily identifiable which means "fences" who buy and resell stolen property are cool to the items; the thief gets stuck with the goods when what he really wants is money. Third, the stickers may discourage a thief from breaking in at all.

The key to success is for a large number of citizens in a community or area to participate so thieves will know they are operating in dangerous territory.

#### EXCELLENT RESULTS ARE POSSIBLE

The "Operation Identification" brainstorm was originated in Monterey Park by its police chief, Everett F. Holladay, in 1963. Since then, the plan has spread rapidly. The results are startling in Holladay's city (population: 50,000) where among 4,000 participating households, there have been only three burglaries since the program was initiated. In the 7,000 non-participating homes, there have been more than 1,800 burglaries. Ironically, homeowners are quick to join up after they have been victimized. "If we can get everybody to participate," Holladay says, "it looks as if we will have licked the burglary problem."

The program makes an excellent project for civic organizations. For example, in Monterey Park, the Exchange Club financed the drive—and so far its total investment is less than \$300. The money was spent on a dozen etching tools with points that will work on all kinds of surfaces (about \$10 each) and for printing the stickers. The tools are loaned by police to homeowners at no cost for three days at a time.

Numbers make it much easier to identify objects and track down rightful owners. Verbal descriptions are not nearly so efficient, as evidenced by police auctions across the country, where recovered stolen items are sold because ownership can't be established. The driver's license number probably is the best identification tag, even though it changes in some states, because federal restrictions prohibit using a social security number to trace individuals.

Chief Holladay offers additional recommendations to help your community establish an anti-burglary program:

Work to obtain widespread publicity in order to gain community support and discourage thieves.

Instruct citizens to engrave the identification number on the nonremovable parts of the item, near the manufacturer's serial number if possible.

Give each citizen a blank form so he can list all the engraved objects and the locations of the numbers.

[From the Parade magazine, Aug. 22, 1972]

#### A SIMPLE WAY TO STOP BURGLARS

(By James H. Dygert)

SAGINAW, MICH.—Mrs. Clarence Graebner Jr. of Saginaw, Mich., was surprised to hear from the police when she answered her phone recently. The officer said her stolen property had been recovered and Mrs. Graebner was not aware that it had been stolen.

Police had found TV sets, guns, water skis, binoculars and a guitar near some trees in a rural area. Some of the items were traced to Mrs. Graebner's husband through his driver's license number, which he had

etched on them with an electric engraving pencil. Graebner got back a TV, a shotgun and two binoculars stolen from his summer cottage before he knew they were gone.

A widow engraved her driver's license number on her two children's bicycles. The bikes were stolen, but the lady had them back again a few days later. The thief had abandoned them after trying to file off the identifying numbers.

Both recoveries were credited to "Operation Identification," an anti-burglary tactic now beginning to spread across the country after outstanding success in Monterey Park, Calif. Since 1963 in Monterey Park, there have been only three burglaries in the 4000 homes participating in the program.

Home burglaries have dropped in similar dramatic fashion in 30 other southern California communities. So far this year 20 Michigan cities have jumped on the bandwagon. The Independent Insurance Agents of America is promoting the program with the slogan, "Put Thieves Out of Business."

Congress has taken an interest in the tactic as an effective weapon against the rising number of burglaries, which already exceed all other crimes combined by two to one, and now cost America about half a billion dollars a year.

The strategy is simple. You just engrave your driver's license number on your TV sets, radios, tape recorders, stereos, typewriters, cameras, jewelry, musical instruments, guns, electric tools, lawn mowers and other articles that burglars like.

You also slap on doors and windows most likely to be used for illegal entry a sticker that reads, "All items of value on these premises have been marked for ready identification by law enforcement agencies."

#### NOT WORTH THE RISK

The idea is to persuade burglars that breaking into your home would be too unprofitable to be worth the increased risk.

Marked items lead to the rightful owner and provide proof of theft. "Proper identification of stolen articles is one of the biggest problems facing law enforcement agencies," says Michigan's state police director, Col. John R. Plants.

More important, burglars don't want your solid-state transistor or clarinet for themselves. They want to sell the loot, often to support a drug habit. But they know fences don't buy items that are easily identifiable as stolen.

Operation Identification works best in a state like Michigan that puts driver license records in a central computer. The cop who stops a station wagon full of TV's and other suspicious items can determine in a few minutes whom they belong to if they bear a driver's license number.

Police departments are lavish with praise for the idea. Many are helping promote the program in their communities. Some have made the police station the place where homeowners come to borrow for a few days one of the \$10 electric etching pencils provided by a local civic club, homeowner group or Independent Insurance Agents chapter. In Beverly Hills, Mich., the village council put up \$300 for 30 engravers to lend residents, then got the money back in donations.

It all started in the fertile brain of Monterey Park Police Chief Everett F. Holladay in 1963. A Saginaw resident brought the concept back from a California trip. From there it spread to the Independent Insurance Agents of Michigan, which put up \$14,000 last February to promote the program as a public service project among its 80 chapters. Taking to heart Chief Holladay's advice to discourage thieves with widespread publicity to build community support, the insurance agents group distributed kits of display cards, TV and newspaper ad copy, bumper stickers, other promotion materials

and window stickers. Some insurance agents are financing ads and engravers on their own.

#### FLOOD OF INQUIRIES

In June the Independent Insurance Agents of America sent data on the program to other state groups and suggested they follow Michigan's example. Michigan was inundated with requests for information and assistance.

Rep. Claude Pepper of Florida, chairman of the Select Committee on Crime, said, "A program such as this could be easily initiated in virtually all the states." One suggestion is requiring states to use a system of permanent driver license numbers.

The insurance men do not claim that public service is their only motive. Success for Operation Identification means fewer claims and lower costs for the insurance companies they represent—and a good image for the insurance business. Some look forward to passing back some of the savings to policyholders in the form of lower premiums for participating—which should also induce further spread of the program and sell more policies. They also hope to get insurance firms to underwrite a national ad campaign to sell America on Operation Identification.

#### IT'S UP TO YOU

The new police chief of Birmingham, Mich., said as he took office in July that rising crime must be fought with new concepts. "It takes two factors for a crime to be committed," said Rollin G. Tobin. "A state of mind in the criminal and the opportunity. Judicious use of the tools of technology can eliminate the second element. Citizens will have to do their part through care of their possessions and cooperation with police."

Exactly what Operation Identification is all about.

[From the Washington Post Potomac magazine, Apr. 25, 1971]

#### COULD A CALIFORNIA PROGRAM HELP REDUCE D.C. BURGLARIES?

(By Jack Harrison Pollack)

Every 16 seconds a burglary was committed in the U.S. last year. In 1971 there will be an estimated two million burglaries—an all-time high.

Thousands of California homeowners have been dramatically reducing burglaries through a simple, free, new method. It not only discourages theft, but aids police in identifying and recovering stolen property.

Householders in more than 30 Southern California communities now have their drivers' license numbers engraved on the valuables that burglars most often steal from homes—television sets, radios, hi-fi's, tape recorders, typewriters, adding machines, bicycles, cameras, binoculars, tools, jewelry, musical instruments and other portable possessions. If license-engraved belongings are stolen, it makes them to "hot" for a thief to sell or handle because the driver's license can readily be used by authorities to trace the owner at his most recent address.

Called "Operation Identification," this unique license engraving is done with a small, lightweight \$10 electric etching tool. It is loaned to people without cost for three days when they apply at their local police station front information desk any time of the day or night. At home, with this etching tool's tantalum carbide or diamond point, the person then engraves his license number on the metal, glass, wood, plastic and ceramic surfaces of his prized possessions.

After he does and returns this etching device, he is given a blank form to list, for his personal files, all of his engraved objects and the exact spot where the license number is etched. He is also given a small blue and yellow sticker to paste on his front door or window which reads:

"We have joined Operation Identification. All items of value on these premises have been marked for ready identification by Law Enforcement Agencies."

Since this unique crime prevention program quietly began in residential Monterey Park, Calif. (pop. 50,000), several years ago, only three burglaries have occurred there among the 3,000 participating households. And in only one home was a license-engraved object stolen—a transistor radio.

In sharp contrast to this amazing near-zero record, Monterey Park's 7,000 still unstickered residences have suffered more than a thousand burglaries. Largely because of apathy, the victims have never gotten around to borrowing the free etching tool. But after a burglary, they invariably do.

"When we get everybody to participate, we'll have licked the burglary problem," says Everett F. Holladay, Monterey Park police chief, who conceived this idea.

The local Exchange Club, a civic organization composed of business and professional men, has paid the entire cost of this home protection project. Thus far, the total investment has been less than \$300—mainly for purchasing a dozen etching tools and printing the stickers.

People shouldn't engrave their license number on removable parts such as doors, lids and plates, advises Chief Holladay, but preferably in a conspicuous place near the manufacturer's serial number, if there is one. Many manufacturers of appliances and equipment engrave serial numbers on their products. Though insurance companies and police departments have long urged that these serial numbers be listed and filed for ready reference in case of theft, few people do it.

"It is usually very difficult and time-consuming to get from a victim an accurate verbal description of a stolen object," observes Chief Holladay. "Sure, some people are stopped by police officers because of suspicious actions and seemingly stolen objects in their cars. Mere suspicion, though, is insufficient cause for arrest. But when your operator's license is etched on your property, it helps to apprehend a thief possessing it who doesn't have a bill of sale or other proof of ownership. This is prima-facie evidence of an offense and reasonable cause to detain a suspect for further investigation. It also enables the prompt return of your stolen property."

Many stolen valuables are sold at police auctions because ownership can't be established. Proper identification has always been a problem for law enforcement. Thousands of messages are teletyped daily to police departments describing stolen items. But sheer volume of information prohibits any single police department from having more than a cursory knowledge of them and it is generally limited to a local area. "The average patrolman can't be expected to identify a stolen item on sight unless the crime has been reported, has occurred locally and he has had a pre-shift briefing," says Chief Holladay.

But the results of license-engraving among cooperating Monterey Park homeowners have been so spectacular that recently 30 other Southern California towns have adopted "Operation Identification."

Requests on how to start an "Operation Identification" project have poured into Monterey Park from law enforcement and community agencies in nearly every other state and a half dozen foreign countries. Many ask: "Why isn't a social security number used instead of a driver's license?" The answer: because of federal restrictions, a social security number can't be used to trace individuals. Your operator's license is often the only number readily identifiable by law enforcement agencies. In some states like California, it is never changed or reissued.



This would be exactly the problem if such a plan were tried in Washington: numbers on operators' permits change every couple of years.

"It's a great idea if we could get a (standard, unchanging) number," says Deputy Chief of Police Mahlon Pitts, in charge of the Criminal Investigation Division.

Pitts feels that stickers "wouldn't deter any addict who needs a boost. He won't go around looking for a decal at night." But, Pitt feels, the system would have great value in recovering stolen property, as long as the numbers were always marked in the same place on stealable items, and as long as the number couldn't be obliterated by being scratched or filed off, or treated with acid.

#### HORTON COMMENDS JOHN M. WILSON ON HIS OUTSTANDING LEADERSHIP IN URBAN EDUCATION

### HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, outstanding achievement in any field should prompt acknowledgement and appreciation by all who become aware of it. But when it involves shaping the lives of our youngsters and our country's future, it should be not only acknowledged and appreciated, but should be proclaimed far and wide so that many may join in the praise and thanks.

The education of our urban children, particularly those living in less affluent areas, has been too long ignored. In many communities, inner-city schools receive an unfairly low proportion of financial support and a shameful lack of attention from area residents and leaders whose decisions form the lives of these children. Our country is just beginning to realize the immense importance school plays in the lives of these youngsters and, as a result, in the future progress of the community. Individual leadership and initiative are needed to guide our children and to upgrade our efforts in these inner-city schools.

Such a leader is John M. Wilson, Sr., principal of Rochester, New York's Madison High School. In a time of changing values, he has established himself in the community as an outstanding educator who has found the much sought-after key to human relations within the student body of an inner-city high school.

Mr. Wilson came to Rochester after several years experience as principal of a high school in Louisiana. He became familiar with the Rochester community by serving as a vice principal at Benjamin Franklin High School, under principal Pincus Cohen. Mr. Cohen is another outstanding educator. He, too, has an enviable record as a leader of young people and as an administrator who is successfully meeting the challenge facing our public schools.

A good case for much of John M. Wilson's expertise could be made in his personal expression of faith. He is quoted as saying:

I pray every day; I ask God to help me; I don't pray for specific things, only that He helps me to set an example.

The talents and abilities of Mr. Wilson have brought him to the attention of many, including columnist Cliff Carpenter who writes daily in the Rochester Democrat and Chronicle. Mr. Carpenter has an exceptional talent for seeking out those things in his community which are worthy of recognition, sometimes with praise, sometimes with criticism.

In a recent column, Cliff Carpenter paid tribute to John M. Wilson, Sr. His column tells the story of John M. Wilson, Sr. It is titled Mr. Wilson's Wisdom and I would like to share it now with my colleagues in the Congress, believing they, too, will join me in commending this man who is successfully dealing with some of our country's most urgent problems.

The column follows:

#### MR. WILSON'S WISDOM

It is calm these days at aging Madison High School, scarred and stained by a thousand classes of young people down through the years.

A black man sits in the principal's chair, a soft-voiced man, who works with a copy of the New Testament in his top desk drawer, and a great and stubborn love and respect for young people.

John M. Wilson Sr. is a fit-looking, early-fortyish man who played a bit of football at Grambling, who was principal for several years at an all-black school in Monroe, La.; was vice principal (here) at Benjamin Franklin, and now has taken over at Madison as acting principal. He lives by the Golden Rule, literally lives by it, which is difficult to contemplate in times of the big grab and the fast buck.

Occasional notes that have crossed my desk lately suggested that Wilson should be listened to because "the man has something."

So I whittled a piece of time out of his day and listened. It is easy and yet it isn't, because Wilson shuffles and deals credit in all directions, faculty and students and parents, leaving not too much for himself.

A curious old morality glows through, that reverence for virtues once accepted more widely than today . . . "John Wilson has great experience, a genuine understanding of human nature, a respect for every human," says Wilson's ex-boss, Pincus Cohen, principal of Benjamin Franklin, "but beyond this he holds to ideas 2,000 years old, about morality and decency and honor and the value of work."

Wilson believes that you have to tell the truth at all times, tell it like it is, tell it even if it means you yourself get hurt. Then, having told the truth, you must always do what you say you are going to do, both to young people and to the faculty.

He believes it is the obligation of every man to try to live the sort of life he would want the students to live . . . "I pray every day; I ask God to help me; I don't pray for specific things, only that He help me to set an example. . . ."

But his admission of a deep faith doesn't mean Wilson is a patsy for a tough crowd. You cannot show fear, he says, "You cannot back off when you know you are right, for if you do you'll be walked on."

There is persuasion in his earnestness.

"If a young person does something wrong, and if he know it, and then if I don't say anything about it to him, it means I don't love him . . . and we must never do that to anybody."

"I think that what students are saying

these days is that they are really trying, that they want an education, but also that they want somebody to tell them how they are doing, right or wrong. They don't want to be ignored. They want to be told they are people. They want to be liked."

He thought for a long moment, then:

"I think perhaps they are tired of the unrest and the confusion of the past few years; they can see that changes have happened for the better; they know that they have to get that education to get a job; and we have to tell them we know this too and we trust them."

Wilson insists that his path at Madison was eased before he got there by co-operative parents such as those of the Madison Unity Group. I left, and stuck my head in the darkened school auditorium on the way out, in time to see two students approach a third sitting alone on an aisle seat, and in time to hear them say—"Now look here, you got no business here, so you get back to class where you belong." It sounded quite right, just the way it would be taught by a black Baptist school principal who works with his hand on the New Testament.

#### PRESIDENT FRANKLIN PIERCE

### HON. PAUL S. SARBANES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. Speaker, in recent months there has been a renewed interest in the Presidency of Franklin Pierce, our 14th President, who held that high office from March 4, 1855 to March 3, 1857. A great deal of this interest has been generated by an energetic Washington lawyer, David Epstein, who has spent considerable time and effort researching the Pierce Presidency. As a result of his research, Mr. Epstein founded the Friends of Franklin Pierce, whose motto is "To rescue him from the obscurity he so richly deserves."

Mr. Epstein wrote an amusing article, which appeared in the November 27, 1971, edition of the Washington Post, describing in some detail the lesser known events of the Pierce Presidency. In the belief that this article will be of interest to my colleagues in the Congress and the hope that the debate that this article has generated will continue, I would like to include the article at this point in the RECORD:

AN UNREMARKED PRESIDENTIAL BIRTHDAY: REMEMBERING FRANKLIN PIERCE (WHICH FEW PEOPLE DO)

(By David Epstein)

As it has in the past, the country this week ignored the birth date of President Franklin Pierce who, in the opinion of those who have reviewed his presidency, ranks as the most obscure and among the least successful of the American Presidents.

Pierce's obscurity is such that even humorous anecdotal material generated by his life and times has been forgotten, much like his presidential administration. For example, in 1845, Pierce, then a captain in the Mexican War, in a cavalry charge near Vera Cruz, Mexico, fainted and fell off his horse. During the presidential campaign of 1852, this incident was cited as evidence of Pierce's cowardice. In rebuttal, his adherents asserted that the true version of the occurrence was that the horse had stumbled, and in the

process of being thrown from the animal, the saddle horn struck Pierce in the groin, rendering him unconscious.

Although he had been a former representative and senator in the Congress prior to seeking the presidency, the quality which made Pierce most acceptable for the office was that he was a Northerner who held strong Southern sympathies in viewing the sectional issues which were then, in the pre-Civil War days, rending the country. Persons of this stripe were, in some quarters, sneeringly referred to as "doughfaces." A bitter piece of doggerel on this theme was applied to Pierce who, like his predecessor Fillmore and successor Buchanan, were in the view of many, bent on ignoring or avoiding the key issues of the time—the expansion of slavery:

"The dough, the dough; the facial dough  
The more that yields when you tweak it  
so!

It sighs for the spoils—it sells its soul  
For a spoonful of pap from the Treasury  
bowl."

In recalling Pierce, aside from musing on the quaint occurrences of his life and administration, two conclusions may be drawn. First, contrary to the conventional wisdom, an individual does not, merely by assuming the presidency, "grow" in office. Pierce, as it were, although he had actively sought the office, in his inaugural address, with a certain amount of unintended prophecy, stated that he had "been borne to a position so suitable for others rather than desirable for myself" adding, "[Y]ou have summoned me in my weakness; you must sustain me by your strength."

The Inauguration augured the administration. The Inaugural Parade was snubbed by the District of Columbia Fire Department because of Pierce's failure to attend or even respond to an invitation to attend a party given in his honor by the Fire Department.

At the oath-taking ceremony itself, which took place on a bitter wintry Washington day, rather than follow the practice of all his predecessors and read a prepared speech, Pierce delivered an extemporaneous oration of more than 3,000 words. During the extended course of these remarks 65,000 of the 80,000 member crowd left the inaugural scene. Due to the exposure, Abigail Fillmore, the wife of the outgoing President, caught a cold which resulted in her death a month later.

Pierce's vice president, William R. King, was not present at the occasion and, by special act of Congress, was allowed to receive the oath of office in Havana, Cuba. Within a few days after taking the oath, King proceeded to die.

At the conclusion of the Inauguration day, Pierce, upon returning to the White House with one of his aides, found the place in complete disarray, all the Fillmore servants having earlier departed. Finding only a single candle to light and undoubtedly cursing the darkness, Pierce could locate only a mattress on the floor upon which to spend his first night in the White House.

Uniquely in American history, Pierce went through four years in office without a change in his cabinet officials, which included Jefferson Davis, as the Secretary of War and soon to be President of the Confederacy.

Various historians, viewing his administration, have found little to discuss. One historian, describing the work of each of the nation's Presidents with respect to their contributions to the City of Washington, states as to Pierce only that he carried on the work of Millard Fillmore in building an asylum, the predecessor of St. Elizabeths Hospital. Another historian who has studied great presidential decisions attributes three to Millard Fillmore, who has some claim to presidential obscurity, and none whatever to

Pierce. During Pierce's administration Commodore Perry opened Japan to the West; the United States purchased that part of the Southwest which became known as the Gadsden Purchase; and the first perforated postage stamps were issued by the government.

Pierce during his presidency, while horseback riding in Rock Creek Park, ran a woman down and earned the distinction of being the first person, as President, to be involved in a criminal offense. While this particular incident may not have been attributable to his heavy drinking, Pierce was, as one historian put it, a "tragic figure" who "suffered from an overfondness for alcohol and a violent allergy to it."

At the conclusion of his administration, Pierce sought the nomination for a second term, but was rejected by his own Democratic Party, earning the distinction of being the only President who having been elected to the office was refused renomination for a second term when one was sought.

Even when preparing to leave office, misadventures continued. On the day preceding Buchanan's Inauguration, Pierce, desiring to put the White House in order for his successor, decided to spend his last night in office at the home of his Secretary of State. On the morning of the Inauguration, the Buchanan inaugural party appeared at the Secretary's home to take Pierce in the procession to the Capitol for the ceremony. He was not there. After some scurrying about, one person recalled having seen Pierce wandering through the lobby of the Willard Hotel, and so the presidential procession went to the hotel and there was Pierce, alone. Pierce, mistakenly expecting to be picked up at the hotel, had gone there without informing anyone.

In retirement during the Civil War, he expressed sympathy for those in the North who wished to stop the Civil War and allow the secession to succeed. Accordingly, charges of treason were hurled against Pierce.

The judgment of Pierce's contemporaries on his administration was harsh. Nathaniel Hawthorne, a college classmate at Bowdoin College, close friend and biographer, admitted "there are scores of men in the country that seem brighter than he is." Ralph Waldo Emerson thought that Hawthorne was "unlucky in having for a friend a man who could not be befriended; whose miserable administration admits of but one excuse, imbecility. Pierce was either the worst, or he was the weakest, of all our Presidents." Indeed, Emerson, upon receiving a book from Hawthorne which was dedicated to Pierce, immediately tore out the dedicatory page. Nor did Emerson appear to believe that a particular compassion was necessary in those pre-Freudian days, to assess Pierce in the light of his personal misfortunes. Pierce, at the time he was President-elect, was involved in a tragic train wreck with his wife and his then only surviving child. The child was killed and his wife, as a result, was unhinged for the rest of her life. One of the other passengers on the train sued the railroad for negligence and Pierce, of all things, hired a prominent lawyer to defend the railroad! The lawyer won the case. The reason Pierce gave for defending the railroad was that his wife was of the view that the son's death was caused by divine intervention so that Pierce would be able to give his undivided attention to the burdens of the presidency.

The second principle to be drawn from Pierce's presidency is that former Presidents should be memorialized only after the passage of time has allowed for dispassionate assessments of individual accomplishments and not just because a person has been President for a period of time. Fortunately, unlike the present day impulse to memorialize a President almost from the moment he

reaches the White House, which has resulted in a proliferation of edifices, under the guise of libraries around the country, honoring Hoover, Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson and soon Nixon, the urge to do so was not so insistent in earlier times. The New Hampshire legislature debated for some 50 years as to whether and in what manner to memorialize this native son who had ascended to the presidency, finally deciding upon an unobtrusive statue on the State Capitol grounds. Curiously, the Pierce statue, while listing all of the offices he held, also lists several offices which he declined, in contrast with Thomas Jefferson's specific instructions that his Monticello tombstone should list only that he was the author of the Declaration of Independence and of the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom and the Father of the University of Virginia, thereby omitting numerous accomplishments including cabinet posts and the presidency.

A contemporary, John Sherman, viewing Pierce's presidency from the post Civil War perspective summed up his presidential career:

"I can appreciate his ability, integrity, and agreeable social qualities, and only regret that he was President of the United States at a time when the sagacity of a Jefferson, the determined courage of a Jackson, or the shrewdness and wisdom of a Lincoln were needed to meet the difficulties and dangers which he had to encounter."

#### BLOOD RELATIONSHIP

### HON. VICTOR V. VEYSEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. VEYSEY. Mr. Speaker, perhaps the most important document yet written on blood resources is "The Gift Relationship," by Prof. Richard M. Titmuss, of the London School of Economics. This book has attracted a great deal of attention since its publication, because of Dr. Titmuss' perceptive comparison of blood collecting methods in a number of countries, including the United States.

The British edition of Titmuss' vital book has been hard to come by in this country. Even the Library of Congress has only a couple copies, and they are constantly on loan and unavailable. Fortunately, however, an American edition is now being published by Pantheon Books, and I recommend it highly.

New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis found "The Gift Relationship" a fascinating analysis. Mr. Lewis noted:

A person who gives blood of his own free will, for the benefit of patients unknown, contributes to something vital and scarce: the sense of community.

Mr. Lewis also stated—

He (Titmuss) shows us that altruism works in a modern society.

And that is a fact. The British blood program is totally volunteer, and the result is an almost complete absence of post-transfusion disease. In this country post-transfusion hepatitis is a serious national menace.

I think altruism can work for us, too. With the proper educational techniques, we can show people the need for more voluntary donors, and the frightening consequences for all when they do not



give. My bill, H.R. 11828, the National Blood Bank Act would provide the tools to put altruism to work.

The January 21, 1971 New York Times review of "The Gift Relationship," follows:

[From the New York Times, Jan. 25, 1971]

#### BLOOD RELATIONSHIP

(By Anthony Lewis)

LONDON, January 24.—A book on methods of collecting blood for medical purposes: It would be hard to imagine a subject less likely to interest the general reader or throw light on broad issues of social organization and values. But that book has just been published in Britain, and it is attracting the fascinated attention it deserves.

It is "The Gift Relationship" by Richard M. Titmuss, professor of social administration at the London School of Economics and one of this country's most respected social thinkers. Americans who wonder whether the economics and ethics of the marketplace are ultimate goods would do well to become familiar with its teaching.

Blood is a commodity in growing demand the world over; in the United States roughly six million units a year are collected. The question is how to obtain the supply.

In Britain virtually all blood is given by voluntary donors. They get nothing tangible in return except a cup of tea. Most other countries rely to a substantial degree on payments or other inducements. Even the Soviet Union gives days off work, housing advantages and in half the cases money.

In the United States about a third of the total supply is bought. Most of the rest is given with other incentives: prisoners who get time off, citizens who are given a right to draw on blood supplies in the future, and so forth. Less than 10 per cent of the blood is volunteered without any strings.

The book compares the American and British systems in terms of simple efficiency. Professor Titmuss uses four tests.

First, the adequacy of supply: In Britain there have been no significant blood shortages; the supply from voluntary donors increased 77 per cent between 1956 and 1967. The U.S. does have shortages: There are no national statistics, but Professor Titmuss estimates that the supply rose only 17 per cent between 1957 and 1967.

Then, wastage: There is almost none in Britain, less than 2 per cent. American experts have estimated that 15 to 30 per cent of all blood collected in the U.S. is wasted by becoming outdated before it is used.

Cost: A unit of blood costs 5 to 15 times as much in the United States as in Britain.

Last, purity of the product: In Britain the incidence of disease from transfused blood is near zero. In the United States there is a severe risk of hepatitis, surveys showing that it strikes 2 to 4 per cent of patients. The reason is plain: Much of the supply comes from addicts, alcoholics and others who sell their blood for money and are more likely to be diseased. Titmuss writes, "the commercialized blood market fails."

"It is highly wasteful of blood, and there are characteristic shortages. It is administratively inefficient; the so-called mixed pluralism of the American market results in avalanches of paper and bills and greater accounting and computer overheads. The price to the consumer is greater. And the blood is more likely to be contaminated."

Professor Titmuss enjoys pricking the marketplace worship of economics. He notes wryly that, under their system of reckoning the gross national product, donated blood adds nothing to G.N.P. but sold blood does—even when it is wasted.

But his purpose and his achievement are deeper than economics. He shows us that altruism works in a modern society, indeed

that it is necessary. Hobbes and his followers are wrong when they say that man can be moved by nothing but his own immediate self-interest.

The remarkable volume of blood donations in Britain must mean that man has a real need to give. The need has, if anything, increased with the complexity of modern society and the remoteness of its institutions.

A person who gives blood of his own free will, for the benefit of patients unknown, contributes to something vital and scarce in our world: the sense of community. The donor helps to create the assurance that he and all of us live in a society where people do not act only out of Hobbesian selfishness, where one gives to a community and may receive from it.

The British are not inherently more altruistic than other people, Professor Titmuss says: They have just been wise or lucky enough to institutionalize altruism. They have done so not only with the blood supply but in medicine generally, through the National Health Service, "the most unsordid act of British social policy in the twentieth century."

"It is a good feeling to give blood," one elderly woman here said when told about Professor Titmuss's book. It is a good feeling also to participate in a system of health care that rejects commercial values.

#### OWENS-ILLINOIS ACTIVE IN RECYCLING AND ENVIRONMENTAL CONTROL

#### HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. COLLINS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, last week when I was visiting in Dallas, I saw two of the positive aspects of environmental control. In Dallas we have the regional office of the Environmental Protection Agency, which is under the very capable direction of Arthur Busch. With Busch's depth of technical knowledge and practical experience, the environmental authority will move rapidly in the Southwest. In talking to Busch, the thing that impressed me the most was his desire to cooperate and constructively work with industry to develop and improve all of their systems of environment control.

Later that day I was visiting with my good friend Phil Friday, who has been with Owens-Illinois for many years as their branch manager. I was interested to learn from Phil that Owens-Illinois considers environment control one of the major responsibilities of the company. The president of the company, E. D. Dodd, is chairman of the Glass and Plastics Containers Division of the National Industrial Pollution Control Council. Here are some of the practical steps that Owens-Illinois is doing within their own operation.

The big move is in recycling glass. The company is encouraging collection of old glass—1971 showed a 350-percent increase over 1970. Different areas are more active, such as Waco, Tex., which collects 328,215 pounds of glass each average month. And the 18 company's glass plants of Owens-Illinois, since mid-1970, have collected over 350,000,000 containers.

The company is finding ways to use this recycled glass. The chief use is to prepare cullets which are used again in the manufacture of new glass containers. One big field that offers great potential is to use this recycled glass as the aggregate for streets.

Waste glass is now being tested with waste plastic to make floor tile, shingles, and wallboard. Waste glass is being used in the manufacture of sanding blocks, road stripping, and glass wool.

New experiments show that crushed glass is useful as the conditioner to aid plants' growth by improving aeration and drainage. For women who like interesting new materials, there are wallstones that have been prepared for flowerbeds and impressive patio stones which are very decorative in the garden.

And not only with the glass itself, but with the entire manufacturing process Owens-Illinois has been very alert. In their Jasper, Tex., plywood plant they have a curtain coater which now applies glue without the need for washing the rollers. In this way they have prevented the excess glue buildup from being washed out with the residue going into municipal sewer systems of streams. This is another step forward at keeping pollution out of our natural water supplies.

Down in Orange, Tex., the Owens-Illinois pine papermaking operation achieved a major breakthrough toward elimination of odor by using liquid oxygen to treat chemicals used in the operation. It has brought a substantial reduction in odor at the mill. It begins with the production of pulp by cooking the wood chips with chemicals.

Over in Valdosta, Ga., the company's huge new lime kiln for converting lime residue into a naptic chemical has been effective as it used the pulp cooking process. A Venturi scrubber, which will significantly reduce emissions in the atmosphere, has been completed at this mill. They have been recovering tons of lime daily for reuse in manufacturing ladder board.

To my good neighbor Phil Friday, who is in industry and is keenly alert to helping reuse and recycle glass, we are most appreciative. I am impressed to see Phil's company, Owens-Illinois, under the capable direction of E. D. Dodd, making every man in the entire Owens-Illinois operation conscious of his responsibility and opportunity. And I am particularly proud to have Arthur Busch directing our environmental program for the Southwest. In Busch we expect to see the Southwest as the model and most progressive area in the Nation.

#### LOBOTOMY FOR CHILD DEVELOPMENT

#### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the reports of a lobotomy being performed on a 9-year-old boy of normal intelligence to

control his behavior and make him more manageable again draw into focus the powers of the state over the parent in child development and rearing.

As the report concludes, the lobotomy resulted in improvement in behavior and memory, but intellectually the patient is deteriorating, all of which raises the question, "Would lobotomies be an accepted procedure for control of children under the new comprehensive child development and child rearing where the state replaces the family and home?"

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

#### RETURN OF THE LOBOTOMY

(By Peter A. Breggin and Daniel S. Greenberg)

A boy of nine with normal intelligence is described as "hyperactive, aggressive, combative, explosive, destructive, sadistic," by his doctor. To control his behavior and make him more manageable, he is operated upon. Holes are drilled through his skull and electrodes are passed deep into his brain to coagulate both sides of the thalamus, the emotion-regulating center of the brain.

Nine months later, the operation is repeated on one side. Now his doctor reports that the boy's behavior is "markedly improved," and he is able to return to a "special education school." But his symptoms reappear a year later and he is subjected to another operation, this time to the fornix, another portion of the emotion-regulating system. His doctor now notes "impaired memory for recent events," a sign of brain damage, and the boy is described as "much more irritable, negativistic, and combative." Consequently, additional destructive lesions are made on the site of the first two operations, the thalamus. His doctor then reports, "The patient has again become adjusted to his environment and has displayed marked improvement in behavior and memory." But, the doctor concludes: "Intellectually, however, the patient is deteriorating."

This report of six destructive lesions in brain of a child to control his aggressiveness and hyperactivity may strike some as tasteless satire, inspired perhaps by an over-excited reaction to the film "A Clockwork Orange," whose sadistic hero undergoes "therapy" designed to eliminate his homicidal and sexual impulses. But it is not satire. The report was published in 1970 in an established medical journal, *Confinia Neurologica*, and the doctor is Orlando J. Andy, professor and director of neurosurgery at the University of Mississippi School of Medicine, Jackson. The operations that he describes are part of a second wave of psychosurgery—popularly known as lobotomy—that is now gaining momentum in the United States and around the world.

#### A DEADENING OPERATION

While capital punishment is progressively being banished in civilized lands, many of these same nations are witnessing a resurgence of what can properly be described as partial murder of the mind. As in the film, it is done for a "good" purpose, the elimination of "undesirable" behavior. Nevertheless, in whatever way those two terms may be defined, the effects of psychosurgery are blunted emotions and subdued behavior, whether the patient suffers from a "behavior" problem—neurosis, psychosis, brain disease—or simply causes too much trouble for someone else's comfort. It is a deadening operation that involves deliberate, irreversible damaging of an individual's brain for the purpose of altering behavior that others have deemed undesirable.

Medically informed laymen and even many physicians commonly say that "it

isn't done any more," reflecting the fact that in the United States, the procedure became discredited—because of its frequently horrifying results—following some 50,000 operations between 1936 and the mid-1950s, and then was almost wholly supplanted by chemical tranquilizers. But years of experience with tranquilizers have demonstrated their shortcomings, and now, employing new surgical techniques, including space-age electronics, the lobotomists are making a comeback.

Comprehensive statistics are lacking, since there is no central registry for surgical procedures in the United States, and in contrast to the regulation of pharmaceutical drugs, there is no government authority that sanctions surgical procedures. All that is required is a licensed physician, a willing hospital, and a patient, three of whom, it will be recalled from press reports last month, were recently provided by the California prison system, which is a pioneer dabbler in revamping the brains of selected inmates. Certified criminals, however, are not the only targets of today's lobotomists. Increasingly, they are focusing their irreversible procedures on the mildly disturbed, with women predominating among the targets and not a few children included as candidates for the operation.

Nationwide, informed estimates place the total at 400 to 600 operations a year, with the numbers rising. Worldwide, there is also an increase, so much so, in fact, that in 1970, some 100 psychosurgeons gathered in Copenhagen to form the International Society for Psychosurgery.

In the United States, psychosurgery is being financed not only by the National Institute of Mental Health, but also by the Justice Department's Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. Among the recipients of the government's financial support is a Boston psychiatrist, Dr. Frank Ervin, director of the Cobb Laboratories at Massachusetts General Hospital, and co-author, with Dr. Vernon Mark, of "Violence and the Brain," which proposes development and systematic application of an "early warning" test to detect persons disposed to exceeding "acceptable violence." This is defined by the authors as "the controlled minimum necessary action to prevent personal physical injury or wanton destruction of property. This definition," the authors suggest, "would apply equally to police or public authorities as well as to politically activist groups (students, racial, etc.) and all violent acts that did not fit into this category would be 'unacceptable.'" Their perpetrators, the authors add, would become eligible for violence-inhibiting treatment, including brain surgery.

Ervin and Mark are associated with a newly founded non-profit corporation, the Neuro Research Foundation of Boston, which holds grants and contracts from NIMH and LEAA totaling at least \$600,000. Included in the funds is a grant of \$108,931 that LEAA awarded to the foundation's president, William H. Sweet, to study "the role of neurobiological dysfunction in the violent offender." Specifically, states an LEAA description of the project, "the grantee will determine the incidence of such disorders in a state penitentiary for men; estimate their prevalence in a non-incarcerated population; and improve, develop, and test, the usefulness of electrophysiological and neurophysiological techniques for the detection of such disorders in routine examinations."

#### TREATMENT OF VIOLENCE

Psychosurgery aims at various portions of the limbic system of the brain—the emotions-modulating network that includes the highest centers of human development, specifically the frontal lobes and the connections between them and the deeper emotion-

energizing areas in the thalamus, hypothalamus, singulum, and amygdala. The closer a lesion is made to the frontal lobes, the more the operation disturbs the most subtle human functions—love, creativity, sensitivity, foresight, sense of self, anticipation of the future, the abstract reasoning. When the operation is deeper down, toward the thalamus and the amygdala, emotion and behavior are subdued without obviously damaging the higher centers. In this fashion, the individual has his emotions cut out without gross misshaping of the intellectual facade.

Underlying the renewed interest in psychosurgery are, first of all, the transformation of violence into a political issue and the tendency to regard it as a problem that can be treated, at least in part, technologically; second is the development of new surgical techniques that permit avoidance of the massive brain gouging that characterized the first wave of lobotomy.

The practice of lobotomy began to taper off, at least in the United States, in the mid-1950s. In large part, this was due to the seemingly spectacular results produced by the newly developed chemical tranquilizers. In addition, however, followup studies—though never great in number and rarely on anything resembling a scientific, controlled basis—made it apparent to even the most rabid lobotomist, that carving up the frontal lobes frequently quieted the patient at the cost of turning him into a tractable vegetable.

Typical of this conclusion was a report by a British psychiatrist, who wrote in 1965 that "huge cuts in the frontal lobes, as well as relieving some symptoms, often produced mutilations of personality which were at least as socially disabling as the symptoms had been, and very disturbing to contemplate."

Some 20 years earlier, the dean of American lobotomists, Walter Freeman, chairman of the George Washington University Department of Neurology, and former president of the D.C. Medical Society, gave up the big cuts—that he himself had pioneered—for lesser cuts, reporting, with his usual enthusiasm, the same high rate of "improvement" that he had trumpeted in connection with his discredited traditional procedure. Lobotomy, nevertheless, went into partial eclipse, leaving behind some 50,000 victims.

The lobotomists, however, did not disband. Though it was clear that surgical intervention in the human brain was on a par with firing bullets into the hood of a car to remedy a knock—with occasional success—they had experienced enough "success" to arouse the belief that less mutilating, more precisely placed interventions were what was called for. And new technology was not long in arriving.

#### NEW TARGET GROUP

As Freeman himself acknowledged in a paper delivered in 1965 to the Washington Academy of Neurosurgery, his original methods were "too damaging to be employed in any but the most chronically and severely disturbed patients." However, there were now new methods of destroying brain tissue, he reported, among them the injection of liquid butane or "the patients' own blood," ultra-sonic beams, electricity to produce tissue-searing heat, implanted electrodes through which current is sent until the surgeon hears "bubbles of steam escaping," gold needles left in place "for several months while weak currents were passed at intervals," radioactive seed implantations, beams from a 185-million-volt cyclotron, and, of course, traditional cutting, though with finer tools.

The newest and most threatening development in psychosurgery may indeed be the use of this technology against new "target" groups: neurotics suffering from anxiety, tension, obsessions and depressions, and particularly women, since the ability to return



to household duties is frequently regarded as evidence of success. In addition, other "social problem" groups are attracting attention: criminals, drug addicts, alcoholics, homosexuals, old people, and hyperactive children. (Only the Soviet Union has banned psychosurgery. The procedure was outlawed in 1950 on the grounds that it fallaciously sought to improve an individual's life by producing a defect in his personality. Psychosurgery was also found to contradict principles of "Russian humanism" as well as the Pavlovian understanding of the brain as a functioning, integrated whole.)

The best known researchers in the application of psychosurgery to violence are the Boston trio of Ervin, Mark and William Sweet. In 1967, after the Detroit riots, they wrote in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* that if social, economic, and racial deprivation were responsible for the riots, then everyone in the ghetto would have been involved. Instead, they noted, only a small portion rioted, and only a still smaller portion committed violent acts. The authors went on to suggest a preventive screening program to detect brain disease and to institute prophylactic treatment for potential rioters.

The types of surgery they perform has repeatedly been demonstrated to blunt the emotions and subdue the behavior of anyone on whom it is tried, and, if necessary, repeated with sufficient destructiveness. These include hyperactive children, alcoholics, drug addicts, psychotics and epileptics of several kinds. Their principal interest, however, is in the application of psychosurgery to criminal violence, and in this regard they find company in Jose Delgado, the noted Yale professor, who in a recent book, "Physical Control of the Mind," proposes a billion-dollar NASA-like endeavor for technologic control of the brain as an answer to domestic and international conflict.

#### VULNERABLE GROUPS

Meanwhile, psychosurgeons continue to work at the more limited task of pacifying various segments of the population. Women are the major target groups in some of the larger psychosurgical studies, particularly those of H. T. Ballantine, of the Massachusetts General Hospital; Peter Kindstrom, at the San Francisco Children's Hospital; and M. Hunter Brown and Jack Lighthill, in Santa Monica. Thus far neurotic individuals who are still able to work and live at home seem to be the preferred group, but now increasing attention is being paid to two particularly vulnerable groups, prison inmates and hyperactive institutionalized children.

A survey of the international literature of psychosurgery indicates that the operation never lost favor in Britain, where the present rate is about 400 per year and rising. An article in the prestigious British medical journal *Lancet* in 1969 advocates psychosurgery for sexual offenders on the grounds that castration is open to question ethically, but psychosurgery is not. In Asia, widespread psychosurgery on children, some age four or younger, has been reported. Hundreds of cases have been reported in India, Thailand, and Japan. A noted Japanese psychosurgeon, visiting the United States to attend a conference on "Neural Bases of Violence and Aggression" last week in Houston, reported earlier that one of his best cases is that of a child who becomes "markedly calm, passive, and tractable, showing decreased spontaneity."

One of the remarkable aspects of psychosurgery—both in the now discredited first wave and in the current resurgence—is that it takes place in a closed system of evaluation that almost inevitably fulfills the prophecies of the psychosurgeons. To the extent that retrospective studies have been conducted, they are generally by psychosurgeons review-

ing their own or work of colleagues. Few others are sufficiently interested to bother with the subject, and this is especially true of psychiatrists and psychologists, many of whom consider psychosurgery a surgical barbarism that does not merit their interest. The patients are almost invariably either friendless inmates of institutions or burdens on relatives who are at their wits' end in dealing with "difficult" behavior.

#### PERSONALITY CHANGES

In the case of those who have been confined to institutions prior to surgery, the outcome is frequently "improved" behavior, which means that the attendants find them less troublesome. If the patient has been living at home prior to surgery, his newly subdued behavior is similarly regarded as evidence of success. As for the patients they tell no tales and make few complaints, for as is noted in the classic text, *Psychosurgery*, "none of the patients regains true insight in the full sense of the word, or is really able to appreciate what the operation was for, or its importance."

The buoyant optimism of today's psychosurgeons in the face of ghastly evidence which they themselves adduce is one of the most bizarre aspects of the new wave. Thus, in a text, "Pharmacological, Convulsive, and other Somatic Treatments in Psychiatry," published in 1969 by Lothar B. Kalinowsky of the New York Medical College, and Hanns Hippus of the Free University of Berlin, it is stated, "The much feared personality changes which were a frequent side-effect of the larger standard lobotomies, are no longer noticeable in the type of patient selected today for the newly devised smaller operations. The fear of personality changes is still the main reason for the reluctance on the part of many psychiatrists to recommend psychosurgery. All those working in this field and seeing the remarkable clinical results, regret this attitude by physicians who never had any contact with actual cases."

Kalinowsky and Hippus then go on to cite a study of 300 cases in which the researcher found, "The patients tend intellectually to be more empty, with restricted interests and simpler satisfactions." They find another researcher reporting "the disappearance of dreams as well as day dreams after lobotomy." Still another review of lobotomy found that the "original artist's work was impossible even for those who had such abilities before the operations." It was found, too, that "like all feelings, the religious feeling also becomes somewhat shallower. . . ."

In a case reported in 1970 in the *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, personality change was conspicuous and the effects were disastrous. A woman, described as suffering from "agitated depression," was subjected to a heat lesion of the brain. "Then," as the surgeons report "her spirits improved to the point of occasional playfulness." Shortly later, however, she was bristling with hostility and anger. Her moods fluctuated, and she received another heat lesion of the brain. When her moods continued to fluctuate, still another lesion was proposed through electrodes that had been implanted in her brain, but she refused to see the surgeon. A few weeks later, she was permitted to leave the hospital temporarily for Christmas shopping. She went to the ladies room of a department store, swallowed a vial of poison, and died.

The surgeons report that several useful insights were gained from a postmortem examination of the woman's brain, among them: "The chief criticism of the thalamic operation . . . was that, although over the short time it controlled her depression, it did not assist her in the area of impulse control."

What of the issue of "informed consent," which is routinely required in most surgical procedures? When the patient is judged in-

competent, the consent of relatives or guardians will usually suffice. When the principal figures involved are distraught relatives, a disturbed patient, and an eager psychosurgeon, it is not unlikely that the decision will be to follow the advice of the surgeon. The California prisoners who were operated upon in 1968 are said, by prison authorities, to have given their consent, and consent was also received from relatives. The question arises as to whether "consent," presumably accompanied by a greater likelihood of parole (one prisoner was later paroled) has real meaning in a prison setting.

In any setting, however, the advantage would seem to lie with the psychosurgeon, as can be seen in an episode related by Mark and Ervin in their book. They report that during gentle non-destructive electric stimulation to a patient's brain "we suggested to him that we make a destructive lesion. . . . He agreed to this suggestion. . . . However, 12 hours later, when the effect had worn off, Thomas turned wild and unmanageable. The idea of anyone's making a destructive lesion in his brain enraged him. He absolutely refused any further therapy, and it took many weeks of patient explanation before he accepted the idea of bilateral lesions being made in his medial amygdala."

They conclude their report by stating that the patient had not had a single "episode of rage" in four years. "He continues, however, to have an occasional epileptic seizure with periods of confusion and disordered thinking."

The first wave of psychosurgery mutilated some 50,000 victims before the lobotomists themselves were forced to concede the destructiveness of their procedures. Before the new one proceeds through one more skull, the public, the press, and the Congress should demand an immediate halt, to be followed by an independent investigation into the therapeutic claims of psychosurgery and especially the issue of informed consent.

#### STATEMENT ON THE NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY ACT

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, to assure the widest possible dissemination of the information therein contained, I include the text of the March 1972 issue of the Council on Environmental Quality's 102 Monitor at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

STATEMENT BY HON. RUSSELL E. TRAIN, CHAIRMAN, COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY

Mr. Chairman, I welcome this opportunity to review with your Committees the implementation of the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA). It is particularly appropriate that this be a joint review since your Committees have shared in authorizing the Council's activities (in NEPA and the Environmental Quality Improvement Act of 1970) and both held hearings on the Council's first annual environmental quality report. We have also followed the practice of consulting with both your Committees before issuing the Council's Guidelines on environmental impact statements.

I would like to state in the strongest terms the Council's support for the National Environmental Policy Act and its effective implementation. In our opinion it represents one of the most significant policy making reforms in recent history. We have been given

very strong backing by the Executive Order (E.O. 11514) which the President issued to implement the Act. This Executive Order gives the Council coordinating and Guideline authorities with respect to NEPA which have been essential in early implementation of the Act.

Pursuant to Executive Order 11514 the Council has issued Guidelines on Environmental Impact Statements (36 Fed. Reg. 7724-7729, April 23, 1971) and has overseen the issuance by virtually all the relevant Federal agencies of NEPA procedures addressed to their particular programs (36 Fed. Reg. 23666, Dec. 11, 1971). I offer copies of the Executive Order, the Guidelines and the Federal Register citations to agency procedures for insertion in your record. You will note that nine Departments and over thirty agencies have now issued NEPA procedures.

According to the latest issue of the 102 Monitor, the Council's monthly publication listing environmental impact statements received, we now have received draft and final environmental impact statements on almost 2400 Federal actions. The agency-by-agency and types-of-action tabulations appear as an attachment to my statement. Since we get draft and final impact statements on each action, we have now received over 4,000 impact statements and they are coming in at the rate of over 200 a month or about 10 per working day. About half come from DOT (principally on airports and highways). The next largest groups are those on water resource projects (about a fourth of the total) and power (about 100 actions). The general quality of these statements has steadily improved. The Council's objectives in the review of 102 statements are principally three: (1) to check agency compliance with NEPA and the Council's Guidelines, (2) to identify environmental problem areas where some general reform via executive order or legislation would be desirable, and (3) to monitor important and highly significant actions via the 102 process. The Council's objective, which is supported by the language and legislative history of NEPA, is to bring the NEPA process in agency decision-making as close to a self-operative procedure as possible. If an assessment of environmental impacts is available to the decision makers in a timely and intelligible form, if there is ample public notice and opportunity for comment or hearings, and if the expert Federal, State and local commenting agencies do their job, there should be little need for CEQ intervention in most cases. While the Council recognizes that we have not reached this ideal state of affairs and that the quality of agency performance varies, its objective is to build up the environmental judgment of the agencies rather than to substitute its own.

We share with the Administrative Conference of the United States the view that the addition of NEPA in the Federal agency decision-making process has had the following five great merits:

1. NEPA, as the President recognized by making its signing his first official act of the decade of the 70's, is an important step in a national reordering of priorities. Section 102 (1) states that "to the fullest extent possible . . . the policies, regulations and public laws of the United States shall be interpreted and administered in accordance with the policies set forth in this Act." This means that all Federal agencies in exercising their responsibilities have authority to give positive protection to the environment in their programs. The leading decision on this point, *Zabel v. Tabb*, 430 F. 2d 199 (5th Cir. 1970), held that NEPA, together with the Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act, enables the Corps of Engineers, for example, to apply environmental considerations in the grant or denial of dredge and fill permits.

2. NEPA, together with Executive Order 11514 and the Council's Guidelines, requires

an airing of the issues involved in Government decision-making when the environment is involved. Formerly closed informal administrative procedures are now opened to public view and to comment by relevant Federal and State expertise and by the public. This is particularly significant and useful for decisions about the public domain.

3. NEPA, together with the Council's Guidelines, tends to force agencies to articulate their decisions and the grounds for their decisions. The result of the requirement to assess environmental impacts, analyze alternatives and seek comments can only be more informed decision-making.

4. NEPA is requiring the agencies to develop in-house expertise in varied disciplines. To prepare the statements and make the underlying assessments, agencies are being forced to acquire new personnel with training in environmental sciences. As a result, the agencies will in time develop institutional viewpoints more sympathetic to environmental, as opposed to purely programmatic, values.

5. NEPA carries with it court enforceability of its requirements. This means that it cannot be ignored and that top level agency management must take a fresh look at ongoing policies and programs in terms of their environmental impacts. This has some very positive advantages for agency leadership that is seeking to revitalize and reshape agency thinking and performance.

At the Council we have found that the environmental policies of NEPA provide a flexible and far-reaching means of reviewing government decision-making as we put together packages of legislation and administrative action for the President's Environmental Messages.

We have reexamined tax policy, energy policy, land use questions, pollution controls, transportation policies and recreation issues, all under the broad rubric of the "environment." We see in the Interior Department's proposed new organic legislation for management of the public lands, the AEC's more comprehensive and early review of nuclear power plants, and the new Interior-HUD-DOT coordination implicit in the President's revised State land use policy bill the translation of NEPA policies into better management. NEPA can be used to upgrade the quality of analysis of alternatives, consultation and decision-making. In short, we believe smart agency leadership should see NEPA as an opportunity rather than a stumbling block.

Having mentioned Court enforceability of NEPA, I will give you some comments on this important aspect of the Act: As of February 15, we had identified 17 Court of Appeals decisions and over 50 District Court decisions applying NEPA (with new decisions being received at least once a week). (I am offering citations to, and brief summaries of, these decisions for insertion in your record.) Overall we have identified about 160 NEPA cases in the following categories: 43 against DOT, 34 against the Corps, 8 against the rest of DOD, 17 against Interior, 15 against USDA, 13 against AEC, 9 against HUD, and the remainder against a scattering of agencies.

As an indication of the extent to which judicial decisions under NEPA are blocking or delaying agency action, however, the number of suits filed can be misleading. For example, of all the suits filed under the Act, only a small proportion (less than 15 percent) have resulted in Government actions being held up in whole or in part. Even in these instances, the court has ordered only a temporary halt—pending either trial, preparation of a 102 statement, or revision of agency NEPA procedures. The projects and agencies involved are listed in an insert I am offering for the record.

With respect to reported opinions construing NEPA, most courts have adopted a

liberal view of NEPA in accordance with the broad policies expressed in the Act, while at the same time adhering to well-established doctrines limiting the scope of judicial review of agency decisions. (There has as yet been no Supreme Court opinion construing NEPA, although it has received mention in a number of opinions.)

Courts are giving close attention to ensuring that agencies follow the procedures prescribed in Section 102(2)(C) and other provisions of the Act with respect to preparing environmental statements and applying environmental considerations. The judicial role under NEPA thus appears to be in line with the traditional one of ensuring that governmental process prescribed by statute is working correctly without attempting to second-guess the actual agency decision as to the proper balance to strike between environmental concerns and other national goals.

We have attempted to analyze the significant general NEPA issues handled to date by the courts and they seem to be as follows:

- a. *The applicability of NEPA to Federal actions initiated prior to NEPA.*—Here the leading opinions among the Circuit Courts are *Calvert Cliffs Coordinating Com. v. AEC*, 449 F. 2d 1109, 2 E.R.C. 1779 (D.C. Cir. 1971), *Penna. Environmental Council v. Bartlett*, 3 E.R.C. 1421 (3d Cir. 1971), and *Greene County Planning Board v. FCC*, 3 E.R.C. 1595 (2d Cir., Jan. 17, 1972). There are at least a half dozen district court opinions. We believe that these opinions sustain the position taken in Section 11 of the Council's Guidelines—that with respect to projects or programs initiated prior to January 1, 1970, where it is not practicable to reassess the basic course of action, it is still important that, by doing an environmental impact statement, further incremental major actions be shaped so as to minimize adverse environmental consequences.

- b. *Interpreting the key phrases "major" (action) and "significant" (as in "significantly affecting the quality of the human environment").*—To date there have been few cases directly relevant to these problems of interpretation. Our aim is to give greater precision to these concepts via the CEQ Guidelines and more particularly, with respect to individual agency programs, through the agency NEPA procedures. As you know, these agency procedures are published in the Federal Register and we have invited comment. Increasingly we would expect the courts to apply the rule that "[s]uch administrative interpretation cannot be ignored except for the strongest reasons, particularly where the interpretation is a construction of the statute by the men designated by the statute to put it into effect." *EDF v. TVA*, 3 E.R.C. 1553 (E.D. Tenn., Jan. 1972). Indeed, a very well-reasoned opinion of Judge Gignoux has just followed this approach in upholding a Department of Defense determination that no impact statement was needed on a proposed action. *Citizens for Reid State Park v. Laird*, 3 E.R.C. 1580 (D. Me. Jan. 21, 1972).

- c. *Preparation and content of environmental statements.*—Three of the most important NEPA decisions to date are the decisions of the Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia in *Calvert Cliffs Coordinating Committee v. AEC*, 449 F. 2d 1109, 2 E.R.C. 1779 (D.C. Cir. 1971), *Committee for Nuclear Responsibility v. Seaborg*, 3 E.R.C. 1127 (D.C. Cir. 1971), and *Natural Resources Defense Council v. Morton* (D.C. Cir. Jan. 13, 1972). Each of those opinions discusses in some detail the function which the 102(2)(C) statement should fulfill and the considerations which should go into preparation of such statements.

Each of these opinions reaffirm the view that NEPA, at the very least, is a "full disclosure law," requiring conscientious atten-



tion to "all known possible environmental consequences of proposed agency action." *Environmental Defense Fund v. Corps of Engineers*, 2 E.R.C. 1260, 1267 (E.D. Ark. 1971). In this respect, these decisions make clear that NEPA only requires what should already be implicit in the notion of responsible decision-making. Decisions which ignore adverse environmental effects of proposed actions are excluding relevant costs and disadvantages which can only make them less than fully responsible choices.

d. *Citizen Participation in NEPA*.—Although the National Environmental Policy Act does not explicitly refer to securing public participation in the agency's environmental assessments, Executive Order 11514 suggests that agencies develop "procedures to ensure the fullest practicable provision of timely public information and understanding of Federal plans and programs with environmental impact in order to obtain the views of interested parties." Provisions in the CEQ Guidelines for draft and final environmental statements, and for making such statements available for public comment reflect this concern for public involvement, as do judicial opinions upholding citizen standing to bring suit under NEPA.

The Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit has recently stressed the importance of ensuring that environmental statements are made available for—and ultimately take into account—examination and comment by interested members of the public. See *Greene County Planning Board v. FPC*, 3 E.R.C. 1595 (2d Cir., Jan. 17, 1972). This decision, however, also draws attention to the fact that liberal provision for citizen participation in agency decisions under NEPA carries with it corresponding obligations for citizen adherence to established agency review procedures. Other courts have similarly indicated that citizens who have actual notice of agency procedures designed to secure public participation in the decision-making process, and who fail to take advantage of such procedures, should not later be able to challenge the agency action in a judicial proceeding. See *Sierra Club v. Hardin*, 2 E.R.C. 1385, 1396-97 (D. Alaska, 1971). By combining these doctrines of "laches" and "exhaustion of administrative remedies" with broad opportunity for public participation in the agency's environmental assessments, courts are helping to ensure that the agency decision-making process is both responsive to the public and at the same time not subjected to undue and untimely delay.

From what I have said it should be clear that, by and large, we think the Courts have been doing a sound job in applying NEPA. Where there have been difficulties it has usually been the case that a guideline of the Council or an agency procedure grounded in NEPA's legislative history has been challenged or ignored by a Court. This was true in the *Calvert Cliffs* case with respect to AEC's treatment of water quality agency certification of water quality issues, and in the *Kalut* case which required that environmental impact statements be done on environmental protective regulatory actions concurred in by EPA, such as the Refuse Act Permit Program. In the *Quad Cities* case the Court was unwilling to permit AEC interim partial licensing of nuclear plants started prior to NEPA pending completion of the NEPA review. We regarded AEC's treatment of this problem in its post *Calvert Cliffs* regulations as a reasonable transitional arrangement in accordance with our Guidelines and NEPA and so advised the Interior Committee at hearings last November.

We believe that the best interests of NEPA and the environment are served if we find some solution to the three problem cases I have mentioned. We think that refusal to find solutions to these problems will, in the long run, weaken NEPA rather than strengthen it. With respect to the question

raised in *Calvert Cliffs* about treatment of water quality agency rulings in AEC proceedings, we have endorsed the approach taken in Section 511 (d) of the Senate water quality bill. With respect to the *Kalut* case, we believe that the policy of Section 5 (d) of our Guidelines and of the underlying House and Senate legislative history of NEPA—that the impact statement procedures not apply to environmental protective regulatory activities such as water quality permits, needs to be confirmed.

Mr. Chairman, there has been a suggestion in some quarters that this is a broad exemption possibly excluding many Federal agencies from producing impact statements on their environmental protective regulatory actions. This is absolutely not our intent, and our past practice shows how restrictive our interpretation has been. Our present Guidelines provide: "(d) Because of the Act's legislative history, environmental protective regulatory activities concurred in or taken by the Environmental Protection Agency are not deemed actions which require the preparation of environmental statements under Section 102 (2) (C) of the Act." We believe that this should be confirmed and that we be given specific guidance as to whether this principle is to be applied in any other case.

With respect to the *Quad Cities* case, we support the proposal to be made by AEC for statutory confirmation of its *Calvert Cliffs* regulations on interim licensing of plants pending full compliance with NEPA. In the longer run for power plant siting problems, we have also strongly supported the Administration's power plant siting legislation as a solution to questions now resolved on an incomplete and *ad hoc* basis under NEPA.

I believe that in these instances what we basically need is clarification of what we had understood, on the basis of guidelines checked with the relevant committees, to be your intent. Our own view is that with these clarifications, no more general change in NEPA is warranted at this time.

We are monitoring agency experience with NEPA closely. I submit for the record two memoranda we have sent out to the agencies this week on the need for continuous effort to improve their NEPA procedures.

We will follow your hearings closely and may have some suggestions to make when they are concluded. In the Council we feel that the NEPA process, if we do not overload the system and admit of a reasonable degree of administrative flexibility under the Council's Guidelines, will achieve a significant improvement in agency decision-making serving both program and environmental goals. The NEPA process is, of course, experimental in nature and we expect to find ways to sharpen its focus. But in our view it represents an outstanding joint effort by Congress, the Executive Branch, the courts and the public in upgrading Government's performance, and we feel privileged to participate.

#### SOURCES FOR ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENTS

In order to receive more efficient and prompt service, requestors are urged to order draft and final impact statements from the Department of Commerce's National Technical Information Service (NTIS) rather than the preparing agency. Each statement will be assigned an order number that will appear in the *102 Monitor* (at the end of the summary of each statement) and also in the NTIS semi-monthly Announcement Series No. 68, "Environmental Pollution and Control." (An annual subscription costs \$5.00 and can be ordered from the NTIS, U.S. Department of Commerce, Springfield, Virginia 22151.)

Final statements will be available in microfiche as well as paper copy. A paper copy of any statement can be obtained by writing NTIS at the above address and enclosing \$3.00 and the order number. A microfiche costs

\$0.95. (Paper copies of documents that are over 300 pages are \$6.00.)

NTIS is also offering a special "package" in which the subscriber receives all statements in microfiche for \$0.35 per statement.

Statements will still be available for public scrutiny in the document rooms of the various agencies. However, only limited copies will be available for distribution.

Yet another possible source of statements is from the Environmental Law Institute, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. To order a document, please indicate the Department, date, and ERL Order No. (given at the end of each summary). The Institute charges \$0.10 per page, and as you will note the number of pages is also given at the end of the summaries. Please enclose the correct amount of money with your order and mark the envelope to the attention to the "Document Service."

#### SOURCE FOR BACK ISSUES OF THE 102 MONITOR

Because the supply of past issues of the 102 Monitor is not sufficient to meet all requests, a list is provided below indicating where the various issues of the 102 Monitor appeared in the Congressional Record. You may wish to order these Congressional Records from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402 (\$0.25 per copy).

Vol. 1, Nos. 1, 2, & 3: Congressional Record (page E 3607)—April 28, 1971.

Vol. 1, No. 4: Congressional Record (page E 5151)—May 27, 1971.

Vol. 1, No. 5: Congressional Record (page E 6023)—June 16, 1971.

Vol. 1, No. 6: Congressional Record (page E 8458)—July 28, 1971.

Vol. 1, No. 7: Congressional Record (page E 9483)—September 13, 1971.

Vol. 1, No. 8: Congressional Record (page E 10002)—September 24, 1971.

Vol. 1, No. 9: Congressional Record (page E 11596)—November 1, 1971.

Vol. 1, No. 10: Congressional Record (page E 12213)—November 15, 1971.

Vol. 1, No. 11: Congressional Record (page E 13322)—December 11, 1971.

Vol. 1, No. 12: Congressional Record (page E 76)—January 18, 1972.

Vol. 2, No. 1: Congressional Record (page E 1886)—March 2, 1972.

ON THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENTS RECEIVED BY THE COUNCIL FROM FEBRUARY 1 THROUGH FEBRUARY 29, 1972

(NOTE.—At the head of the listing of statements received from each agency is the name of an individual who can answer questions regarding those statements.)

#### Department of Agriculture

Contact: Dr. T. C. Byerly, Office of the Secretary, Washington, D.C. 20250, (202) 388-7803.

#### Title, description, and date Agricultural Research Service Draft

Removal of Canada Plum to Control Green Peach Aphid in Aroostook and Penobscot Counties, Maine. The overwintering host plant (Canada plum) of the green peach aphid will be removed by chemical and mechanical methods from certain test areas in Maine. The trees will be cut and the stumps painted with ammonium sulfamate. Trees left uncut will be sprayed with the insecticide demeton (ELR Order No. 1808, 10 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 386-D), February 3.

#### Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service Draft

Commitment of 25,700 acres to new continental cane sugar production, Lower Rio Grande Valley, Cameron, Willacy, Hidalgo and Starr Counties, Texas. Involves con-

struction of a raw sugar processing facility in the area. (ELR Order No. 1777, 7 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 263-D), February 2.

#### Animal and Plant Health Services

##### Draft

Rangeland Grasshopper Cooperative Control Program. Malathion treatment on approximately 2 million acres in Colorado, Idaho and Oregon with the possibility of some treatment in other states. (ELR Order No. 1870, 20 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 557-D), February 11.

#### Forest Service

##### Draft

Clarkdale-Williams Highway Proposal State 279: Coconino, Prescott and Kaibab National Forests, Yavapai and Coconino Counties, Arizona. The extension of SH. 279 from Clarkdale to Williams. This includes the new construction of approximately 21 miles of paved highway and the eventual reconstruction of 23 miles of existing paved road. (ELR Order No. 1884, 60 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206, 580-D), February 11.

Beaverhead National Forest, Madison and Beaverhead Counties, Montana. Herbicide control of Big Sage brush with 2, 4-dichlorophenoxyacetic acid. Specific control areas are being planned and designated on the ground by the Ranger with the assistance of specialists in ecology, wildlife biology, soil science and range science. The chemical 2, 4-D may have some effect on animal organisms and non-target plants. (ELR Order No. 1957, 73 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 786-D), February 16.

1972 Siskiyou National Forest Herbicide Program, Josephine, Curry and Coos Counties, Oregon. The selective herbicides 2,4-D, 2,4,5-T, or atrazine will be applied to 213 separate tracts totaling 11,858 acres during one of two application seasons. Reduction of vegetative competition to increase survival of newly planted conifer seedlings is the treatment objection. (ELR Order No. 1801, 16 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 404-D), January 28.

Application for Class A Special Use Permit to construct a road in the Coulter Creek Drainage, Chelan County, Washington. The Pack River Company of Peshastin, Washington has requested a special use permit from the Forest Service for construction of a road in this drainage for logging and other land management purposes. (ELR Order No. 1741, 22 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 376-D), February 4.

##### Final

Waterville Valley Management Plan, New Hampshire. A multiple use plan for management of timber, water, wildlife and recreation on National Forest lands in the Waterville Valley area. Comments made by USDA, EPA, DOI N.H. Dept. of Resources and Economic Development, numerous private Corporations and concerned citizens. (ELR Order No. 1858, 377 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-202 715-F), February 10.

#### Rural Electrification Administration

##### Draft

Palo Pinto Generating Station Unit No. 3, Palo Pinto County, Texas. Construction of a 200,000 kW electrical generating unit, as an addition to the Palo Pinto generating station. This will be the third unit at this station and will bring the total name plate capacity to 366,000 kilowatts. Will result in release of oxides of sulfur oxides and nitrogen oxides, and in discharge of cooling water into Palo Pinto Lake. (ELR Order No. 1888, 162 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 638-D), February 14.

##### Final

Transmission Line from Hayden to Wolcott to Vail, Routt and Eagle Counties, Colorado. A loan of \$9,016,000 to Colorado-Ute Electric Association, Inc. together with funds

from other sources for approximately seventy (70) miles of 230 KV transmission line between Hayden substation and Wolcott, Colorado and approximately twenty (20) miles of 115 KV transmission line between Wolcott and Vail. Comments made by FPC, DOI, USDA, EPA, State of Colorado. (ELR Order No. 1859, 58 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 796-F), February 10.

Hayden, Colorado. Construction of a 250 MW coal fueled electrical generating station, assisted by a \$12 million loan from REA. Comments made by USDA, Army COE, EPA, FPC and various state agencies. (ELR Order No. 1827, 37 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 795-F), February 9.

Wells Township, Jefferson County, Ohio. Construction of unit No. 3, a 615,000 KW coal-fired steam electric generating station. Approximately 5000 tons of coal per day will be consumed; some oxide of sulphur and nitrogen will be released, and some Ohio River water will be used. Comments made by USDA, Army, COE, FPC, DOI and state agencies of Ohio and West Virginia. (ELR Order No. 1896, 420 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-199 923-F), February 11.

Hilton Head Island, Beaufort County, South Carolina. Installation of a 20 mv emergency gas turbine, a 250,000 gallon oil storage tank, oil truck unloading facilities, a step-up transformer and 3300 ft. of 69 kv transmission line. (ELR Order No. 1782, 28 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 398-F), February 3.

#### Soil Conservation Service

##### Draft

Mud Creek Subwatershed, Iowa. Conservation land treatment and construction of 9 grade stabilization structures. Approximately 35 acres of land will be inundated. (ELR Order No. 1915, 7 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 760-D), February 15.

Shoemaker River Watershed, Rockingham County, Virginia. Accelerated land treatment measures in 1,077 acres of farm and forest land construction of 4 floodwater retarding structures. Involves loss of forest, wildlife habitat, and esthetic values. (ELR Order No. 1725, 21 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 177-D), January 25.

Wheat, Feed Grain and Cotton Set-Aside Programs provide for a set-aside of cropland if the Secretary determines that the total supply of wheat, feed grain or cotton will likely be excessive. A condition of eligibility for loans, purchases, and other payments for cotton, wheat, or feed grain requires that producers on a farm must set aside and devote to approved conservation uses to certain percentage of the commodity allotment for wheat or cotton or the feed grain base. Additional payment on set-aside acreage is provided if the producer agrees to permit public access for hunting, trapping, fishing and hiking. A pilot public access program will be offered for 1972 in 5 countries and 10 designated States. (ELR Order No. 1761, 25 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 158-D), January 31.

Water Bank Program provides incentive payments to landowners and operators for conserving waters, preserving or improving migratory waterfowl habitat and other wildlife resources. Under the program, long-term agreements are entered into with landowners or operators who agree to take certain actions to preserve designated wetlands areas for which the Secretary agrees to make an annual payment and bear a part of the cost of establishing and maintaining the needed conservation practices. (ELR Order No. 1762, 5 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 159-D), January 31.

##### Final

Hurricane Creek Watershed Project Measure, Hopkins County, Kentucky. Acceleration of present land treatment program, installation of three floodwater retarding struc-

tures, and improvement of four miles of channel. Will inundate one mile of intermittent streams. Comments made by EPA, DOI, Army COE, various State of Kentucky agencies. (ELR Order No. 1783, 13 pages) (NTIS Order No. 203 511-F), January 31.

Union Creek Watershed, Union County, South Dakota. Project proposes land treatment measures and four floodwater retarding structures, 13 grade stabilization structures and 1.6 miles of channel improvement. Five miles of intermittent stream channel, 40 acres of cropland and 55 acres of grassland will be inundated by the sediment pools. Comments made by DOD, Army and EPA. (ELR Order No. 1182, 18 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 620-F), February 10.

Sweetwater Creek watershed project, McNinn, Monroe and Loudon Counties, Tennessee. Conservation land treatment measures and the installation of nine floodwater retarding structures supplemented by about 42.3 miles of channel improvement for flood control. (ELR Order No. 1811, 14 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 296-F), February 3.

#### Atomic Energy Commission

##### Contact:

For Non-Regulatory Matters: Joseph J. DiNunno, Director, Office of Environmental Affairs, Washington, D.C. 29545, (202) 973-5391.

For Regulatory Matters: Christopher L. Henderson, Assistant Director of Regulation for Administration, Washington, D.C. 20545, (202) 973-7531.

#### Title, description, and date

##### Draft

Turkey Point Nuclear Power Station, Units 3 and 4, Dade County, Florida. The proposed issuance of an operating license to the Florida Power and Light Company for the operation of Turkey Point Nuclear Power Station. Each unit is to be of 760 MW, employs pressurized water reactors and will be cooled by salt water recirculated in a multi-channel cooling system. About 7,000 acres of salt marsh wildlife habitat will be destroyed by construction of the cooling system; seepage of saline water from the cooling canal system may affect mangroves and benthic organisms along several miles of shoreline, loss of plankton by entrainment in the cooling system will have an impact upon the productivity of Card Sound Canal; interim cooling system operation may cause damage to marine life near the mouths of the canals in Biscayne Bay and Card Sound, particularly when temperature restrictions are relaxed under emergency conditions, and also through impingement and killing of fish on intake screens; there will be a routine release of radioactive materials to the environs. (ELR Order #1913, 124 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 607-D), February 14.

Application of the Baltimore Gas and Electric Co. for a license to operate the Calvert Cliffs Nuclear Power Plant, Units 1 and 2, Calvert County, Maryland. The waste heat during full power operation of the 2 units, about 3500 MWT, will be dissipated by pumping about 5500 cfs of salt water from Chesapeake Bay through steam condensers, elevating the water temperature 10°F (with a maximum discharge temperature not exceeding 90°F) and returning the water directly to the Bay (ELR Order #1760, 102 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 179-D), January 27.

Plymouth, Massachusetts. Proposed issuance of an operating license to the Boston Edison Co. (Docket 50-293) for the operation of the Plymouth Nuclear Power Station. This station employs a boiling water reactor with a designed thermal rating of 1998 MW to produce 655 MW net electrical power. It is cooled with salt water obtained from and discharged to Cape Cod Bay. Condenser cooling water heated to 29°F above inlet temperature will enter the Bay at a rate of 710



Cu. Ft/sec; a small percentage of a nearby lobster fishery, and also of an Irish moss harvesting area will be damaged; radioactive gaseous and liquid effluents will be released into the environment. (ELR Order #1903, 96 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 605-D), February 15.

Manitowoc County, Wisconsin. Proposed issuance of an operating license to the Wisconsin Electric Power Co. and the Wisconsin Michigan Power Co. for the operation of Point Beach Nuclear Power Plant Unit 2 and the continued operation of Unit 1. Unit 2 is a pressurized water reactor rated at 455 MWe using 1518 MW of heat. This, with Unit 1 will use a maximum 700,000 gpm of Lake Michigan water for cooling. Approximately 104 acres of land will be removed from agricultural use; there will be an impact upon aquatic resources due to cooling water intake and discharge; and a small increase in radiation will result. (ELR Order #1904, 87 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 606-D), February 14.

*Department of Defense—Department of Army*

Contact: George A. Cunney, Jr., Acting Chief, Environmental Office, Directorate of Installations, Office of the Deputy Chief of Staff for Logistics, Washington, D.C. 20310, (202) 0X4-4269.

*Title, description, and date*  
*Final*

Airfield Complex, Campbell Army Airfield, 3 phases, Fort Campbell, Kentucky. Three phases of construction (a) Phase I (FY 1972) construction consists of operations, maintenance and parking facilities, for one cargo helicopter battalion and one separate cargo helicopter company; aviation medical dispensary and boiler plant. Construction of 4 hangers, and natural gas fired central heating plant. Included will be 177,580 sq. yds. of aircraft pavement and 55,760 sq. yds. of vehicle pavement. (b) Phase II (FY 1973) Construction of parking facilities, operations and maintenance for two assault helicopter battalions, an airfield operations building and a fire and rescue station. (c) Phase III (1974) construction will provide a complete heliport facility including operations, maintenance and parking facilities for an aerial field artillery battalion; an aerial cavalry squadron and aviation elements of the Division Artillery. Comments made by USDA, HEW, HUD, DOI, DOT, EPA, various State and local agencies. (ELR Order No. 1934, 45 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206, 761-F), February 16.

*Corps of Engineers*

Contact: Francis X. Kelly, Assistant for Conservation Liaison, Public Affairs Office, Chief of Engineers Office, 1000 Independence Avenue, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20314, (202) 693-6346.

*Title, description, and date*  
*Draft*

Tesoro Tank Farm and Barge Slip, Juneau, Alaska. Construction of a petroleum storage area, access road, pipelines, a barge slip and docking area. Also involves dredging the Mendenhall River. Will result in a loss of 5 acres of wetland habitat and modification of at least another 5 acres of river habitat. (ELR Order No. 1881, 52 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206, 579-D), February 14.

Arkansas River and tributaries above John Martin Dam, Colorado. A general investigations study of projects involving proposed construction of several large dams and reservoirs, levees, floodways, river channels and a fishery. Fish and wildlife habitat would be damaged, residences and businesses displaced. (ELR Order No. 1894, 115 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 637-D), February 14.

United States Post Office, Honolulu Hawaii. Construction of a one-story general industrial-type building with a two-story office wing. Auxiliary construction consists of parking areas, paved maneuvering areas, an underpass, and all necessary utilities and landscaping. Facility will occupy about 400,000 gross square feet. (ELR Order No. 1936, 20 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 762-D), February 18.

Kent Creek, Rockford, Illinois. The project is divided into Unit A and Unit B, two separable units of protection. Unit A consists of construction of a reservoir and downstream channel cleanout and straightening on the North Branch of Kent Creek. Unit B involves construction of a diversion channel to divert drainage of a portion of the South Branch into the proposed reservoir on the North Branch, raising the existing dam and replacing spillway at Levings Lake. Approximately 1,270 acres of land will be required for total project development. Fifty acres of timber and wildlife habitat will be destroyed within Page Park. (ELR Order #1875, 41 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 554-D), February 10.

Big Sioux River at and in the vicinity of Sioux City, Iowa, and North Sioux City, South Dakota. Flood protection by channel enlargement and bank stabilization for 5.5 miles. Downstream of the interstate highway, flow will be diverted directly to the Missouri River, entering the river 7500' upstream from its present location. Will eliminate 25 acres of wildlife habitat. (ELR Order #1770, 39 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 261-D), February 2.

Flood Protection Project, Douglas and Leavenworth Counties, Kansas. Construction of levees, channel improvements, bridge replacements and alterations, road raises and relocations and interior drainage structures. (ELR Order #812, 47 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 390-D), February 8.

Bound Brook, Scituate, Massachusetts. Snagging, clearing and channel realignment and widening for flood control 1200' upstream of Hunters Pond Dam. (ELR Order #1767, 31 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 266-D), February 1.

Alternate Disposal Method for Detroit and Rouge Rivers, Wayne County, Michigan. Construct a contained disposal facility at Pointe Mouillee for polluted dredge spoil from the lower Detroit and Rouge Rivers. The facility, including access channel, turning basin, mooring area and pumpout station, will be used to replace the previous procedure of open lake dumping of dredge spoil. (ELR Order #1868, 23 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 559-D), February 4.

Mississippi River, East Bank, Warren to Wilkinson Counties, Mississippi. Construction of 12.4 miles of levee, a 300 cu. ft. per second pumping plant, 12 miles of channel improvement, 3-8 foot floodgates and a conservation weir. (ELR Order #1828, 19 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 461-D), February 7.

Rariton River, New Jersey. Maintenance dredging of existing channel to its authorized project dimensions. Spoil will be deposited in the Atlantic Ocean; spoil from the South channel will be deposited in an upland site. (ELR Order #1864, 10 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 576-D), February 9.

Flushing Bay and Creek, Borough of Queens, New York City. Maintenance dredging of the existing Federal project, the spoil will probably be disposed in the approved dumping grounds in the Atlantic Ocean. (ELR Order #1784, 7 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 391-D), February 1.

Tarrytown Harbor, New York. Maintenance action consisting of dredging an existing Federal navigation channel, spoil will be disposed of in the Atlantic Ocean. (ELR Order #1785, 7 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 395-D), January 31.

Westchester Creek, New York. Maintenance action consisting of dredging the existing Federal channel to its authorized project dimensions. Spoil from the channel will be deposited in Eaton's Neck disposal area unless the contractor finds a suitable upland site and he has approval of the land owners and concerned governmental agencies. (ELR Order #1786, 7 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 394-D), January 31.

New York and New Jersey Channels, Navigation Project. Maintenance action consisting of dredging New York and New Jersey Channels to their authorized project dimensions. The dredged spoils will be deposited in the designated disposal area in the Atlantic Ocean. (ELR Order #1787, 9 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 393-D), January 31.

Harlem River Channel, New York. Maintenance action consisting of dredging the existing Federal Channel in the Harlem River, to its authorized project dimensions. The spoil will be deposited in the approved dumping area in Eaton's Neck Disposal area in the Long Island Sound. (ELR Order #1788, 9 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 399-D), January 31.

New York Harbor, New York. Dredging the Federal Channel in New York Harbor to its authorized project dimensions. The spoil will be deposited in the approved dumping grounds in the Atlantic Ocean. (ELR Order #PB-206 403-D), January 31.

New York Harbor Anchorages, New York. Improvement by dredging of two existing anchorage areas in New York Harbor to permit use by freighters and oil tankers of greater length and draft. The project involves dredging of a 1,260 acre area and most directly affects the states of New York and New Jersey. (ELR Order #1792, 25 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 400-D), February 1.

Newton Creek, New York. Maintenance dredging of the existing Federal channel and its tributaries to the authorized project dimensions. The spoil will be deposited in the approved dumping area in the New York Bight in the Atlantic Ocean. (ELR Order #1885, 7 pages) (NTIS Order #PB 206 578-D), February 11.

Great South Bay and Patchogue River, New York. Maintenance dredging of the existing Federal channel to its authorized project dimensions. Spoil will be placed in an upland disposal site. (ELR Order #1885, 7 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 577-D), February 11.

Chowan River, North Carolina—Blackwater River, Virginia improvement of navigation by dredging three cutoff channels on the two rivers, at Riddicksville, Cherry Grove and Georges Bend. Involves loss of terrestrial wildlife habitat and creation of an aquatic habitat. (ELR Order #1771, 4 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 258-D), January 26.

Lost Creek Lake Project, Rogue River, Jackson County, Oregon. Construction of an embankment dam and related structures to provide 315,000 acre feet of usable storage for flood control and water conservation for municipal and industrial water supply, fish and wildlife enhancement, water quality control, etc. (ELR Order #1851, 33 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 619-D), February 11.

Supplement to Laneport, North Fork and South Fork Lakes, San Gabriel River, Texas (September 3, 1971). Construction of three dams and lakes along the San Gabriel River Watershed. Laneport Dam will inundate 6,230 acres, North Fork Dam will inundate 1,310 acres; and South Fork Dam will inundate 1160 acres. Purpose: flood control, increasing water supply to the lower Brazos Valley, etc. (ELR Order #1902, 10 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-202 321-D), February 15.

Munday, Texas. Improvement and enlargement of existing channels of Lake Creek

watershed to intercept and direct flood waters from Munday. (ELR Order # 1817, 3 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 460-D), February 4.

Diking District # 1, Wahkiakum County, Washington. Raising portions of levee, filling ditch behind levee; repairing, replacing tide boxes; and adding new pumping stations, repairing existing ones, with the intention of providing better flood control. (ELR Order # 1809, 12 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 389-D), February 8.

#### Final

Dog River, Mobile Bay, Alabama. Dredging of a new channel from 3000' east of the Mobile Bay Ship Channel to and up Dog River (26,200') and spur channels from the main channel to the mouths of Perch and Halls Mill Creeks. Total length is 7.8 miles. Spoils to be deposited on diked land areas and in open water. Filling of 30 acres of marsh will limit use by small mammals and birds. Comments made by DOC, EPA, HUD, DOI, DOT, and Ala. State Development Office. (ELR Order # 1726, 45 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 176-F), January 27.

Fowl River, Mobile Bay, Alabama. Dredging of a new channel approaching and entering Fowl River. Approximately 30 acres of marsh land will be filled in. Comments made by DOC, EPA, FAA, HUD, and DOI. (ELR Order # 1907, 43 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 639-F), February 15.

Applegate Lake: Rogue River Basin, Jackson County, Oregon and Siskiyou County, California. Construction and operation of a multiple-purpose dam and reservoir. Features include 2,720,000 cubic yard rockfill embankment dam about 232 feet in height and 1,200 feet long and a 4.6 mile reservoir with a surface area of 988 acres of maximum pool. Comments made by DOI, DOT, DOC, USDA, EPA, various state agencies. (ELR Order # 1887, 75 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-200 792-F), February 15.

Bear Lake Creek, Colorado. Construction of a lake on Creek for the purpose of flood control, general recreation and fish and wildlife enhancement. Comments made by USDA, DOI, EPA, Colorado Water Conservation Board, concerned citizens. (ELR Order # 1856, 59 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-202 293-F), February 10.

Jacksonville Harbor, Florida. An 11 mile reach of the existing 34' deep Jacksonville Harbor project will be deepened to 38' with widths of 400' to 1200' for commercial navigation. About 6,700,000 cu. yds. of dredged material will be deposited in 10 upland diked areas and 1 beach nourishment area. Fish and shrimp populations could be adversely affected, and wildlife displacement will occur in disposal area. (ELR Order # 1899, 92 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-199 880-F), February 15.

Stuart Gulch Dam, Idaho. Flood control by construction of an earthfill dam. Would cover 194 acres of land. Comments made by USDA, EPA, DOI, 5 state offices, City of Boise and Ada County Commissioners. (ELR Order # 1737, 25 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-198 722-F), January 28.

Mad Creek, Muscatine, Iowa. Improvement of existing levees and construction of new levees, concrete floodwalls, closure structures, ponding areas, with a partial realignment of Mad Creek. Approximately 5500 feet of existing creek shoreline will be altered. Comments made by EPA, DOI, the State of Iowa Office for Planning and Programming, and the City of Muscatine. (ELR Order # 1892, 12 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-204 500-F), February 15.

Hillsdale Lake, Big Bull Creek, Kansas. Initiate construction on receipt of funds of a dam and lake in Miami County, Kansas. Environmental impact includes stream control and flow alterations, temporary soil ero-

sion, turbidity and noise during construction, downstream flood control, provision of a 4,580-acre lake; altered traffic patterns, etc. Comments made by DOT, DOI, USDA, EPA, various state of Kansas agencies, and University of Kansas. (ELR Order # 1796, 55 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-202 917-F), February 2.

New Bedford and Fairhaven Harbor, Massachusetts. Improvement of navigation by widening one section of the channel, deepening another section and extending the channel. Comments made by DOC, DOI, Mass. Dept. of Natural Resources and City of New Bedford. (ELR Order # 1728, 25 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-203 156-F), January 28.

Small Navigation Project, Andrews River, Harwich, Massachusetts. Construction of a jetty and retaining wall to prevent shoaling of entrance channel. Comments made by DOC, LOI. (ELR Order # 1833, 6 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-202 919-F) February 10.

Red River of the North, Oslo, Marshall County, Minnesota. Flood control improvement by improving a levee and constructing interior drainage facilities and street and road ramps. Will drain a 25-acre marsh, alter 313 acres of wildlife habitat by removal of trees and necessitate relocation of 6 houses. Comments made by USDA, HEW, DOI, Minn. Dept. of Natural Resources and Village of Oslo. (ELR Order # 1724, 32 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-204 943-F), January 27.

Zumbro River, Wabasha County, Minnesota. Flood protection by channel modification on 3 miles of the river from Kellogg to the mouth. Will change or eliminate 1.3 miles of stream. Comments made by USDA, EPA, DOI and Minn. Dept. of Natural Resources. (ELR Order # 1727, 50 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-201 851-F), January 28.

Blue Springs Lake, Little Blue River Lakes, Jackson County, Missouri. Construction of a dam and lake. Purpose to provide downstream flood protection, provide open space and a lake of 560 acres for recreation (at top of multipurpose pool). Will inundate 5 miles of stream below Lake Jacomo. Comments made by Missouri Dept. of Conservation, Water Resources Board, DOI, HEW, EPA, DOC. (ELR Order # 1937, 33 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-202 652-F), February 17.

Libby Dam and Lake Koocanusa, Kootenai River, Montana. Flood control as a part of a multi-purpose project included in the International Water Resource Development Plan of the Columbia River Basin (U.S. and Canada), under construction since 1966. Consists of completing dam (scheduled for flood control storage by 1973), constructing a powerhouse on the west bank with four 105,000 kw generators, etc. Surface area of lake: 46,500 (28,850 in U.S., 17,650 in Canada). Comments made by USDA, DOC, FPC, HEW, DOI, DOT, Bonneville Power Admin., 4 Montana state offices, 2 Idaho state offices and town of Rexford. (ELR Order # 1739, 50 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-200 538-F), January 28.

Oswego Steam Station—Unit 5, Niagara Mohawk Power Corporation, New York. Construction of unit # 5, an oil fueled electric generating unit with intake and discharge structures. Approximately 10 acres of land will be required, cooling water will be discharged in Lake Ontario, air borne oxides and particulates will be emitted. Comments made by USDA, Coast Guard, EPA, DOI, DOT, numerous state and regional offices. (ELR Order # 1968, 222 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-204 155-F), February 17.

Sugar and Briar Creeks Project, Catawba River Basin, North Carolina and South Carolina. Channelization of Little Sugar Creek by dredging in order to control flood waters. Comments made by USDA, EPA, HUD, and DOI. (ELR Order # 1891, 28 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-203 232-F), February 15.

Sugar Creek, Stark County, Brewster, Ohio. Modification of levees, installation of pump-

ing facilities and improvement of stream channels for flood control at and adjacent to Brewster, Ohio. Some farmland and parkland will be required, there will be a change in terrestrial and aquatic habitat, and erosion will temporarily increase. Comments made by EPA, DOI, and Ohio State agencies. (ELR Order # 1909, 14 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-200 340-F), February 15.

Presque Isle Peninsula Cooperative Beach Erosion Control Project South Shore of Lake Erie at Erie County, Pennsylvania. Work to be performed provides for the replenishment and protection of about 1,500 linear feet of beach frontage by placement of sand fill and construction of a low barrier composed of sand or grout filled nylon bags and mats. Comments made by Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, DOI, EPA. (ELR Order # 1941, 35 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-199 637-F), February 17.

Dyersburg, Tennessee. Project consists of a levee to provide flood protection from the North Fork, Forked Deer River and a pumping station and gated outlets for evacuation of interior runoff. Comments made by EPA, DOI, USDA, HUD, HEW, City of Dyersburg, State of Tennessee. (ELR Order # 1940, 28 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-203 237-F), February 18.

Chief Joseph Dam additional units, Columbia River, Washington. Construction of 11 additional units to increase the hydraulic capacity and peak power producing capacity of the dam. Will inundate 500 acres of land. Comments made by DOC, DOI, 3 state offices, Northwest Steelheader Council of Trout Unlimited and interested citizens. (ELR Order # 1776, 46 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-199 458-F), February 2.

Everett Harbor, Snohomish River, Washington. Raising the southerly 4,100 feet of the existing training dike and extending the structure an additional 1,500 feet in a southwesterly direction. Project will permanently cover about 13 acres of estuary bottom. Comments made EPA, DOI, Wash. Dept. of Game. (ELR Order # 1846, 29 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-200 374-F), February 10.

Wynoochee Dam and Lake, Wynoochee River, Grays Harbor County, Washington. Construction of a multipurpose concrete gravity dam 663 feet long and 175 feet high. A lake 4.4 miles long with a surface area of 1,140 acres will be created. Wynoochee lake will provide 35,000 acre-feet of water storage for flood control. Comments made by State of Washington, County officials, EPA, DOC, DOI. (ELR Order # 1952, 42 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-200 798-F), February 18.

Manitowoc Harbor, Manitowoc City and County, Wisconsin. Improvement of navigation by extending channel upstream for 720'. Comments made by EPA, DOI, DOT, Wis. Dept. of Natural Resources, Wis. Dept. of Local Affairs and Development and City of Manitowoc. (ELR Order # 1730, 25 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-202 843-F), January 28.

Department of Defense—Department of the Navy

Contact: Joseph A. Grimes, Jr., Special Civilian Assistant to the Secretary of Navy, Washington, D.C. 20350, (202) 697-0892.

#### Title, description, and date

##### Final

Kahoolawe Island Target Complex, Hawaiian Archipelago. Approximately 7750 acres, centrally located and comprising one fourth of the island, is used for training in air-to-ground weapons delivery and shore bombardment, using both live and inert ordnance. Environmental impact consists of explosions and fragmentation of metal shell and bomb casing on very infertile soil. Studies have been done by natural science specialists concerning plants and animals inhabiting the island. Comments made by



EPA, Advisory Council on Historical Preservation, DOI. (ELR Order #1956, 103 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-203 876-F), February 23.

#### *Environmental Protection Agency*

Contact: Sheldon Meyers, Director, Office of Federal Activities, Room 3630—Waterside Mall, Washington, D.C., 20460, (202) 755-0940.

#### *Title, description, and date* *Draft*

Wastewater facilities, Austin, Texas. Construction of a deep tunnel interceptor and enlargement of existing wastewater treatment plant. The tunnel will intercept overloaded trunk sewer wastewater flows and convey them to the proposed wastewater treatment plant. (ELR Order # 1791, 48 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 401-D), February 4.

Construction of Wastewater facilities, Ellis County, Red Oak, Texas. Application for federal funds to aid in constructing a complete wastewater treatment system. The treatment plant will employ an extended aeration process including pretreatment grit removal, flow measurement, and effluent chlorination, etc. (ELR Order # 1993, 60 pages, (NTIS Order # PB-207 065-D), February 25.

#### *Final*

Spencer, Iowa. Construction of an anaerobic-aerated lagoon system, intercepting sewer, 2 new pumping stations and force main, and odor control facilities. The project will provide 1.9 mgd of sewage treatment capacity to serve the waste treatment needs of a packinghouse and a portion of the domestic population. Approximately 130 acres of farm land will be required for the project. (ELR Order # 1860, 210 pages). (NTIS Order # PB-203 316-F), February 8.

Angelina County, Lufkin, Texas. Construction of sanitary sewer interceptors, pumping stations, force mains, waste treatment facilities and appurtenances. Comments made by USDA, Army COE, HEW, State of Texas agencies, local agencies and concerned citizens. (ELR Order # 1898, 178 pages). (NTIS Order # PB-204 907-F), February 8.

#### *Federal Power Commission*

Contact: Frederick H. Warren, Advisor on Environmental Quality, 441 G Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20426, (202) 386-6084.

#### *Title, description, and date* *Draft*

Pueblo County, Colorado. Proposal to allow construction of 2.54 mile of railway track by the Colorado and Wyoming Railway Co. This will require approximately 51.51 acres of land. Finance Docket No. 27022. (ELR Order # 1914, 10 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 759-D), February 16.

Algonquin SNG, Inc. proposes to construct and operate at Freetown, Massachusetts a naptha reforming plant and 6.8 miles of pipeline. Purpose is to transport and sell synthesized natural gas in quantities up to a maximum of 120,000 Mcf per day to Algonquin Gas Transmission Company (Algonquin Gas.) (ELR Order # 1773, 20 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 384-D), November 26, 1971.

Michigamme Project, Iron and Dickinson Counties in Michigan and Florence County in Wisconsin. Twin Falls, Peavy Falls, Michigamme Reservoir and Way Dam Plant on the Michigamme and Menominee Rivers. Application for a new license for Project No. 1759. (ELR Order # 1970, 29 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 853-D), February 24.

Arkansas Louisiana Gas Company, Docket No. CP70-267. Proposes to construct a natural gas pipeline from the Texas Panhandle to eastern Oklahoma. The line would run 298

miles where it would connect with the company's existing pipeline system. Also proposes to construct a 42 mile lateral, together with gas treating plants and gathering facilities. (ELR Order # 1948, 21 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 769-D), February 18.

Supplement to draft (8/17). Applications by Columbia LNG Co., Consolidated System LNG Co., Southern Energy Co. and Southern Natural Gas Co. for authorization to import Algerian liquefied natural gas (LNG) and for certificates of public convenience and necessity authorizing construction and operation of facilities for the unloading and handling of imported LNG volumes. Docket Nos. CP71-68, CP71-151, CP71-153, CP71-264, CP71-276, CP71-289, and CP71-290. (ELR Order # 1616, 297 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 255-D), January 3.

#### *General Services Administration*

Contact: Rod Kreger, Acting Administrator, GSA-AD, Washington, D.C. 20405, (202) 343-6077.

Alternate Contact: Aaron Woloshin, Director, Office of Environmental Affairs, GSA-AD, Washington, D.C. 20405, (202) 343-4161.

#### *Title, description, and date* *Final*

Disposal of former Condon Air Force Station Gilliam County, Oregon. Transfer of 6.5 acres of land to the Federal Aviation Agency and 59.76 acres of land will be sold by competitive bid sale. The land is zoned for exclusive farm use. Comments made by Local Government Relations Division, Dept. of Environmental Quality and Office of the Governor. (ELR Order # 1843, 15 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-203 885-F), February 11.

Disposal of Birdsboro Army Tank-Automotive Steel Foundry, Berks County, Pennsylvania by negotiated sale to the Greater Berks Development Fund for lease to the Birdsboro Corp. Comments made by EPA. (ELR Order # 1772, 7 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-204 098-F), February 1.

#### *Department of Housing and Urban Development*

Contact: Richard H. Broun, Director, Environmental and Land Use Planning Division, Washington, D.C. 20410, (202) 755-6186.

#### *Title, description, and date* *Draft*

FHA Mortgage Insurance for seasonal homes. Promulgation of a circular to implement section 203(m) of the National Housing Act, providing for mortgage insurance of single-family dwellings designed for seasonal (rather than year-round) occupancy. (ELR Order # 1979, 13 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 866-D), February 25.

#### *Final*

Wayne County, New York. Development of a new community over a 20 year period, with a HUD guaranteed \$20 million loan. Townships of Walworth and Macedon. Comments made by USDA, FPC, DOT, and regional offices. (ELR Order # 1834, 28 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-204 845-F), February 8.

Soul City, Warren County, North Carolina. Proposed construction of a new community, assisted by a HUD guaranteed \$14 million loan. Approximately 5180 acres of agricultural land will be utilized during 20 to 25 year development period, at the end of which a population of 44,000 is expected. Comments made by AEC, USDA, Army COE, EPA, HUD, DOI and state and local agencies. (ELR Order # 1889, 120 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-203 773-F), February 11.

Goose Hollow, Portland, Oregon. Proposal for a HUD loan of \$3,193,000 in order to construct a 16 story college student apartment building. Comments made by DOC, EPA, HEW, DOI, OEO, DOT, Office of the Governor,

state agencies and concerned citizens. (ELR Order # 1890, 105 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 648-F), February 16.

Proposed New Community, The Woodlands, Montgomery County, Texas. Proposed HUD offer of commitment to guarantee loan of \$50 million over a twenty year period for the Woodlands. The project will result in more rational organization or urban systems in the urbanizing outer metropolitan area as opposed to normal sprawl. (ELR Order No. 1959, 40 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-204 498-F), February 23.

#### *Department of Interior*

Contact: Office of Communications, Room 7214, Washington, D.C. 20240, (202) 343-6416. Title, description, and date.

#### *Bureau of Mines* *Draft*

Demonstration—Hydraulic Backfilling of Mines Voids, Scranton, Pennsylvania. Bureau of Mines proposes to conduct a demonstration project that will test the economic feasibility of the Dowell hydraulic slurry injection process for blind backfilling of dry and flooded underground mine voids in order to stabilize remaining coal pillars and roof rock thereby preventing surface subsidence. If successfully completed the project will backfill mine voids in the Clark and New County coalbeds. (ELR Order No. 1946, 23 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 767-D), February 18.

#### *Final*

Oil Shale Retort Research Project, Anvil Points, Colorado. Proposed action would encourage further research on the development of surface retorting of oil shale and, at the same time, provide experience and information on waste management techniques. Operations that would be conducted over the 5-year term of the proposed lease include the construction of a vertical kiln retort and the mining, crushing, retorting, and disposal of probably no more than 600,000 tons of oil shale. This is less than a one week requirement for a commercial plant that produces 50,000 barrels of shale oil per day. (ELR Order No. 1958, 40 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 318-F), February 18.

#### *Bureau of Reclamation*

#### *Draft*

Deep geothermal test well, geothermal resource investigations, Imperial Valley, California. Drilling of a geothermal test well between 4000' and 8000' in the East Mesa area to recover steam and brine to determine its suitability for development of desalted water and electric power. Involves stripping and leveling of 10 acres. (ELR Order No. 1754, 15 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 161-D), January 31.

Pueblo Dam and Reservoir, Fryingpan-Arkansas Project, Colorado. Construction of a dam and reservoir for storage and regulation of water supplies, flood control, recreation and regulation and storage of Project water and the native flows of the Arkansas River. Construction begun in 1970. Will inundate 4,646 acres of land and 9 miles of natural river. (ELR Order No. 1723, 74 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 272-D), January 27.

Rehabilitation and Betterment Program Cascade Irrigation District, Washington. Rehabilitation of a diversion dam or the Yakima River, a new inlet to the irrigation canal, construction of a fish ladder on the dam and installation of a fish screen and bypass pipe, reshaping 14,100 feet of canal and lining with concrete, and construction of a pumping plant. (ELR Order No. 1943, 16 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 765-D), February 15.

Lyman to Torrington, Wyoming. Construction of a 115-KV transmission line with 12.3

miles of wood pole and one mile of steel structures; and construction of a substation terminal on a 5 acre tract near Torrington. Trees near the North Platte River will be removed and/or trimmed, causing an impact upon wildlife habitat. (ELR Order No. 1895, 28 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 462-D), February 14.

## Final

Navajo Project, Arizona. Construction of three units, 2,310 tot. NW coal burning generating station to supply electrical energy for the Southwest Construction also of a 78 mile railway to haul coal from the Black Mesa Coal Mine (a strip mine) to the station, and 800 miles of 500 kv transmission line. Station will consume a maximum of 34,000 acre feet of cooling water annually from Lake Powell, emit 210 tons of SO<sub>2</sub> and 204 tons of NO<sub>x</sub> per day until removal systems are developed and produce an estimated 1815 tons of water ash per day. Comments made by USDA, DOI, HEW, EPC, DOT, TVA, Governors of Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico and Utah and numerous agencies of these states. (ELR Order No. 1781, 337 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203, 228-F), February 4.

Canyon Ferry Lake, Broadwater and Lewis and Clark Counties, Montana. Construction of dikes to form subimpoundments, dredging of fine material from lakeside into subimpoundments, and flooding of subimpoundments for development of wildlife habitat, in order to abate dust formation in dry weather. Comments made by USDA, Army COE, EPA, HEW, DOI, state and local agencies. (ELR Order No. 1893, 36 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 097-F), February 14.

## Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife

## Draft

Designation as wilderness 17,740 acres of the 64,000-acre St. Marks National Wildlife Refuge in Jefferson, Wakulla and Taylor Counties, Florida. (ELR Order # 1804, 26 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 381-D), Feb. 3.

Designation as wilderness 4,598 acres of the 22,666-acre Moosehorn National Wildlife Refuge, Washington County, Maine. (ELR Order # 1797, 26 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 378-D), February 4.

Designation as wilderness 32,500 acres within the Bosque del Apache National Wildlife Refuge in Socorro County New Mexico. (ELR Order # 1797, 23 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 375-D), February 4.

Designation as wilderness 28,000 acres of the Cape Romain National Wildlife Refuge, located in Charleston County, South Carolina within the National Wilderness Preservation System. (ELR Order # 1799, 25 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 382-D), February 4.

## National Park Service

## Draft

Golden Gate National Recreation Area, San Francisco and Marin County, California. Approximately 24,000 acres of state, county, Federal and privately owned land is planned for the purpose of public recreation and for the preservation and enhancement of the unique open space and recreation value inherent in the lands that border the Golden Gate and the urban areas around San Francisco Bay. (ELR Order # 1942, 49 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 764-D), February 18.

Legislative proposal to designate as wilderness 8,700 acres of Colorado National Monument, Colorado. (ELR Order # 1729, 26 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 273-D), January 27.

Legislative proposal to designate as wilderness 8,700 acres of Gunnison National Monument, Colorado, encompassing all of Black Canyon and a portion of the mesa and bench land in the western half of the monument. (ELR Order # 1735, 25 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 169-D), January 27.

PADRE Island National Seashore, Kelberg,

Kenedy and Willacy Counties, Texas. A five year conceptual Master Plan for Padre Island. Proposal calls for expansion of existing Malaquite Beach development, provisions for access to the Laguna Madre and extension of the road system south for additional 15 miles. (ELR Order # 1852, 38 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 572-D), February 8.

Legislative proposal to designate as wilderness 16,303 acres of Bryce Canyon National Park, Garfield and Kane Counties, Utah. (ELR Order # 1742, 36 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 183-), January 27.

## Office of Coal Research

## Final

Coal Gasification Pilot Plant, Homer City, Pennsylvania. The proposed pilot plant will test out a process employing oxygen and steam at elevated pressures in a two-stage gasifier, to convert coal to pipeline quality gas, the exact equivalent of natural gas. Comments made by Geological Survey, HEW, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, EPA. (ELR Order # 1980, 63 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-200 800-F), February 22.

## Office of Saline Water

## Draft

Hybrid prototype desalting plant, Brownsville, Texas. Legislative proposal to design, construct, operate and maintain an 8 mgd prototype desalination plant in cooperation with the Rio Grande Valley Municipal Water Authority and the City of Brownsville. (ELR Order # 1763, 26 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 256-D), January 28.

## New England River Basins Commission

Contact: Connecticut River Basin Coordinating Commission, 424 Trapelo Road, Waltham, Massachusetts, 02154.

## Title, description, and date

## Draft

Connecticut River Basin, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire. Involves water quality and supply, wastewater treatment, power, recreation navigation, flood control, upstream water and related land resource potential, multi-purpose reservoirs, etc. Will result in loss of free-flowing sections of streams and associated wildlife habitat because of inundation. (ELR Order # 1842, 801 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-199 738-D), February 3.

## Tennessee Valley Authority

Contact: Dr. Francis Gartell, Director of Environmental Research and Development, 720 Edney Building, Chattanooga, Tennessee 37401 (615) 755-2002.

## Title, description, and date

## Draft

Control of Eurasian Watermilfoil (*Myriophyllum spicatum* L.) in TVA Reservoirs. There are two methods of controlling watermilfoil: water level management to dry the plant by dewatering or by otherwise disturbing its habitat, and application of 2, 4-D herbicide applied by boats. (ELR Order #1947, 30 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 768-D), February 16.

## Final

Tellico Project, Tennessee. Construction of a dam and 16,500 acre reservoir on the Little Tennessee River in east Tennessee. The project will include related industrial, commercial, residential and recreational development. Comments made by FPC, DOI, HUD, HEW, DOD, Army, USDA, EPA, Tennessee State Planning Commission, and various state offices. (ELR Order #1850, 520 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-200 025-F), February 10.

## Department of Transportation

Contact: Martin Convisser (Mr. Convisser's office will refer you to the regional office from which the statement originated),

Director, Office of Program Co-ordination, 400 7th Street, SW., Washington, D.C. 20590, (202) 462-4357.

## Title, description, and date

## Federal Aviation Agency

## Draft

Springdale Municipal Airport, Washington County, Springdale, Arkansas. Acquire land for clear zones, overlay existing runway, extend aircraft parking, install VASI, etc. (ELR Order # 1991, 25 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-207 063-D), February 25.

Baxley Municipal Airport, Appling County, Georgia. Extension and widening runway to accommodate all propeller aircraft of less than 12,500 lbs. (ELR Order #1734, 12 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 167-D), January 25.

Greene County Airport, Greensboro-Union Point, Georgia. Construction of a basic utility airport adequate for 95% of propeller driven aircraft weighing less than 12,500 lbs. This includes 30 acres of clearing, construction of a runway, installation of runway edge lighting, etc. (ELR Order # 1866, 37 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 575-D), February 14.

Fannin County Airport: Blue Ridge, Georgia. Construction of a basic utility airport, involves clearing 85 acres, relocation of 11 families. (ELR Order # 1977, 38 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 864-D), February 25.

Bradley Field Airport, Ada County, Idaho. A reliever airport for Boise Air Terminal. Involves improvements, extension of runway, etc. (ELR Order # 1976, 15 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 863-D), February 24.

Freemont Municipal Airport, Newaygo County, Michigan. Construction of a runway and extension of another runway. (ELR Order # 1740, 56 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 182-D), January 31.

Marlette Township Airport, Sanilac County, Michigan. Land reimbursement, clearing, connecting taxiway, apron, entrance road, lighting system, parking lot, hangar area, etc. Will provide a safe and efficient air service to community. (ELR Order # 1982, 30 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 920-D), February 25.

East-West Runway at Stewart Airport, Newburgh, New York. Extension of runway 9-27, 4000' to west, together with extension of the parallel taxiway, strengthening of the existing 8000' runway and associated lighting. (ELR Order # 1974, 52 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 858-D), February 24.

Ashe County Airport, Jefferson, Ashe County, North Carolina. Construction of a general utility airport facility to accommodate propeller driven aircraft of less than 12,500 lbs. Approximately 27 acres of pastureland will be required for the project. (ELR Order # 1863, 12 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 552-D), February 14.

Langdon Municipal Airport, Langdon, North Dakota. Extending, widening and strengthening runway to 4200' x 75'; relocating runway lighting; widening taxiway; constructing E/W turf landing strip and relocating power lines. (ELR Order # 1861, 39 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 553-D), February 14.

Lawton Municipal Airport, Comanche County, Oklahoma. Extending, widening and strengthening present runway, installation of high intensity lighting and acquiring land for south clear zone. (ELR Order # 1810, 41 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 392-D), February 7.

Carnegie Airport, Caddo County, Oklahoma. Construction of new airport facility for use by light propeller driven aircraft. (ELR Order # 1813, 13 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 373-D), February 7.

Ponca City Municipal Airport, Ponca City, Oklahoma. Acquire 138 acres for airport development and clear zones, extend and mark existing runway, reconstruct 25' each side of existing runway; install medium intensity



lighting and remove obstructions at north end of runway extension. (ELR Order #1867, 21 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 558-D), February 14.

Pryor Airport, Pryor Creek, Mayes County, Oklahoma. Extend and mark existing runway, install medium intensity runway lighting system and install VASI at both ends of runway. (ELR Order #1869, 17 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 560-D), February 14.

Antlers Municipal Airport, Pushmataha County, Antlers, Oklahoma. Development of a new airport facility, including land for development, runway construction, parking apron, access road, installation of wind cone and segmented circle, etc. (ELR Order #1972, 10 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 859-D), February 24.

Arrowhead Airport, Pittsburgh County, Canadian, Oklahoma. Development of a new airport facility including construction of NW/SE runway, relocation of water tank, water line, and golf course tee, install fencing, lighting, etc. (ELR Order #1973, 19 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 860-D), February 25.

Canton Municipal Airport, Canton, South Dakota. Construction of general aviation airport, land acquisition development and clear zones, miscellaneous improvements. (ELR Order #1975, 32 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 268-D), February 25.

Hemphill Municipal Airport, Sabine County, Texas. Development of new airport, including runway, taxiway, parking ramp, access road, wind cone and segmented circle, fencing, radio and airport beacons and lighting system. (ELR Order #1769, 28 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 262-D), January 31.

Garner Field, Uvalde, Texas. Acquire land for airport development and clear zones; strengthening and extending of runway, installation of medium intensity lighting, VASI system and security fencing. (ELR 1807, 31 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 385-D), February 7.

Manti-Ephraim Airport, Sanpete County, Utah. Improve general aviation airport, land acquisition, clear zones, runway extension, lighting and relocation of power lines. (ELR Order #1892, 15 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-207 064-D), February 25.

#### Final

Big Bear City Airport, San Bernardino County, Big Bear, California. Realignment of the existing runway, land acquisition, obstruction removal, etc. Comments made by DOI, USDA, DOT, EPA, Army COE, County and local offices, State of California. (ELR Order #1939, 47 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-204 023-F), February 16.

Nut Tree Airport, Vacaville, California. Extension of runway from 3300' to 3800'; marking and lighting. Construction of parallel taxiway with holding aprons, and expansion of parking apron. Comments made by Army COE, DOI, DOT. (ELR Order #1967, 30 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-205 198-F), February 23.

Andrews County Airport, Andrews, Texas. Overlay existing 75' x 4,000' N/S runway and extend to 5300'; acquire land to extend runway, replace existing runway lighting, install airport beacon and VASI land air. Total estimated cost: \$197,761. Comments made by DOI, USDA, HEW, DOT, EPA, County of Andrews. (ELR Order #1803, 36 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-201 576-F), February 8.

Atlanta Municipal Airport, Atlanta, Texas. Acquisition of land for airport development. Proposed construction of a 50' x 3200' runway, a 30' taxiway, a 150' x 250' parking apron and installation of a segmented circle and wind cone and fencing. Comments made by USDA, EPA, HEW, HUD, DOT. (ELR Order #1966, 35 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-202 593-F), February 23.

#### Federal Highway Administration

##### Draft

S.H. 110: Montgomery County, Alabama. Construction of 2.26 miles of road improvements, on 6 lanes from Vaughn Road to Interstate 85 and on 4 lanes from Interstate 85 to the Atlanta Highway. Approximately 50 to 80 feet of additional right of way will be required. Project SU-5105(101). (ELR Order #1910, 14 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 644-D), February 15.

State Route 20, Lauderdale County, Alabama. Relocation of Alabama State Route 20, beginning at Alabama-Tenn. state line, proceeding SE on new location to Natchez Trace Parkway (7.1 miles). Project S-202-F. (ELR Order #1944, 15 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 766-D), February 15.

US 31 to US 29: Escambia County, Alabama. Proposed new two lane highway with the purchase of adequate right of way for future four lane construction. Total length is 2.4 miles. (ELR Order #1971, 6 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 861-D), February 25.

Geist Road and University Access Road: Fairbanks, Alaska. Reconstruction and extension of Geist Road from the intersection of University Avenue west to the intersection of the Chena Pump and Chena Ridge Roads and the proposed Fairbanks-Anchorage Highway (1.6 miles). Project No. S-0649(1). (ELR Order #1874, 20 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 583-D), February 10.

Interstate 630 from I-430-I-30: Pulaski County, Arkansas. Construction of a 6-lane interstate facility in Little Rock. Approximately 7.4 miles in length. (ELR Order #1983, 17 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 852-D) February 22.

Southwest Circumferential, Denver, Colorado. Interstate 470 Circumferential Route is the last section of Interstate that will complete the encirclement of the City of Denver. 4(f) required for two planned recreation areas, Bear Creek Reservoir Recreation Area and McLellan Reservoir Recreation Area. (ELR Order #1984, 100 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-207 067-D), February 18.

Interstate Route 91: Hartford-Windsor, Connecticut. Reconstruction of a nine-mile section of I.H. 91 and the construction of 1 mile of I.R. 291 and interchange in Windsor created at their junction. (ELR Order #1829, 55 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 462-D), February 10.

Route 262: City of Waterbury and Town of Plymouth, Connecticut. Reconstruction of Conn. Route 262 beginning 0.3 mile east of S.R. 847 extending northerly and terminating 0.1 mile north of Waterbury Road (0.7 mile). 4(f) required for 4 acres in Mattatuck State Forest. (ELR Order #1880, 49 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 565-D), February 9.

Route 141, Centre Road, Woodward Ave. to Lancaster Pike: New Castle County, Delaware. Construction of a 6 lane freeway with two, 2 lane frontage roads. This is the last link in the improvement of R. 141 around City of Wilmington. 4(f) required for land used as a recreational park. (ELR Order #1926, 100 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 787-D), February 17.

State Road 435: Orange County, Florida. Reconstruction of SR 435, making it 4-lanes within the City of Apoka (a distance of 1.785 miles) and widening to 24' and resurfacing its 2 lanes for a distance of 4 miles north of the city limits. Displacement of a number of dwellings will result. (ELR Order #1897, 63 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 772-D), February 9.

U.S. Highway 301, Hillsborough and Pasco Counties, Florida. Reconstruction of 22.9 miles of U.S. 301 from 2 to 4 lanes between Tampa and Zephyrhills. Some homes and businesses will be displaced. (ELR Order #1908, 31 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 643-D), February 16.

U.S. Highway 41: Collier County, Florida. Improvement involves four-laning the portion of U.S. Highway 41 (S.R. 45) from south of Bonita Springs to the north of Estero and is 1.4 miles in length. (ELR Order #1978, 29 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 865-D), February 25.

U.S. Highway 95: Nez Perce County, Idaho. Relocation of U.S. 95 over Lewiston Hill, to improve safety. Termini vary being 7.1, 7.6 and 7.5 miles. Project F-4114(18). (ELR Order #1845, 55 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 551-D), February 11.

S.H. 39: Bingham County, Idaho. Construction of a 6.1 mile segment of 2-lane State Highway 39. Structures would be required for canal crossings. Minimum right-of-way width would be 100 feet. Some disruption and severance to existing agricultural units will result. (ELR Order #1911, 24 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 645-D), February 14.

Federal Aid Route 33 (Illinois 121): Macon County, Illinois. Reconstruction of approximately 3.6 miles of roadway, involves building of 4 lanes of new pavement. 4(f) determination required for a small quantity from Decatur Park District. (ELR Order #1854, 55 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 563-D), February 7.

FA Route 2, Section 77-2: Winnebago County, Illinois. Construction of a four-lane expressway. Begins 5.5 miles south of Illinois-Wisconsin border and follows Rte. 2 approximately 5.8 miles. (ELR Order #1857, 103 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 568-D), February 4.

FA Route 171 (Illinois Route 76): Boone County, Illinois. Establishment of a transportation corridor, five and one half miles long and 2000' wide. Within this a 2 lane partially access controlled facility (Illinois Route 76) will be constructed, to be expanded to a 4 lane facility if needed. (ELR Order #1900, 62 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 647-D), February 9.

Route 148: Morgan, Scott, and Pike Counties, Illinois. Construction of a 52 mile, 4 lane, fully access controlled highway between the cities of Jacksonville and Berry. A 4(f) statement is required for the taking of conservation area land. Approximately 2600 acres of various types of land, much of it highly productive farmland and established timberland, will be required by the highway, as well as several farm residences. Project F-408. (ELR Order #1901, 103 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 640-D), February 9.

Elgin-O'Hara Freeway: Cook County, Illinois. Construction of 19 miles of multilane divided highway from US 20 at Elgin to Illinois Route 19 at Chicago O'Hara International Airport. The displacement of 99 residences, 12 commercial establishments and one industrial establishment will result (ELR Order #1932, 81 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 774-D), February 14.

F.A. 45 (Mannheim Road), Cook County, Illinois. Reconstruction of US 45 from 179th St. to 143rd St. 4(f) statement is required as land will be taken from the recreational facilities of Orland Center School. (ELR Order #1969, 58 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 871-D), February 23.

Freeway 520: Sioux City, Woodbury County, Iowa. Construction from proposed I-29/I-129 interchange east to an interchange with Lakeport Rd., then northeast to US-20. Will displace 20 homes, 13 farmsteads, 2 businesses and 1 mobile home. (ELR Order #1758, 12 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 165-D), January 24.

Freeway 520: Evansdale, Black Hawk County, Iowa. Construction from US-218 interchange in Waterloo, across Cedar River to a River Forest Rd. interchange in Evansdale, to an interchange with Ia. 297. The roadbed will act as a flood protection levee over part of its length. Involves displacement of 35

houses and 7-8 businesses. (ELR Order #1765, 15 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 260-D), January 27.

US-169: Miami and Johnson Counties, Kansas. Construction from 1 mile south of the Johnson-Miami County line to I-35 (8.5 miles). 4(f) determination will be required, depending on the route selected. Involves displacement of people and severance of property. Project 169-61 F 081-1(16) and 169-46 F 081-1(14). (ELR Order #1732, 72 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 170-D), January 28.

US-54: Augusta, Butler County, Kansas. Improvement to 4 lanes from 400' west of Walnut St. to the west end of the Walnut River Bridge. Will displace residences and businesses. Project (SF) 54-8 U-038-4 (23, (24). (ELR Order No. 1733, 25 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 168-D), January 27.

I-435 Extension (KCI Route): Johnson and Wyandotte Counties, Kansas. Addition of 20.5 miles to Interstate 435 loop around greater Kansas City. A minimum six-lane limited access facility, including interchanges and bridge crossings of Kansas and Missouri Rivers. Project 435-46 I-435-3(124), 435-105 I-435-3 (125), 435-52 I-435-3 (127). (ELR Order No. 1855, 100 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 581-D), February 9.

U.S. 75: Shawnee County, Kansas. Improvements of U.S. 75 and its interchanges with Lower Silver Lake Road, U.S. 24 and Brickyard Road. (2.1 miles). A bridge over the Kansas River is planned. (ELR Order No. 1981, 10 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 867-D), February 24.

KY-80, Pikesville-Elkhorn City Rd. and Elkhorn City-Virginia State Line Rd.: Pike County, Kentucky. Relocation of KY-80 between Shelbyville and Elkhorn City (16.17 miles). Involves relocation of residences, some mobile homes. Projects APD 640(5), AP 98-183-7L, AP 98-223-17L and APD 640(2), AP 98-2223-16L. (ELR Order No. 1722, 24 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 174-D), January 27.

Somerset-London Road KY 80: Pulaski County, Kentucky. Reconstruction of 3.7 miles of KY 80. Project FAP 21, APD 195 (24). (ELR Order No. 1962, 28 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 870-D), February 23.

LA-1: White Castle, Iberville Parish, Louisiana. Widening to 4 lanes from east of White Castle, partly on relocation, west to near Dorcyville (1.88 miles). Project 50-06-36, F-399(12). (ELR Order No. 1759, 24 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 157-D), January 28.

Big Bend Rd.: Kirkwood, St. Louis County, Missouri. Relocation between I-244 and Marshall Rd. and widening to 4 lanes from Marshall Rd. to Couch Ave. Will displace 2 residences and 1 service station. Project T-4189 (8). (ELR Order No. 1736, 7 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 181-D), January 28.

Route OC, Ozark County, Missouri. Construction of a highway facility, includes a bridge over the North Fork White River. Project begins approximately 2.5 miles east of Route 181 and the community of Dora, then traverses easterly 2.5 miles to Hammond Camp. (ELR Order No. 1802, 29 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 383-D), February 7.

U.S. 6: Chase, Hayes and Hitchcock Counties, Nebraska. Improvements of a 14.5 mile segment of U.S. Highway 6 between Wauwata and Palisade, and construction of a spur road on new alignment into Hamlet. Project F-243(9) and F-243-A. (ELR Order No. 1844, 14 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 569-D), February 11.

Omaha-Fremont Freeway: Douglas, Dodge and Saunders Counties, Nebraska. Construction of a 4-lane highway to connect Omaha and Fremont. Ten alternate routes of approximately 23 miles each are under consid-

eration. Project F-20(35). (ELR Order No. 1862, 30 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 584-D), February 10.

Route 27: Suffolk County, New York. Improvement and reconstruction of a portion of Route 27 as a six lane express facility with parallel service roads. The overall project covered in this statement is comprised of four design contracts: Contract 5, P.I.N. 0059.00; Contract 6, P.I.N. 0113.00; Contract 7, P.I.N. 0188.00; Contract 8, P.I.N. 0114.00. 4(f) required for land from the future Connetquot River State Park. (ELR Order No. 1876, 105 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 582-D), February 10.

The Genesee Expressway: Interstate Route 390, Livingston and Monroe Counties, New York. Construction of thirty seven miles of the Genesee Expressway. (ELR Order No. 1964, 166 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 856-D), February 22.

Riverdale Avenue Arterial, New York City Line to Main Street Westchester County, New York. Reconstruction of 1.7 miles of Riverdale Ave. to a four lane surface arterial with auxiliary lanes and median. (ELR Order No. 1989, 24 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-207 066-D), February 24.

Albertson Rd.-Sherman Rd.-Linden Ave.: High Point, Guilford County, North Carolina. Provision of a continuous thoroughfare in High Point between Kearns Ave. and English Rd. along the alignment of Linden Ave., Springfield Ave., Sherman Rd. and Albertson Rd. and improvement of English Rd. from Westchester Dr. to the west corporate limits. Requires relocation of 45 families and 15 businesses. Project 9.8071021, S-1686. (ELR Order No. 1756, 18 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 163-D), January 31.

NC-110: Haywood County, North Carolina. Improvement from the south corporate limits of Canton south to US-276 (5 miles). Will displace 7-14 families. Project 6.801870. (ELR Order No. 1757, 25 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 164-D), January 31.

US 220: Guilford-Randolph Counties, North Carolina. Building of a new highway to connect I-40 in Greensboro and the new US 220 highway near Level Cross. (10.8 miles) (ELR Order No. 1871, 14 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 556-D), February 11.

U.S. Highway 19E Bypass: Spruce Pine, Mitchell County, North Carolina. Relocation of U.S. 19E from about 0.5 mile west of the town limits to 0.1 mile east of the town (3 miles). Also existing N.C. 226 will be relocated to the west for a length of 0.9 mile. Several connectors will be constructed to tie into the existing street system. (ELR Order No. 1883, 22 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 566-D), February 14.

I-40: Buncombe and McDowell Counties, North Carolina. Construction of (1) an 8.1 mile segment of I-40 from Black Mountain to Old Fort and (2) a 0.66 mile relocation of N.C. 9 on the southern side of Black Mountain. Project I-40-1(27)65, I-40-2(28)67, I-40-2(9)66. (ELR Order No. 1935, 20 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 873-D), February 17.

New Salisbury Connector Between U.S. 29-601 and I-85: Rowan County, Salisbury, North Carolina. Construction of a new five-lane curb and gutter road extending from U.S. 29-601 at SR 1530 to I-85 at the SR 2541 interchange. Project S-1120. (ELR Order No. 1938, 17 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 763-D), February 18.

7th Street: Langdon, Cavalier County, North Dakota. Construction of a curb and gutter street from 11th Ave. N. to 15th Ave. N. 4(f) determination required for construction through Langdon City Park. Project A-SI-12 (2) (ELR Order No. 1778, 5 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 264-D), February 2.

Toledo-Downtown Distributor-SR-112: Lucas County, Ohio. Construction of a 0.9 mile limited access highway, starting at I-75

and extending across portion of Toledo, Ohio, to end in two downtown exit ramps and one entrance ramp. Project U-1135(1), LUC-112-0.00. (ELR Order # 1790, 18 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 402-D), February 2.

Defiance Railroad Grade Separation Replacement: Defiance County, Ohio. Construction of a four-lane facility with necessary turning lanes and traffic control items, etc. Project UG-649 ( ), DEF-15-14.09 (ELR Order # 1795, 14 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 405-D), February 2.

Wilson Mills Road, CH 8: Geauga County, Ohio. Project consists of widening and resurfacing the existing road and correcting sight distances, from Caves Road to S.R. 306 (1.30 miles). Project S-1617(1), (ELR Order # 1800, 6 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 406-D), February 2.

St. Marys South Connector: Auglaize County, Ohio. Construction of a new east-west street across the southern part of the City of St. Marys. Project SU-1638(1). (ELR Order # 1806, 10 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 377-D), February 8.

County Road 104A: Marion County, Ohio. Reconstruction of 0.504 miles of road by raising the roadway above the flood level and replacing a bridge over the Little Scioto River. Project S-1612(1). (ELR Order # 1848, 9 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 571-D), February 11.

I-280: Lucas County, Oregon, Ohio. Construction and addition of the following safety features to I-280 to the latest Federal standards: provide median barrier, reconstruct berms, flatten ditch slopes, resurface pavement, etc. Project I-280-2(4)79, LUC-280-0.00. (ELR Order # 1960, 11 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 785-D), February 22.

Oregon Coast Hwy.-Waterline Dr. Section (Newport) Naterlin Drive: Lincoln County, Oregon. Revision to part of the access road leading to the main entrance to Yaquina Bay State Park and to the water-front street system of Newport. (500 feet in length) TOPICS Project T-5021(3). (ELR Order #1847, 7 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 570-D), February 10.

Oregon Forest Highway Project Rte 46: Deschutes County, Oregon. Construction to current standards a section of the Oregon Forest Highway 46 beginning approximately 1.5 miles northerly of Davis Lake and extending 5.8 miles southerly to a point near the south end of Davis Lake in Klamath County. (ELR Order # 1877, 27 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 574-D), February 14.

Interstate Route 77 from Columbia to Rock Hill, South Carolina. South Carolina Highway Dept. in cooperation with Federal, State and local governments plans to construct a new highway as a part of the Interstate and Defense Highway System between Columbia and Rock Hill. (60 miles in length) (ELR Order # 1793, 28 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 388-D), February 3.

Heckle By-Pass: York County, Rock Hill South Carolina. Construction of the Heckle By-Pass from S.C. Rte. 322 to S.C. Rte. 161, a distance of approximately 4.5 miles. (ELR Order # 1872, 10 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-206 555-D), February 9.

Rosewood Drive: Richland County, Columbia South Carolina. Widening and extending of Rosewood Drive, from Assembly Street to Garners Ferry Road (U.S. 378), (2.95 miles). Also Wildcat Road would be widened for multi-lane travel. Project U-07-1( ). (ELR Order #1873, 11 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 567-D), February 9.

Assembly Street, Columbia, South Carolina. Extension of Assembly Street, from Elmwood Ave. northerly to River Drive (US 176), a distance of about 0.65 mile. (ELR Order #1945, 15 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 783-D), February 17.

Project F020-7: Lake County, South Dako-



ta. Construction from 1 mile south of SH-34/SH-19 intersection southeast to SH-34 (7.5 miles). (ELR Order #1755, 5 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 162-D), January 25.

Federal Route 6, Ellington Parkway: Davidson County, Tennessee. Construction of a 2.44 mile section of 4 lane highway in Nashville. Seven residences and three businesses will be displaced. Project U-006-3 (40). (ELR #1906, 55 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 641-D), February 16.

SH-19: Delta County, Texas. Upgrading to 4 lanes from F.M. 1507 in Paris through Gadston to SH-19/SH-24 junction near Lake Creek (14.7 miles). Will displace 28 homes and 3 businesses. (ELR Order #1774, 75 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 267-D), January 4.

US-287: Ellis County, Texas. Construction of 4-lane highway from Spur 394 southeast of Waxachie to near west city limits of Ennis (10 miles). Will displace 6 families and 2 farm outbuildings. (ELR Order #1775, 21 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 268-D), February 2.

US Highway 59: Cass and Bowie Counties, Texas. Reconstruction of 13 miles of U.S. Highway 59 from F.M. Road 2791 in Queen City, north to 2.4 miles north of Sulphur River. Improvement will consist of the addition of two lanes and reconstruction of the existing facility where necessary. Requires relocation of 10 families. (ELR Order #1794, 28 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 387-D), February 3.

State Highway 350: Howard County, Texas. Improvements consisting of construction of a railroad overpass and approaches. (0.9 mile). Displacement of 4 businesses. (ELR Order #1814, 22 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 379-D), February 9.

State Highway 71: Fayette County, Texas. Development of present 2-lane S.H. 71 to a 4 lane divided highway, from 1.6 miles east of West Point to the Bastrop County line. Total length, 6.9 miles. (ELR Order #1815, 21 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 374-D), February 8.

Spur Highway 239: Val Verde County, City of Del Rio, Texas. Proposed relocation of Spur 239 from the intersection of U.S. 90 and 277 southwest to Ave. R, thence westerly to the U.S. Border Port of Entry (3.0 miles) (ELR Order #1985, 25 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-207 062-D), February 24.

Leigh Street Viaduct: Richmond, Virginia. Demolition of Marshall St. bridge and construction of a new crossing of the Shockoe Valley, the Leigh Street Viaduct. Project SU-127-2(8). (ELR Order #1912, 130 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 646-D), February 17.

Revised draft (9/23) SR-2: Snohomish County, Washington. Addition of passing lanes in the Sultan vicinity in 2 sections. Revised draft pertains to Section 2 right of way and excavation. FAP 024-1, CS 3109 SR 2. (ELR Order #1779, 9 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 265-D), January 11.

State Route 90, King County, Washington. Construction of 5 miles of three lane highway. Erosion problems may develop along the north side of the upper Snoqualmie River Valley. Approximately 3 million feet of timber will be cut in the valley. (ELR Order #1963, 33 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 869-D), February 23.

FAP Route 3, Stadium Freeway: Milwaukee, Greenfield, and West Milwaukee, Milwaukee County, Wisconsin. Construction to connect Stadium Freeway and interchange on East-West Freeway (I-94) to Greenfield interchange on the Airport Freeway (I-894) (5 miles). 4(f) determination required for use of portions of Cherokee Park, Jackson Park, Kinnickinnic River Parkway, Manitoba School in Milwaukee and Hillcrest School in Greenfield. Project F-03-1( ),

1350-1-00. (ELR Order #1753, 130 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 178-D), January 31.

Oconomowoc-Pewaukee Road U.S.H. 16 and Oconomowoc South Beltline S.T.H. 67: Waukesha County, Wisconsin. Project consists of widening existing U.S.H. 16 from a two-lane conventional highway to a four-lane freeway (11.9 miles) Project F 06-1( ), I.D. 1371-2-00, S 0444( ), I.D. 3033-1-00. (ELR Order #1953, 228 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 771-D), February 17.

U.S.H. 45: Washington, Dodge and Fond du Lac Counties, Wisconsin. Reconstruction of US 41 from 4 lane divided highway to a limited access highway. 4(f) is attached, related to the acquisition of 26 acres of the Allenton Marsh and Theresa Marsh Wildlife Areas. (ELR Order #1961, 78 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 872-D), February 23.

#### Final

FAS 2317: Dale County, Alabama. Construction of a steel beam span bridge across the Choctawhatchee River. Project S-2317 (101). Comments made by USDA, Army COE, EPA, DOI, DOT and Coosa Valley Planning Agency. (ELR Order #1750, 19 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 172-F), January 26.

US 431: Henry County, Alabama. Construction of 11.8 miles of 2-lane U.S. 431 in Headland extending northerly to a point approximately 1.5 miles south of Abbeville city limits. Project F-129(6). Comments made by USDA, DOI, EPA. (ELR Order #1838, 12 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-202 076-F), February 9.

State Route 180: Baldwin County, Gulf Shores, Alabama. Relocation of Alabama S.R. 180 beginning at the intersection of Alabama 59 and 20th St. and runs eastward. 4(f) required for a portion of Gulf State Park in Gulf Shores. Comments made by Alabama Dept. of Conservation, DOI, EPA, Army COE, FAA, DOC. Several other state agencies. (ELR Order #1951, 49 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 784-F), February 18.

Lowell-Double Adobe-McNeal Highway: Cochise County, Arizona. Widening and surfacing between Douglas and Bisbee (13 miles). Projects S0208(2), Prince Rd. section; S-208(4), Prince Rd.-Double Adobe section; S-490(2), Cochise Jr. College-Double Adobe section. Comments made by EPA, DOI, Ariz. Game and Fish Dept. and Ariz. State Museum. (ELR Order No. 1746, 28 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-202 444-F), January 26.

Naco-Don Luis Highway: Cochise County, Arizona. Project will provide a 64 foot roadway with curb, gutter and sidewalk and a 40 foot roadway in the second unit. Project located adjacent to the International Boundary between US and Mexico. Project S-SG-204(4). Comments made by EPA, DOI, State of Arizona. (ELR Order No. 1917, 29 pages) (NTIS Order No. PM-202 325-F), February 15.

Routes 83 and 94: Town of Glastonbury, Connecticut. Reconstruction of .39 mile of Route 83 and .54 mile of Route 94 at intersection in Glastonbury. Six acres of meadow and woods required for right of way. Project No. SU-S-9(5). Comments made by DOI, OE, 3 state agencies. (ELR Order No. 1818, 57 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-201 529-F), February 9.

SR-7, US-441: Palm Beach County, Florida. Construction of a 2-lane roadway adjacent to existing 2-lane highway and resurfacing existing highway (8.6 miles). Project S-12 (12), 93210-1503. Comments made by Army COE, EPA, HEW, HUD, DOI, State Planning and Development Clearinghouse, Fla. Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission, Fla. Division of Planning and Budgeting, Fla. Dept. of Air and Water Pollution Control, Palm Beach Area Planning Board, Broward County Planning Board and City of Boca Raton. (ELR Order No. 1748, 37 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-202 648-F), January 26.

State Road 808: Palm Beach County, Florida. Straightening and widening SR 808 from SR 7 (US 441) to SR 5 (US 1), a distance of 7 miles in the city of Boca Raton. Project US 298(2). Comments made by DOI, DOC, EPA, State and local agencies. (ELR Order No. 1919, 29 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-201 690-F), February 15.

West Wallace Interchange to East Wallace Interchange: Shoshone County, City of Wallace, Idaho. Construction of a 1.7 mile segment of 4-lane divided Interstate 90 highway. Project I-90-1(47) 61. Comments made by USDA, Army COE, HUD, HEW, DOI, EPA, several State and local offices. (ELR Order No. 1849, 59 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-201 573-F), February 10.

Wacker Drive Extension (US Route 7): Cook County, Chicago, Illinois. Construction of a tri-level structure, from Michigan Ave. to N. Lake Shore Dr. Comments made by Army COE, Coast Guard, EPA, DOI, DOT and numerous state agencies. (ELR Order No. 1933, 257 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-202 432-F), February 15.

SR-46 and SR-3 (FAS Route S-558): Scott County, Indiana. Replacement of the grade separation over the B&O R.R. 0.2 mile south of the SR-56/SR-3 junction and relocation of approaches through Morgan Trail Park. Comments made by EPA, HUD, and DOI. (ELR Order No. 1743, 34 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-202 323-F), January 26.

S.R. 43: Montgomery County, Indiana. Improvement of 3.2 miles of 4 lane divided highway. Displacement of 4 businesses, 13 residences, damage to 15 residences. Project 191(15) P.E. Comments made by EPA, DOI, USDA and HUD. (ELR Order No. 1835, 13 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-202 126-F), February 9.

K-25: Rawlins County, Kansas. Spot location improvements which will replace three existing timber structures along with improvements of the grade lines at each location. Project 25-77. Comments made by USDA, DOI, EPA, Army COE. (ELR Order No. 1916, 26 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-202 788-F), February 15.

US-62, Blandville Rd., Paducah, McCracken County, Kentucky. Widening to 4 lanes from US-45 (Lone Oak Rd.) to KY-1286 (Friendship Church Rd.) (1.81 miles). Project S 318. Comments made by EPA, HEW, DOI and Univ. of Ky. (ELR Order No. 1744, 16 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-203 223-F), January 26.

Whitesburg Bypass: Letcher County, Kentucky. Construction of a segment of the Appalachian Developmental System (Corridor I), from KY-15 to US-119. Will touch upon Whitesburg Appalachian Regional Hospital property and displace 29 residences. Comments made by DOC, EPA, HEW HUD, DOI, DOT, Ky. Water Pollution Control Commission and Ky. Program Development Office. (ELR Order No. 1749, 44 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-201 762-F), January 26.

Pikeville-South Williamson Road US No. 119: Pike County, Kentucky. Construction of 1.79 miles, 4-lane segment of the Appalachian Developmental Highway System. Will necessitate the use of 70 acres right of way and the relocation of 26 residences, 3 businesses and one cemetery. APD 506 (9) AP 98-83-19L. Comments made by Army COE, DOI, EPA, HUD, DOI. (ELR Order No. 1830, 32 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-202 003-F), February 9.

US 45 Business Route: Fulton County, Kentucky. Improvement on new alignment in the urban renewal area between the US 45 Bypass and fourth street at Carr St. Project F-144. Comments made by City of Fulton, HUD. (ELR Order No. 1924, 18 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 788-F), February 15.

Interstate Route 410: St. Charles Parish, Louisiana. State Project No. 700-07-72. Construction of 10.4 miles of Interstate 410. Approximately 378 acres of agricultural, timber and freshwater marsh land will be required for right of way. Comments made by USDA, Army COE, GSA, HEW, DOI, and 2 state agencies. (ELR Order No. 1825, 37 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-198 980-F), February 9.

US-31: Berrien County, Michigan. Relocation of US-31—total of 9.4 miles of construction. Will involve land erosion and sedimentation of St. Joseph River. F 47-1 ( ). Comments made by Army COE, HUD, DOI, USDA, and State of Indiana Highway Commission. (ELR Order No. 1840, 53 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 442-F), February 9.

T.H. 94: Stearns County, Minnesota. Construction of 18 miles of 4-lane T.H. 94. Displacement of farmsteads will hasten trend away from agricultural land use. Project F094-2 ( ), 7380. Comments made by Army COE, EPA, DOT, and USDA. (ELR Order No. 1821, 90 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-201 307-F), February 9.

Route 13: Polk and Greene Counties, Missouri. Construction of dual lane facility from Bolivar to Springfield (24 miles). Project F-13-2 (8), (9), (10), (11), (12); U-13-2(13). Comments made by HUD, DOT, State Clearinghouse and Lakes Country Regional Planning Commission. (ELR Order No. 1738, 37 pages) (NTIS Order No. PB-206 175-F), January 25.

Howdershell Road Extension: St. Louis County, Missouri. Reconstruction of Howdershell Road. Project T-4189(36). Comments made by EPA, DOI, USDA, Army COE, HEW, HUD, Montana Water Resources Board, State Forester, Montana Dept. of Health. (ELR Order # 1923, 52 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-200 373-F), February 15.

US Highway No. 12: Golden Valley County, Ryegate, Montana. Project will provide the public with a 34-foot wide roadway with two 12-foot traffic lanes approximately 12.2 miles in length. Project F 268(7). Comments made by EPA, DOI, DOC, USDA, Army COE, HEW, HUD, Montana Water Resources Board, State Forester, Montana Dept. of Health. (ELR Order # 1923, 52 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-200 373-F), February 15.

Highway No. 89: Teton and Cascade Counties, Montana. Reconstruction of 9.6 miles of Highway 89. Approximately 40 acres of irrigated land will be taken out of production. Comments made by Army COE, EPA, HUD, DOI, DOT. (ELR Order # 1931, 70 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-200 217-F), February 15.

Interstate Route 15: Teton County, Montana. Project begins 2.2 miles north of Dutton and terminates one mile south of the Teton-Pondera County Line. In addition to a four-lane divided highway, the project provides full control of access with appurtenant local access system. (7.113 miles) Project I 15-6(2) 305. Comments made by DOI, HUD, Army COE, Teton County, State of Montana. (ELR Order #1988, 36 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-202 082-F), February 23.

N-100 and N-68: Rockville, Sherman County, and Ravenna, Buffalo County, Nebraska. Improvement of N-100 from N-10 to N-58 (8.1 miles) and relocation of N-68 from 0.5 mile north of Ravenna to N-100 (4.5 miles). Projects S-36(4) and S-201(5). Comments made by USDA, Army COE, EPA, HUD, DOI and Neb. Dept. of Environmental Control. (ELR Order # 1745, 20 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-203 099-F), January 26.

Highway 41: Saline County, Nebraska. Construction of a new highway N-41 located on a former county road just north of Milligan, east 11.0 miles to junction with State Highway N-15. Project S-185(5). Comments made by State of Nebraska, EPA, DOI, Army COE, USDA. (ELR Order # 1922, 26 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-199 236-F), February 15.

Coyles Corners—Short Clove SH 9005: Rockland County, New York. Reconstruction

of .7 mile of Route 304, presently 2 lanes, to 4 lane divided highway. Residences will be displaced. Project No. 8155.00. Comments made by HUD and DOI. (ELR Order # 1832, 27 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-200 805-F), February 9.

Route 17J, City of Jamestown: East-West Arterial, Chautauqua County, New York. Construction of a four lane surface arterial requiring a bridge over Chadakoin River and Erie-Lackawanna Railroad. Project P.I.N. 5289.00, .01 and .02. Comments made by DOI, USDA, HEW, New York State Historic Trust. (ELR Order # 1929, 59 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-199 243-F), February 15.

SH 5283: St. Lawrence County, New York. Proposed reconstruction is on N.Y. US Route 11 in town of Dekalb, extending 6.7+ miles. Comments made by HUD, USDA, FPC. (ELR Order # 1986, 21 pages) (NTIS Order # PB-199 862-F), February 23.

US 70-74, Proposed Freeway Connector: Buncombe County, North Carolina. Construction of a basic four-lane divided freeway from I-40 to US 70 and a basic six-lane divided freeway from US-70 to the East-West Expressway in Asheville. Project F-34-1(6). Comments made by University of N.C., TVA, DOI, HEW, EPA, Army COE, USDA, State and local agencies. (ELR Order #1920, 80 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-202 433-F), February 15.

US 421, from Sanford to Seminole: Lee-Harnett Counties, North Carolina. Construction of a highway improvement for US 421, for 6.9 miles. Consists of widening to five lanes of NC 87 and construction of a new two-lane highway. Project 6.801741. Comments made by State of N.C., EPA, OEO, DOI, GSA, Army COE, USDA. (ELR Order #1931, 34 pages) (NTIS ORDER #PB-202 434-F), February 15.

State Route US-24: Lucas County, Ohio. Widening to 4 lanes from Lucas County 133 (Dutch Rd.) to Lucas County 105 (Jerome Rd.) (1.9 miles) and construction of an interchange between Lucas County 126 (Stitt Rd.) and Lucas County 105 (Jerome Rd.). Project F-1043(6). Comments made by DOI, DOT, Ohio Historical Society and Ohio Dept. of Highways. (ELR Order #1751, 25 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 171-F), January 26.

State Route 93: Holmes County, and Tuscarawas County, Ohio. Construction of a relocated 2-lane highway on non-limited right of way. Project S-969(11). Comments made by HUD, DOI. (ELR Order #1918, 22 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-200 204-F), February 18.

County Road 60: Washington County, Ohio. Relocation of 2,000 feet of 2-lane County Road 60. One residence will be displaced. Comments made by Army COE, EPA, DOI. (ELR Order #1930, 22 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-202 309-F), February 15.

State Route 39: Holmes County, Ohio. Relocation of S.R. 39, with a bridge over Lake Fork at a location about 2 miles east of Loudenville. Comments made by Ohio Planning and Development Clearinghouse, DOI, Army COE, EPA. (ELR Order #1987, 24 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-201 097-F), February 23.

L.R. 1035 Spur F: Berks County, Pennsylvania. Construction of a limited access 4-lane divided highway. Comments made by EPA, HUD, DOI. (ELR Order #1820, 62 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-199 239-F), February 9.

Interstate 78: Northampton County, Pennsylvania. Improvements on a short segment of I-78 on new location. The project consists of two 36-foot divided pavements, dual structures over the Delaware River. Project 1-1045-0-4-A07-055, 1-1045-0-4-A08-055. Comments made by DOC, EPA, Army COE, HUD, DOI, various Commonwealth of Pennsylvania Offices. (ELR Order #1928, 65 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 770-F), February 15.

Woonsocket Industrial Highway: Woonsocket-Cumberland-Lincoln-North Smithfield-Rhode Island. Construction of a modern-fast-safe and efficient highway beginning at the Louississet Pike (S.R. 146) and extending generally northeasterly to Mendon Road (S.R. 122). Length of Route could be anywhere from one and three quarters to three miles. Comments made by DOI, Army COE, EPA, FPC, USDA, GSA, DOC. (ELR Order #1927, 56 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-199 868-F), February 15.

Haywood Road and Howell Road: Greenville County, South Carolina. Construction of 1.5 miles of roadway between Haywood Road and Howell Road. Comments made by HUD and County agencies. (ELR Order #1822, 9 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-198 844-F), February 9.

US 176: Spartanburg County, South Carolina. Widening of US 176 from 2 to 4 lanes for a distance of 5 miles. Comments made by HUD, local and regional agencies. (ELR Order #1837, 11 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 443-F), February 9.

SR-8 and SR-111: Sequatchie County, Tennessee. Upgrading from 2.5 miles south of Cagle to the Van Buren County line (7.77 miles). Projects APD J11-J13. Comments made by USDA, DOI, DOT, TVA, State Office of Urban and Federal Affairs and Sequatchie Valley Planning and Development Agency, Inc. (ELR Order #1747, 27 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 160-F), January 26.

State Route 29: Scott County, Tennessee. Reconstruction of 3 miles of US 27, from 2 to 4 lane divided highway. Relocation of 9 families. Comments made by USDA, TVA, various state of Tennessee agencies. Project F-031-1 ( ). (ELR Order #1823, 23 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-200 220-F), February 9.

Briley Parkway, Davidson County, Tennessee. Construction of 11.7 miles of circumferential urban expressway around the Nashville Central Business District. The displacement of 41 families and 2 businesses will result. Comments made by USDA, Army COE, FHWA, FAA, TVA and several state agencies. (ELR Order #1824, 40 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 459-F), February 9.

State Route 36: Unicoi County, Tennessee. Construction of 3.79 miles of 4-lane limited access highway. Requires the rechanneling of two creeks, and 1 river. Displacement of 55 families, 1 church. Project APD-036-1(5), 86001-1205-64 and 86003-1202-64. Comments made by Army COE, DOI, DOT, HUD, DOT, DOC, HEW, TVA and state agencies. (ELR Order #1841, 108 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-202 640-F), February 9.

S.H. Spur 354: Dallas County, Texas. Reconstruction of traffic circle from 2 to 4 lanes. Will require 17 acres of right-of-way and the displacement of 5 businesses. Comments made by EPA, HEW. Project T-9001(5). (ELR Order #1839, 16 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-199 244-F), February 9.

I-80: Summit County, Utah. Construction of 4-lane divided highway (eastbound lane generally along US-30) from east of Emory Overhead through Echo Canyon to 1 mile east of Castle Rock. Project I-80-4(11)175. Comments made by USDA, EPA, DOI and the State Clearing House. (ELR Order #1752, 66 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-200 439F), January 26.

SR 112, Jim Creek Bridge Replacement: Clallam County, Washington. Replacement of existing timber bridge with large arch culvert and construction of 850 feet of approach roadway. Comments made by State of Washington, EPA, DOI and HUD. (ELR Order #1836, 6 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-201 991-F), February 9.

Beloit-Elkhorn Road; S.T.H. 15: Rock and Walworth Counties, Wisconsin. Construction of 26 miles of 4-lane Highway 15. Approxi-



mately 1,250 acres will be required for right-of-way. Comments made by EPA, HEW, HUD, DOI. Project I.D. 1093-0-00, I.D. 1901-0-00, F 015-1( ). (ELR Order #1826, 53 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-201 380-F), February 9.

#### U.S. Coast Guard

Contact: D. B. Charter, Jr., Commander, U.S. Coast Guard, Chief, Environmental Coordination Branch, 400 7th Street, S.W., Washington, D.C. 20591, (202) 426-9573.

#### Title, description, and date Final

State Route 152 Bridge, Atlantic County, New Jersey. Plans for the construction of a bridge to replace an existing aged and deteriorated highway bridge (S.R. 152) over Broad Thorofare, New Jersey Intracoastal Waterway. Comments made by Atlantic County Citizens Council on Environment, Inc., New Jersey Dept. of Environmental Protection and DOC. (ELR Order #1949, 25 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-199 741-F), February 22.

#### Department of Treasury

Contact: Richard E. Slitor, Assistant Director, Office of Tax Analysis, Washington, D.C. 20220, (202) 964-2797.

#### Title, description, and date Draft

The proposed action would approve polyvinyl chloride (PVC) for the manufacture of liquor bottles. A partial replacement of glass liquor bottles by the lighter PVC bottles would result. When incinerated the PVC material produces hydrochloric acid, a corrosive agent and pollutant. (ELR Order #1865, 86 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 561-D), February 14.

Proposed tax on sulphur emissions. Proposal to improve a tax of 15 cents a pound on sulphur oxide emissions beginning with the calendar year 1976. Reduction in the tax rate or exemption from tax would apply in qualified regions depending upon the degree of regional compliance with sulphur oxide air quality standards for the preceding year.

(ELR Order #1878, 19 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 573-D), February 15.

Modification in the Internal Revenue Code to encourage the protection of coastal wetlands, the preservation of historically significant buildings, a greater degree of rehabilitation in urban areas, and the donation of rights in land for conservation purposes. (ELR Order #1965, 7 pages) (NTIS Order #PB-206 868-D), February 24.

#### REGIONAL FEDERAL HIGHWAY ADMINISTRATORS

Region 1.—(Conn., N.H., R.I., Mass., Puerto Rico, Me., N.J., Vt., N.Y.).

Administrator: Gerald D. Love, 4 Norman-skill Blvd., Delmar, N.Y. 12054 Tel: (518) 472-6476.

Region 2.—(Del., Ohio, Md., W.V., D.C., Penna., Va.).

Administrator: August Schofer, Rm. 1633, George H. Fallon Federal Office Bldg., 31 Hopkins Plaza, Baltimore, Md. 21201 Tel: (301) 962-2361.

Region 3.—(Alabama, S.C., Georgia, N.C., Fla., Tenn., Miss.).

Administrator: Harry E. Stark, Suite 200, 1720 Peachtree Rd. N.W., Atlanta, Georgia 30309 Tel: (404) 526-5078.

Region 4.—(Ill., Ky., Wisc., Indiana, Mich.).

Administrator: Fred B. Farrell, 18209 Dixie Hwy., Homewood, Ill. 60430 Tel: (312) 799-6300.

Region 5.—(Iowa, Neb., Minn., Mo., Ka., N.D., S.D.).

Administrator: John B. Kemp, P.O. Box 7186, Country Club Station, Kansas City, Missouri 64113 Tel: (816) 361-7563.

Region 6.—(Ark., Oklahoma, La., Texas).

Administrator: James W. White, 819 Taylor St., Ft. Worth, Texas 76102 Tel: (817) 334-3232.

Region 7.—(Arizona, Hawaii, Calif., Nevada).

Administrator: Sheridan E. Farin, 450 Golden Gate Ave., Box 36096, San Francisco, Calif. 94102 Tel: (415) 556-3951.

Region 8.—(Alaska, Montana, Wash., Idaho, Oregon).

Administrator: Ralph M. Phillips, Rm. 412,

Mohawk Bldg., 222 Southwest Morrison St., Portland, Ore. 97204 Tel: (503) 226-3454.

Region 9.—(Col., Utah, N.M., Wyoming).

Administrator: William H. Baugh, Bldg. 40, Denver Federal Center, Denver, Colorado 80225 Tel: (303) 233-6721.

#### Availability of Environmental Protection Agency comments on environmental impact statements

Appendix I contains a listing of draft environmental impact statements which the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) has reviewed and commented upon in writing during the period from February 1, 1972, to February 27, 1972, as required by section 102 (2) (C) of the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969 and section 309 of the Clean Air Act, as amended. The listing includes the Federal agency responsible for the statement, the number assigned by EPA to the statement, the title of the statement, the classification of the nature of EPA's comments, and the source for copies of the comments.

Appendix II contains a listing of proposed regulations reviewed by EPA during the period from February 1, 1972, to February 27, 1972, under section 309 of the Clean Air Act. The listing includes the Federal agency responsible for the proposed regulation, the title of the regulation, the classification of the nature of EPA's comments, and the source for copies of the comments.

Appendix III contains definitions of the four classifications of the general nature of EPA's comments. Copies of EPA's comments on these draft environmental impact statements are available to the public from the EPA offices noted.

Appendix IV contains a listing of the addresses of the sources for copies of EPA comments listed in Appendix I.

Copies of the draft environmental impact statements are available from the Federal department or agency which prepared the draft statement or from the National Technical Information Service, U.S. Department of Commerce, Springfield, Virginia 22151.

#### APP. I.—ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT STATEMENTS FOR WHICH COMMENTS WERE ISSUED BETWEEN FEB. 1, 1972 AND FEB. 27, 1972

Title and number of statement <sup>1</sup>	General nature of comments	Source for copies of comments	Title and number of statement <sup>1</sup>	General nature of comments	Source for copies of comments
Atomic Energy Commission:			D-DOA-62009-00: Uncomtahgre primitive area.....	2 I	
D-AEC-00011-56: Power burst facility, reactor testing station (Idaho).	1 A		D-DOA-36070-56: Georgetown Creek watershed (Bear Lake County, Idaho).	2 K	
D-AEC-60022-30: Elk River reactor dismantling (Elk River, Minn.).	2 A		D-DOA-82016-55: Use of herbicides, Siuslaw National Forest (Oregon).	2 K	
Corps of Engineers:			Department of Commerce:		
D-COE-32160-07: Maintenance of Tarrytown Harbor.....	1 C		D-DOC-89023-52: Virgin Islands rehabilitation of Conada Lagon..	1 C	
D-COE-32153-07: Maintenance of New York and New Jersey Channels.	3 C		D-DOC-20028-00: EDA Project Northwest 54th St.....	1 K	
D-COE-32154-08: New Jersey Coastal Inlets and Beaches.....	1 C		D-DOC-81027-54: Planetarium education facility (Washington)...	1 K	
D-COE-39097-07: Ninemile Creek (Holland Patent, N.Y.).....	1 C		Department of Defense:		
D-COE-32098-08: B. L. England Station-Unit No. 3 (Great Egg Harbor Bay, N.J.).	3 C		D-DOD-11006-45: Disposal of cluster bombs at Rocky Mountain Arsenal.	1 A	
D-COE-32096-07: Hudson River Channel, New York operation and maintenance action.	1 C		D-DOD-11013-25: Small-scale explosive icebreaker (Michigan)...	2 F	
D-COE-30013-08: Maintenance in Newark Bay, Hackensack, Passaic.	1 C		Department of the Interior:		
D-COE-25011-00: Permit program for waste disposal in Atlantic Ocean.	2 C		D-DOI-07015-43: Jim Bridger project (Wyoming).....	3 I	
D-COE-30015-12: Beach erosion control, hurricane protection (Ocean City, Md.).	2 D		D-DOI-60025-56: East Greenacres unit, Rathdrum Prairie project (Idaho).	2 K	
D-COE-30020-20: Beach erosion and hurricane project, Jekyll Island (Savannah, Ga.).	3 E		Department of Transportation:		
D-COE-30021-21: Mullet Key beach erosion control project (Florida).	1 E		D-DOT-40233-05: I-484, No. EPA 226 (Hartford, Conn.).....	2 B	
D-COE-34017-25: Diked disposal area (Ontonagon Harbor, Mich.).	2 F		D-DOT-40058-07: Pin Niagara St. Arterial Route 266 (Tonawanda, N.Y.).	1 C	
D-COE-34016-26: Diked disposal area (Ashland Harbor, Wis.).	2 F		D-DOT-40134-08: Route 322 Freeway (Gloucester County, N.J.).	1 C	
D-COE-32050-29: Sandusky Harbor (Erie County, Ohio).....	3 F		D-DOT-40132-07: Riverhead-Mattituck, points 1 and 3, State Highway 8181, Route 25 vicinity of Aldrich Lane, Suffolk County.	2 C	
D-COE-32086-34: Texas city channel.....	3 G		D-DOT-40128-07: Interstate Route Connecticut 571, Forest Interchange (Jamesville, Onondaga County, N.Y.).	2 C	
D-COE-32085-34: Texas-Corpus Christi ship channel.....	3 G		D-DOT-40127-07: Hollowville-Craryville, Route 23 (Columbia County, N.Y.).	1 C	
D-COE-30012-36: Union dike improvement (Near Valley, Nebra.).	3 I		D-DOT-40125-07: Veteran's Memorial Dr., Rockland County (N.Y.).	2 C	
Department of Agriculture:			D-DOT-40119-07: Relocation of Route 209, Ulster County (N.Y.).	2 C	
D-DOA-82012-00: Soil inhabiting insects: Transportation centers.	2 A		D-DOT-40118-07: Vandalia-Olean, Cattaraugus County (N.Y.).	1 C	
D-DOA-82011-00: Witchweed: Cooperative Federal Control regulatory.	2 A		D-DOT-84006-07: The recommended transportation study, Ogdensburg area study (New York).	2 C	
D-DOA-36062-15: Shoemaker River Watershed Work Plan (Rockingham County, Va.).	1 D		D-DOT-40459-07: Interstate Route 508, Susquehanna Expressway (New York).	2 C	
D-DOA-07033-39: Associated electric cooperative (Springfield, Mo.).	2 H		D-DOT-40458-07: Route 208 Freeway-Bergen County to Vernon, Sussex County.	2 C	

Title and number of statement <sup>1</sup>	General nature of comments	Source for copies of comments	Title and number of statement <sup>1</sup>	General nature of comments	Source for copies of comments
D-DOT-40457-14: I-77-2(11)8 West Virginia Turnpike Upgrading, Mercer, Raleigh, Fayette, Kanawha Counties.	1 D		D-DOT-40452-27: Illinois Route 59, E. W. Rollway to Route 64....	2 F	
D-DOT-40438-15: Route 288, Chesterfield, Goochland, and Henrico Counties (Va.).	1 D		D-DOT-40475-29: State Route 29, Anglaize and Shelby Counties (Ohio).	1 F	
D-DOT-81026-15: Construction of New Coast Guard Base, Portsmouth (N.H.).	2 D		D-DOT-40474-25: U.S. 41 reconstruction (Marquette County, Mich.).	2 F	
D-DOT-51051-15: Airport development, Tristate Airport (Huntington, W. Va.).	1 D		D-DOT 40511-25: Grd. 531 (Fas. Route 297) Cisco Lindsley Lakes (Gogebic County, Mich.).	1 F	
D-DOT-40522-14: Wheeling Hospital access road County Route 40/8 (Ohio County, W. Va.).	1 D		D-DOT-40509-25: Construction of I-69 from I-96 to U.S. 27 (Clinton County, Mich.).	1 F	
D-DOT-40516-23: State Route 60, Bradley County (Cleveland, Tenn.).	1 E		D-DOT-40497-29: C.R. 8 bridge replacement (Shelby County, Ohio).	1 F	
D-DOT-40517-18: Lane St. from I-85 to Cannon Boulevard (North Carolina).	1 E		D-DOT-40496-20: State Route 241 (Stark County, Ohio).....	1 F	
D-DOT-51050-20: Construction of airport, Trenton, Dade County (Ala.).	1 E		D-DOT-40495-30: Ch. 39 (Norman County, Minn.).....	1 F	
D-DOT-40519-17: State Route 2-95-9L (Allen County, Ky.).....	1 E		D-DOT-40494-29: U.S. 50A, State Route 7, Marietta Freeway (Washington County, Ohio).	2 F	
D-DOT-40518-18: I-95 Fayetteville Bypass (Cumberland County, N.C.).	1 E		D-DOT-40493-29: State Route 16/76 (Coshocton County, Ohio)...	1 F	
D-DOT-84005-00: Oil containment barrier test, Gulf of Mexico...	1 E		D-DOT-40492-29: State Route 39, Sugar Creek to Dover (Ruscarawas County, Ohio).	1 F	
D-DOT-40476-18: Pasquotank County, N.C. U.S.-17 Bypass, Elizabeth City.	1 E		D-DOT-40491-32: Oklahoma project State Highway 199 (Carter County, Okla.).	1 G	
D-DOT-40502-18: State Route 1216, State Route 1201 from New Bogue Sound Bridge to Atlantic Beach (Carteret, N.C.).	1 E		D-DOT-40529-31: Interstate 25 through Las Vegas (New Mexico).	2 G	
D-DOT-40501-22: Grade Separation for L. & W. Railroad, Cullman County.	1 E		D-DOT-40521-36: F-28 Murray Intersection S-534(11) Murray East.	2 H	
D-DOT-40500-22: U.S.-80 to Intersection of Alabama 14 (Selma, Ala.).	1 E		D-DOT-40506-36: U.S. 79, North Bend (Dodge County, Nebr.)....	3 H	
D-DOT-40478-21: Bridge construction to Three Islands (Hallandale and Hollywood, Fla.).	4 E		D-DOT-40498-39: VII-214 Route 72 (Cape Girardeau, Mo.).....	2 H	
D-DOT-40520-18: U.S.-74 (Columbus County, N.C.).....	1 E		D-DOT-40507-39: Route AC, Buchanan County, Route 6 S. to Route YY (Missouri).	2 I	
D-DOT-50039-30: USN 2 Arrowhead Bridge and Approaches (Duluth County, Minn.).	1 F		D-DOT-40472-44: Highway project Orem-Center Street (Utah County, Utah).	1 I	
D-DOT-49014-26: Park and Lake Freeways (Milwaukee County, Wis.).	2 F		D-DOT-40493-47: I-5 at Elk Grove Overcrossing (Sacramento, Calif.).	2 J	
D-DOT-49013-29: State Route 4, Clark Champaign, Union Counties (Ohio).	2 F		D-DOT-40485-55: Tiggard Interchange, I-5.....	1 K	
D-DOT-40512-30: Freeway facility I-394 (Hennepin County, Minn.).	2 F		Federal Aviation Administration: D-FAA-51040-34: Dallas-Ft. Worth Airport.	2 G	
			General Services Administration: D-GSA-89036-07: Miller Field-Willard Hotel.	3 C	
			Department of Housing and Urban Development: D-HUD-81037-07: Low-rent public housing (Forest Hills, N.Y.).	2 C	

## APP. II.—PROPOSED REGULATIONS FOR WHICH COMMENTS WERE ISSUED BETWEEN FEB. 1, 1972 AND FEB. 27, 1972

Title and number of statement <sup>1</sup>	General nature of comments	Source for copies of comments	Title and number of statement <sup>1</sup>	General nature of comments	Source for copies of comments
Department of the Interior: Proposed rulemaking regarding limitation on use of motor vehicles in Back Bay National Wildlife Refuge Beach (Virginia).	1 A		Veterans' Administration: Procedures to implement the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969.	2 A	

<sup>1</sup> The number preceding the title is an EPA number assigned to each draft impact statement reviewed. This number should be cited when requesting copies of EPA's comments.

## APPENDIX III.—DEFINITION OF CODES FOR THE GENERAL NATURE OF EPA COMMENTS

## (1) General Agreement/Lack of Objections: The Agency generally:

(a) has no objections to the proposed action as described in the draft impact statement;

(b) suggests only minor changes in the proposed action or the draft impact statement; or

(c) has no comments on the draft impact statement or the proposed action.

(2) Inadequate Information: The Agency feels that the draft impact statement does not contain adequate information to assess fully the environmental impact of the proposed action. The Agency's comments call for more information about the potential environmental hazards addressed in the statement, or ask that a potential environmental hazard be addressed since it was not addressed in the draft statement.

(3) Major Changes Necessary: The Agency believes that the proposed action, as described in the draft impact statement, needs major revisions or major additional safe-

guards to adequately protect the environment.

(4) Unsatisfactory: The Agency believes that the proposed action is unsatisfactory because of its potentially harmful effect on the environment. Furthermore, the Agency believes that the safeguards which might be utilized may not adequately protect the environment from the hazards arising from this action. The Agency therefore recommends that alternatives to the action be analyzed further (including the possibility of no action at all).

## APPENDIX IV.—SOURCES FOR COPIES OF EPA COMMENTS

A. Director, Office of Public Affairs, Environmental Protection Agency, Washington, D.C. 20460.

B. Director of Public Affairs, Region I, Environmental Protection Agency, Room 2203, John F. Kennedy Federal Bldg., Boston, Massachusetts 02203.

C. Director of Public Affairs, Region II, Environmental Protection Agency, Room 847, 26 Federal Plaza, New York, New York 10007.

D. Director of Public Affairs, Region III,

Environmental Protection Agency, Curtis Bldg., 6th and Walnut Streets, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19106.

E. Director of Public Affairs, Region IV, Environmental Protection Agency, Suite 300, 1421 Peachtree St., N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30309.

F. Director of Public Affairs, Region V, Environmental Protection Agency, 1 N. Wacker Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60606.

G. Director of Public Affairs, Region VI, Environmental Protection Agency, 1600 Patterson Street, Dallas, Texas 75201.

H. Director of Public Affairs, Region VII, Environmental Protection Agency, Environmental Protection Agency, 1735 Baltimore Street, Kansas City, Missouri 64108.

I. Director of Public Affairs, Region VIII, Environmental Protection Agency, Lincoln Tower, Room 916, 1860 Lincoln Street, Denver, Colorado 80203.

J. Director of Public Affairs, Region IX, Environmental Protection Agency, 100 California Street, San Francisco, California 94102.

K. Director of Public Affairs, Region X, Environmental Protection Agency, 1200 6th Avenue, Seattle, Washington 98101.

Agency	Draft 102's for actions on which no final 102's have yet been received	Final 102's on legislation and actions	Total actions on which final or draft 102 statements for Federal actions have been received	Agency	Draft 102's for actions on which no final 102's have yet been received	Final 102's on legislation and actions	Total actions on which final or draft 102 statements for Federal actions have been received
Agriculture, Department of.....	55	105	160	Army Corps of Engineers.....	183	296	479
Appalachian Regional Commission.....	1	0	1	Navy.....	6	5	11
Atomic Energy Commission.....	40	28	68	Delaware River Basin Commission.....	3	0	3
Commerce, Department of.....	1	7	8	Environmental Protection Agency.....	10	11	21
Defense, Department of.....	1	2	5	Federal Power Commission.....	23	5	28
Air Force.....	2	3	5	General Services Administration.....	13	26	39
Army.....	5	8	13	HEW, Department of.....	0	1	1



Agency	Draft 102's for actions on which no final 102's have yet been received	Final 102's on legislation and actions	Total actions on which final or draft 102 statements for Federal actions have been received	Agency	Draft 102's for actions on which no final 102's have yet been received	Final 102's on legislation and actions	Total actions on which final or draft 102 statements for Federal actions have been received
HUD, Department of.....	10	19	29	Tennessee Valley Authority.....	10	5	15
Interior, Department of.....	70	40	110	Transportation, Department of.....	881	624	1,505
International Boundary and Water.....	1	4	5	Treasury, Department of.....	4	3	7
Commission—United States and Mexico.....				U.S. Water Resources Council.....	5	0	5
National Aeronautics and Space Administration.....	14	8	22	Veterans' Administration.....	1	0	1
National Science Foundation.....	1	1	2				
New England River Basins Commission.....	1	0	1	Total.....	1,343	1,202	2,545
Office of Science and Technology.....	0	1	1				

## SUMMARY OF 102 STATEMENTS FILED WITH THE CEQ THROUGH FEBRUARY 29, 1972 (BY PROJECT TYPE)

	Draft statements for actions on which no final statements have yet been filed	Final statements on legislation and action	Total actions on which final or draft statements have been taken		Draft statements for actions on which no final statements have yet been filed	Final statements on legislation and action	Total actions on which final or draft statements have been taken
AEC nuclear development.....	9	11	20	Railroads.....	1	1	2
Aircraft, ships, and vehicles.....	0	5	5	Roads.....	677	455	1,122
Airports.....	50	137	187	Plus roads through parks.....	136	28	164
Buildings.....	1	6	7	Space programs.....	4	4	8
Bridge permits.....	9	9	18	Waste disposal:			
Defense systems.....	2	2	4	Detoxification of toxic substances.....	6	2	8
Forestry.....	2	4	6	Munition disposal.....	2	3	5
Housing, urban problems, new communities.....	5	13	18	Radioactive waste disposal.....	5	1	6
International boundary.....	4	2	6	Sewage facilities.....	9	7	16
Land acquisition, disposal.....	11	31	42	Solid wastes.....	1	0	1
Mass transit.....	2	2	4	Water:			
Mining.....	5	2	7	Beach erosion, hurricane protection.....	4	21	25
Military installations.....	12	6	18	Irrigation.....	18	9	27
Natural gas and oil:				Navigation.....	57	103	160
Drilling and exploration.....	3	5	8	Municipal and industrial supply.....	8	1	9
Transportation, pipeline.....	9	3	12	Permit (Refuse Act; dredge and fill).....	11	1	12
Parks, wildlife refuges, recreation facilities.....	28	17	45	Watershed protection and flood control.....	123	248	371
Pesticides, herbicides.....	15	11	26	Weather modification.....	7	4	11
Power:				Research and development.....	13	8	21
Hydroelectric.....	19	6	25	Miscellaneous.....	26	14	40
Nuclear.....	30	16	46				
Other.....	12	6	18	Total.....	1,343	1,202	2,545
Transmission.....	7	8	15				

## THE FLAG'S MEANING TO ME

## HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, I am extremely proud today to call the attention of the House, the Congress, and the American people to an achievement attained by a young lady from my 20th District of Pennsylvania.

Her name is Michelle Brewer and she lives with her mother, Mrs. Dorothy Burkhardt, at 1002 Deerfield Drive, Elizabethtown, Pa. Michelle is a ninth-grade student in Elizabethtown-Ford Junior High School and recently was awarded the top honor in a "You Are the Flag" essay contest sponsored by the Freedoms Foundation at Valley Forge.

That, in itself, is an act worthy of public recognition. But it is not the reason for bringing Michelle to the attention of my colleagues today; nor is it the reason for inserting a copy of her prize-winning essay into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. I do so because I sincerely believe Michelle and her essay can restore something in all of us, in all Americans.

There are people today who look for any excuse to vilify the American flag and disgrace our Nation. Yet, in the death of her brother in Vietnam, Michelle discovered the flag and what it stands for.

Mr. Speaker, I direct the attention of my colleagues to Michelle's essay. I know that, upon reading it, they will feel as I did—proud of Michelle, proud of our flag, proud to be an American:

## THE FLAG'S MEANING TO ME THROUGH THE YEARS 1 TO 13

It is hard to put into words my feelings about the flag. I will start from the beginning of my knowledge of the flag and recall the special meanings it has for me. I remember as a pre-school child watching a television program, where one of the main attractions was to teach the children to stand with the hand over the heart and recite the pledge of allegiance to the flag. I recall how pleased I was when I could recite the pledge and was praised by my parents for learning so quickly. At this time I had no idea what it was all about.

When I became of school age, once again, every day the class would stand and recite the pledge to the flag. It still had little meaning to me. When I was in fourth grade we learned about the flag's history. I was anxious to tell my parents what I had learned, not realizing they already knew all this information.

When I attended football games with my family, I remember how my parents looked so proud as they stood up looking at the flag.

When I became a Girl Scout and participated in the Flag Ceremony, it had a special meaning to me. I carried out my procedure with honor.

I remember my father assigning me the job of erecting the flag and taking it down on all occasions at our home. I was proud to have this job and handled the flag with tender, loving care.

As I became older and interested in the news of the day, I recall all of the trouble about misusing the flag and being disrespectful to it. This bothered me because I was always taught to respect and honor it. Through all of these encounters with the flag, my feeling for it was still not quite established in my mind, other than its red, white and blue standing for my country.

The true meaning came to me after all of these years as I stood and touched the flag that draped over the casket bearing the body of my brother. He loved the flag enough to fight to protect it and died that it may ever fly in freedom. This flag to me means the love of my country. Love strong enough to die for, as my brother did, for a land I call home, my country, the United States of America.

## MARTY MIM MACK

## HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I rise to note the remarkable achievements of a remarkable young boy who lives in Santa Clara, Calif. Yesterday, Marty Mim Mack, son of Mr. and Mrs. William R. Mim Mack, led the March of Dimes walk-a-thon in Santa Clara County to obtain contributions for the fight against crippling birth defects. What is remarkable about Marty's contribution is that he himself is a victim

of birth defects like those that keep many children from enjoying normal, happy lives.

Marty was born without arms and with a hip defect which makes his left leg 3 inches shorter than his right. Despite his physical handicaps Marty participates in many activities that are familiar to any American boy. He spends a full day at school and then comes home where he enjoys playing soccer, pool, and putting together jigsaw puzzles. Every year he takes a family vacation with his parents and his five older brothers. At school Marty is known for his performance and his tremendous ability to concentrate. Marty's goal in the walk-a-thon yesterday was 1 mile; he walked 7 miles.

These accomplishments, which would be commendable in any child, are admirable in a child like Marty. Marty Mim Mack is an example not only to his peers, but also to his elders, of what can be accomplished with faith, courage, and the determination to do the best we can for ourselves and for others.

#### SAVANNAH JAYCEES SPONSOR "REPORT A PUSHER" PROJECT

### HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the Savannah, Ga. Jaycees were a jump ahead of Little Orphan Annie and the Motoreadors in their fight against drug pushers. The Jaycees were far along with their plans before the popular comic strip came out with its current doings to curb the pushers.

The Savannah Jaycees are encouraging anonymous tips on drug and narcotics dealers in their project called RAP, which stands for "Report a Pusher." Rewards are being offered for convictions which result from a tip. The tips are given by telephone through an automatic answering service. The caller gives a code name and number and relates his information to a recording tape. "He'll never know us. We'll never know who he is," says Berry Rich, publicity chairman for the Jaycees.

Similar programs have been tried in Atlanta and Tampa with considerable success. There were 75 arrests in Atlanta the first month, and 35 arrests in Tampa in the first 4 months.

The Savannah Morning News of February 25, 1972, carried a story detailing the operation of the Jaycee project, as follows:

PHONED-IN CODE CALLS WILL BRING REWARDS—JAYCEES PLAN PROGRAM TO PUT TABS ON PUSHERS

(By Ann Marshall)

The Savannah Jaycees Thursday announced a new program to encourage anonymous tips on drug and narcotics dealers.

RAP—the name chosen for the project—was given unanimous approval for a six-months trial period by the club.

RAP stands for "Report A Pusher," said Berry Rich, publicity chairman for the Jay-

cees. He outlined the proposed project, which is of a type called for Saturday by Maj. Everett E. Price of city police, former head of the Bureau of Drug Abuse Control.

Rewards will be offered for convictions which result from a tip.

#### ANSWERING SERVICE

Tips are to be made by telephone through an automatic answering service. The number will be announced shortly.

The caller will be asked to give a code name and a code number, then to tell the telephone answer recording tape any facts he knows in the case of the dealer he is reporting.

Rich said the Jaycees will keep a record and turn the facts over to the proper authorities.

When reward times comes, the code name will be asked to contact the Jaycees, through the news media, furnish the correct code number and arrange a "drop" for deposit of the reward.

"He'll never know us. We'll never know who he is," Rich said.

#### DRIVE SET

The Jaycees plan to conduct a drive among Savannah businessmen to finance the awards fund. Rich said they hope to obtain from \$100 to \$500 per donor.

A similar project in Atlanta netted 75 narcotics arrests by the Georgia Bureau of Investigation during the first month; 121 arrests for drug abuse; and 40 violations of the dangerous drug laws, Rich said.

The GBI confiscated \$25,000. The Atlanta program receives 30-50 calls a month.

The Savannah group will be the first Jaycees in the country to sponsor such a project, it is believed.

The Chamber of Commerce in Tampa, Fla. shortly will complete its first year with TIP, "Turn In a Pusher." It is reported that calls have been sharply reduced in the last few months, Rich said.

A report on the first four months in Tampa showed \$1,600 paid in rewards out of \$10,000 raised for the rewards fund.

There were approximately 4,000 calls, 35 arrests, 10 convictions, and 325 cases were reported as being actively followed.

Later it was reported that after the first six months, the number of calls dropped.

In soliciting donations for the reward fund Rich said the Savannah Jaycees will have a slogan: "Buy a ticket to Reidsville—for a pusher." The state prison is located in Reidsville.

#### TRIBUTE TO HON. JAMES W. TRIMBLE OF ARKANSAS

### HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I was deeply saddened to learn of the passing of our former colleague and dear friend, James Trimble of Arkansas and I wanted to take this means of paying a brief but sincere tribute to his memory.

He served with excellence and distinction as Representative from the Third District of Arkansas for 22 years, and was an outstanding Congressman, able, competent, skilled in legislation, devoted to developing the water resources of Arkansas and our Nation. He served his district, State, and Nation faithfully and well.

Jim Trimble was quiet, reserved, studious, and my personal friend. He served

as a member of the Public Works and Rules Committees, and was a champion of rural development.

His background was law and he served as a circuit judge in Arkansas prior to his election to the Congress. His calm and reasoned approach to issues in the Congress reflected his judicial background.

Jim Trimble's record of service in the Congress leaves an indelible impression because of his great contributions to the economic development of America—he will be greatly missed.

I want to take this means of extending this expression of my deepest and most sincere sympathy to members of the Trimble family in their loss and bereavement. My wife, Mrs. Evins joins me in these sentiments.

#### INCOME TAX RELIEF FOR ADOPTING PARENTS

### HON. PAUL S. SARBANES

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. SARBANES. Mr. Speaker, in 1971 there were approximately 2,500 adoptions in Maryland, over 500 of which took place in Baltimore. Almost all of these adoptions imposed a considerable cost on the adopting parents—costs which in some instance can go as high as \$1,500 and more. Because the couples who open their homes and hearts to these children are performing one of the most worthwhile and valuable acts of social responsibility and human compassion, I believe our society should ease the financial burden these citizens must bear. Consequently I have introduced a bill to provide a Federal income tax deduction for the costs incurred by adopting parents up to a maximum deduction of \$1,000.

Adopting parents in Maryland encounter five distinct costs when adopting a child: Attorneys fees, court costs, medical examinations of the prospective parents, agency administrative costs, and child care charges. Under Maryland law—article 16, section 83—charging a fee for placement is prohibited. However, charges for hospital, medical or legal services are allowed and, since 1970, agencies supervised or licensed by the State may receive reasonable reimbursement for their costs. These administrative and child care charges are subject to regulation by the Maryland Department of Health and Mental Hygiene and at present are only charged by private agencies.

The fees for attorneys can vary greatly, ranging from a waiver of fee by some attorneys in exceptional cases to well over \$400 for difficult cases. Sources indicate, however, that the State average is about \$150. The average for court costs is approximately \$30.

The costs of medical examinations also vary greatly due to only differences in charges among doctors, but also to the degree of complexity in the examination required by an agency. In most cases a



very thorough examination of the adopting parents is required, but there may be lesser requirements for the examination of other members of the adopting family. Sources indicate the average cost of such examinations is about \$100 per family.

The administrative and child care charges of agencies are the greatest variable when an adoption occurs through a private agency. Agencies dealing with problem children, for example, may waive their charges in appropriate circumstances and also arrange to minimize legal and medical fees for the adoptions. A statistical study by some of the larger agencies has shown that the administrative and care costs for a 6-month-old child average approximately \$1,000.

Mr. Speaker, the families which volunteer to adopt these children take upon themselves financial responsibility for the adopted child until he becomes an adult. In so doing they relieve society of a financial burden it might otherwise bear. Of course, financial considerations cannot possibly measure the real value of the service they perform—the love and guidance they will provide is a gift which cannot be measured in money terms. Certainly an act so worthwhile should be encouraged, and its financial consequences minimized. The bill I have introduced will reduce the burden of adoption and in so doing will confirm our recognition of the invaluable contribution adopting parents make to society as well as to the child they take into their family.

**COL. CHARLES M. BOYER—60 YEARS  
SERVICE TO HIS COUNTRY**

**HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL**

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, one of the outstanding elder statesmen of my district is Col. Charles M. Boyer, 3518 South Utah, Arlington, who recently passed his 85th birthday with a record of more than 60 years service to his country, including a half century both in active and retired status in the Army.

Colonel Boyer, who was former Executive Director of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States, on the 25th of February, the 50th anniversary of the association, was given a special award by the Secretary of the Army. This citation was presented to Colonel Boyer at the ROA's Army luncheon by Mr. Froehlike, and I am submitting for publication the wording of this award as an indication of the regard of many Members of this House for Colonel Boyer.

I am submitting for publication a letter received by Colonel Boyer from the former President of the United States, Harry S. Truman, who was one of the founders of the Reserve Officers Association. This letter was presented to Colonel Boyer at a dinner meeting of the Robert E. Lee Chapter of ROA at Fort Myer, in Arlington, on February 26, when Colonel

Boyer was given a certificate for his 50 years of service in this fine association.

The citation presented by Secretary Froehlike, and former President Truman's letter follow:

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY,  
Washington, D.C., February 25, 1972.

Certificate of appreciation for patriotic civilian service is awarded Colonel Charles M. Boyer, USAR (Ret'd) for commendable contributions during fifty-five years of active reserve and retired military service to the reserve components and to his fellow officers. Particularly noteworthy are the services and support rendered by Colonel Boyer to the Army Board for Correction of Military Records. For many years he has assisted the Board in resolving complex and controversial appeals in a just and equitable manner. His generous contributions of time and energy to his fellow officers in appearances before the Corrections Board without charge for his services, are worthy of this special recognition. Colonel Boyer's outstanding contributions are in the highest tradition of both the military and civilian service and reflect great credit upon himself and the Department of the Army.

ROBERT F. FROEHLKE,  
Secretary of the Army.

HARRY S. TRUMAN,  
Independence, Mo., February 17, 1972.

DEAR COLONEL BOYER: You are to become the recipient of the Founders Award of The Reserve Officers Association. It is pleasing to me to know that you will join the ranks in such an award, which was lately awarded to me.

Your great service and help to the Reserve program these many years has pleased me and I wish to publicly thank you.

Also, I am glad to know you are in good health and vigor and it is my wish you will continue to enjoy life. Also, I know you will keep the Reserve Officers Association in a high place.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

**TARS LAUNCH EFFORT TO HELP  
HOSPITALIZED VETERANS**

**HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, two of the most controversial issues in America today are the conflict in Southeast Asia and the role of the young in American society. Yet, the teenage Republicans of America have constructively sought to help the wounded veterans of this war and by doing so, correct the misconception of the young as dissident and unproductive.

Today I would like to submit for the RECORD an article which deals with a concern of all Americans. The Vietnam veteran, returning to a land which has overlooked his courage and which has few jobs to offer him, has a tough road back into our society; for the wounded, or incapacitated veteran, this repatriation is even harder. But for the work of the TARS, it might be impossible for some.

By collecting trading stamp books and working in coordination with hospitalized veterans, the TARS are supplying these veterans with craft kits that are

invaluable to patients in need of occupational therapy or to men who need something to take their mind off the horror of war.

Mr. Speaker, I could go on and praise the work of this organization, but I feel its work speaks for itself. On behalf of myself and all of those working for a revived consciousness in veterans affairs, I congratulate TARS on their success and commend them for their concern.

The article follows:

**TARS LAUNCH EFFORT TO HELP HOSPITALIZED  
VETERANS**

Although the war in Vietnam is nearing an end for most American servicemen, the struggle is barely beginning for thousands upon thousands of those who were wounded. Recuperation for many of these men will require long and lonely months—if not years—of confinement in a military or VA hospital. The Vietnam Veteran is like no other Veteran, because no other veteran in U.S. history has returned home with less fanfare. There are few expressions of gratitude for a veteran's achievements, and little for him to do but puzzle over the uncertainty of the future, and stare at hospital walls, suffering in frustrating silence . . . a silence which serves as a constant reminder that he is a forgotten victim.

National TAR Headquarters has launched a program in cooperation with Help Hospitalized Veterans, a non-profit organization which sends Craft Kits containing much wanted arts and crafts materials to the patients and occupational therapy departments of military and VA hospitals throughout the country. For the wounded recuperating in our hospitals, these Craft Kits come as a very welcome expression of care and appreciation. These Craft Kits carry a meaning far beyond their cost, by filling days of emptiness with many satisfying hours of creative activity. Each Kit contains a particular type of art or craft. These include paint-by-number sets, plastic models, mosaics, leather kits to make such things as wallets, and various other arts and crafts which have been recommended by an advisory group of occupational therapists, nurses and patients.

TARS and TAR Clubs can help in the drive to provide Craft Kits to Hospitalized Veterans, by collecting trading stamp books within their local community (i.e. Green Stamps, Blue Stamps, Gold Bond Stamps, etc.) Each trading stamp book collected can be used to send Craft Kits to a Hospitalized Veteran. Literally hundreds of trading stamp books can easily be collected by any enterprising TAR or TAR Club. Stamps can be collected by:

1. Going door to door and explaining your drive. You can solicit loose stamps or partial books as well as full books, and then paste additional stamps in books yourself to fill them up. Those who do not have any stamps available may give pledges for future stamp donations.

2. Make announcements in school and through your other school and community clubs asking other students to bring in stamps. Set up a central box in school where stamps can be easily deposited. You can also put an ad or article in your High School papers asking students to help.

3. Ask teachers to announce the project in your classes and put signs up in school.

4. Solicit help from local merchants—check with local stores, gas stations, etc. that give any kind of stamps, and ask them if you can put a sign and a collection box in a central location where customers will see it (preferably near the cash register or check-out counter so they can just drop stamps in the box as they receive them).

5. Ask your local newspaper to print an article about your drive, giving an address

or phone number where people can contact you to donate stamps.

6. Have a spokesman appear on your local radio "talk" show to explain your program and solicit stamps. Perhaps the station will make free "public service" announcements for your project.

All trading stamp books that are collected (all books must be full) should be sent to National TAR Headquarters (see accompanying article on awards to be given to TARS and TAR Clubs for collection efforts).

Each TAR Club is urged to appoint a project Chairman to Help Hospitalized Veterans, and begin collecting stamps immediately. Your efforts in this drive will mean so much to so many. You can let these veterans know that someone is thinking of them . . . that somebody does care. These Kits will come as a direct and meaningful expression of your appreciation—something every one of these men deserves and the very least each of us can give.

## ABORTION AND POPULATION CONTROL

**HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, the population explosion in this country has led many people to advance abortion as a solution to the alleged problem.

Recently, however, the ground has been cut out from under those proponents by two different findings. First, studies have shown that even if abortion were legalized in every State, it would have little impact on population growth. And second, demographers have shown that there is in fact no population explosion in this country and that our Nation is rapidly approaching zero population growth.

The question of abortion and its relationship with population growth is discussed in the fifth in a series of articles written for the N.C. News Service by Mary Kay Williams, and I now insert the article in the RECORD:

ABORTION AND POPULATION CONTROL—580—V  
(By Mary Kay Williams)

In early January, a significant little news item appeared in the New York Times. It was a report on abortion and population control.

The study, prepared for a presidential panel on population, was written by Dr. Christopher Tietze. Widely recognized as a statistical authority on birth control, Tietze made this conclusion: legalization of abortion in every state would have little impact on population growth.

On the surface, the statement may not seem highly dramatic. But those who are involved in right-to-life for the unborn will greet it as no minor victory. They know of the tremendous pressures of population groups lobbying for abortion as a legitimate family planning measure. They know of the constant attempts by abortion promoters to have abortion included in national legislation dealing with population control. And so Tietze's conclusions on abortion and population are extremely valuable to the pro-life effort.

Fortunately, in past legislation on this issue, abortion has been excluded. Respecting the difference between prevention of life and destruction of life once conceived, the Family Planning Services and Population Research Act of 1970 specifically prohibited

abortion: "None of the funds appropriated under this title shall be used in programs where abortion is a method of family planning."

But one cannot rest on this victory. Presently pending in Congress are over 40 bills and resolutions of population control. There will be clever efforts to include abortion as a population control measure—as last-ditch contraception—or as a means to satisfy some abstract demographic ideal. These early days in the formation of a U.S. population policy are crucial ones. They will set the precedent for the future.

This being election year, it's vital that the voter knows the position of the candidates on abortion in general, and abortion as a means of population control.

Congressional candidates cannot slough off the issue. They may try. They may say that abortion is a private matter between a patient and her doctor. What they are really saying is that they approve of abortion-on-demand. The first is just a different, perhaps softer, way of saying it. Or their position may be that abortion should be handled by the state and not on a national level. This, at first, might seem to get them off the hook, until one remembers those 40 population bills pending in Congress. Abortion will be very much an issue in those deliberations.

A Congressman cannot evade the question with a non-position. The same is true for presidential contenders. As the campaign gains momentum in the primary states (New Hampshire, Florida, Wisconsin, California) the candidates must be persuaded to square off on the issue. They have not been pressed thus far except by women's liberation. The candidates have been getting by with veiled comments, clichés which go unchallenged, shifts in stance depending on the audience being addressed.

The views of the President do make a difference on abortion public policy in the United States.

President Nixon has been clear on it. He has prohibited abortions at American military hospitals in states where the laws prohibit abortion. Before that, military hospitals could perform abortions in any state.

Again, the President has said: "From personal and religious beliefs I consider abortion an unacceptable form of population control. . . . Ours is a nation with a Judeo-Christian heritage. It is also a nation with serious social problems—problems of malnutrition, of broken homes, of poverty, and of delinquency. But none of these problems justifies such a solution."

Let this article be misunderstood, let us borrow for a minute some presidential jargon: "Let me make this perfectly clear." This article is not meant to be a political endorsement at this stage in the contest. But the point is that the President has spoken on the subject of abortion. And he has spoken bravely, forcefully and very specifically. The American voter deserves to know how his challengers will respond. Certainly the challengers will be clear on Vietnam, Phase II, and Alaskan baby seals. But abortion is no less a public issue.

## THE UNITED NATIONS AND ITS WORLD BUREAUCRACY

**HON. JOHN R. RARICK**

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the latest reports from the U.N. indicate that this one-world bureaucracy has soared from 9,500 employees in 70 cities around the

world in 1956 to 35,000 employees in 1971 in 177 locations. This would, according to the statistics, result in an increase in the U.N. payroll of 378 percent.

Perhaps the reason for the tremendous increase in the U.N. labor force is that the U.N. is now disbursing American foreign aid funds. In this way American jobs are taken over by U.N. employees and the American donors of the U.N. charity remain anonymous to the world.

Related news clippings follow:

[From the Washington Star, Mar. 12, 1972]

### U.N. STAFF GROWING

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.—In 1956 the United Nations and affiliated groups had 9,500 employees serving in 70 cities around the world. Today they have more than 35,000 staff members in 177 locations.

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 11, 1972]

### AID EARMARKS \$3.95 MILLION FOR BANGLADESH

The U.S. Agency for International Development made grants totaling \$3,950,000 yesterday to three relief agencies providing emergency help to Bangladesh.

The largest grant, \$3 million, was turned over to the Catholic Relief Services to buy metal roofing sheets to help build houses for 200,000 returning refugee families.

In addition, \$650,000 was turned over to CARE for low-cost housing and \$300,000 to help the United Nations relief operation—Dacca to help finance foreign exchange costs of its relief operations.

## POSTSCRIPTS TO HISTORY

**HON. RICHARD BOLLING**

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, "The Death of Time" is an interesting essay by William V. Shannon, a member of the editorial board of the New York Times. It was reprinted by American Heritage which added its own timely editorial comment bearing on the subject in its issue of December 1971. The reprint and comment follow:

### POSTSCRIPTS TO HISTORY

#### WE MURDERED TIME

Concern over an apparent lack of interest in history on the part of today's youth prompted William V. Shannon, a member of the editorial board of the New York Times, to write the following essay, entitled "The Death of Time," for his newspaper this past summer. We commend it as a thoughtful analysis of the reasons behind that trend.

It is not astonishing that today's high school students regard history as the "most irrelevant" subject and that, according to a (recent) story, . . . undergraduate history enrollment at leading colleges has dropped as much as a third in recent years.

Ignorance of history and disdain for history are symptomatic of the malaise of today's youth culture and of the larger society which nurtured it. This malaise is the logical outcome of intellectual trends which began with the onset of the modern industrial age.

History is the accumulated burden of what men have done in past time. Time has always seemed the enemy of man since each of us is conscious of his own mortality. "I spit in the face of time that has transfigured me," Yeats wrote.



When faith in a life after death began to wane with the Middle Ages, times became much more man's preoccupation. Yet since most people lived on farms or in rural villages, they had no choice but in order their lives by nature's ineluctable rhythms. It takes so much time for seeds to produce a crop, for vines to bear fruit, for animals to produce their young. Nature cannot be hurried.

With the coming of industrialism, life became geared to the artificial pace of technology. At first, that merely meant that if one worked in a factory, one had to adjust oneself to the rate of the machine.

Gradually, however, the ever-accelerated inhuman pace of technology has invaded every domain of life. The values of the factory—efficiency, speed, total use of available resources—have become the values of the home and of leisure. It is as if the time-and-motion studies of the efficiency expert took up their inexorable watch in each man's soul.

It is not simply that we refuse to accept the traditional tyranny of time, that we are impatient and unwilling to wait. We set out unconsciously to kill time off. With incredible machines and extraordinary ingenuity, we began paring away the time needed to do different things.

The consequences are now all around us. It is illegal to drive slowly on an expressway; the law commands a minimum speed. Railroads and ocean liners decline while the jet plane races overhead.

The revolution in food processing and packaging in the last fifty years is an attempt to prove that no meal, no matter how ambitious, requires time or painstaking preparation. This revolution has already produced bread that tastes like tissue paper and is twice as soft, chickens and turkeys with the flavor and texture of cellulose, and hamburgers like plastic wafers. Everything's premixed and freeze-dried and instant. It may not taste very good, but it saves time.

Television replaced books and radio as the dominant cultural force. It is often criticized for its violence and banality. But television's most subtle debilitating influence is that it makes audiences passive and accustoms them to expect instant gratifications. There is not the investment of mental effort and of time which a serious book or a good newspaper requires. In thirty minutes, the news is narrated and commented upon or an entertainment is acted out. Then it is over. No waiting.

The children of the television age see politics as a happening, a demonstration, a dramatic confrontation. They do not realize how much time and effort are needed to alter the character and direction of a large, mature, complex society like the United States. When a single political drive like Eugene McCarthy's campaign in 1968 fails, they yield to despair and declare that "the system" has failed. Their despair, like the apathy of the hippy and the alienation of many middle-aged people, is a response to a world of undirected technology and unnecessary speed.

Resenting death, we murdered time. Now, time vanquished, we lie exhausted alongside our victim. Almost too late, we see that what we have slain is not time but our sense of ourselves as humans. Let alone with our machines, we know not how to wait, to prepare, to discipline and deny ourselves. Therefore, we know not the rejoicing which comes when we have reaped and consummated and brought to fulfillment, all in good time.

To reject the past is to deprive today of its meaning tomorrow. To evade the limits and significance of time is to empty life of its limits and significance. It is that meaninglessness which pervades this age of instant

gratification and instant results and permanent dissatisfaction.

#### THE GUILT COLLECTORS

Pondering Mr. Shannon's essay further, it occurs to us that the young may have tuned out on the study of history in some part because what we have to say about it these days keeps changing so radically and so abruptly. At least it does on the surface, in popular literature, in the movies, and on television. The mode is so destructive that heroism has become a joke, moral courage an aberration, democracy a satire. Heroes turn into villains overnight, from Custer in the film *Little Big Man* to Kennedy in the Pentagon Papers. The most terrible bad actor of all in the litany of youth, is the white man, who has been transformed into a heavy out of melodrama; in his manifold sins and wickednesses a new generation bathes in a kind of orgiastic guilt.

One of the best-selling guilts of late has to do with the American Indian, whom the new historical mode has turned into something approaching sainthood. To blow the whistle on some of this nonsense there appeared before a Western History Association conference in April, 1971, the noted senior ethnologist in the Department of Anthropology of the Smithsonian, John C. Ewers, who is also one of our contributors. We are obliged to the *Western Historical Quarterly* for permission to reprint the following brief excerpts from his talk, "When Red and White Men Met":

Frankly, I believe there is enough blame for the sorry state of the Indians in the American West today so that we can all have a share of it—including those Indians who are most vocal in passing the buck for their plight to the white man. Certainly the historian is in no position to say, as did President Truman, "The buck stops here." He can trace the origins and intentions of past policies, and he can evaluate their effects. But the historian neither conceives nor implements new policies. If it is true, as the inscription on the National Archives building down the street from my office proclaims, "The Past is Prologue," his findings, if they are known to policy makers and administrators, may be of practical value. They may help to prevent repetitions of past errors. They may even point to some aspects of past policies that have shown some promise. We have had so many Indian policies. Surely they cannot all have been one hundred percent wrong. . . .

With our advantage of hindsight we know that the Spaniards were not the only whites who were not always kind to the Indians. We should know also that kindness is not enough. Some of the most kindly intentioned Indian policies failed in the long run to benefit the Indians in the ways or to the extent they were intended to help them. Doubtless the missionaries and other "friends of the Indians" though they were acting in the best interests of the Indians when they sought to remake them in the white man's image through such mechanisms as conversion, allotment of lands, and teaching of the three Rs. . . .

I do not believe that Custer died for my sins. Nor do I believe that historians or anthropologists should try to expiate their sense of guilt by rewriting the history of the American West so as to portray all Indians as red knights in breechcloths, or all whites as pantalooned devils. Nor do I see the role of the historian of Indian-white relations to be that of being kind to either party in this historic confrontation. But I do think he should study this very complex theme in both breadth and depth, consulting and weighing all the sources he can find, so that he can be fair to both sides.

#### TIRED ABOUT HEARING OF CHINA?

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, among the featured columnists in publications serving our National Capital are Paul Hope and Art Buchwald who are noted for the light touch they often give matters of great Governmental and diplomatic importance.

The Chicago Tribune has a resident intellectual, Michael Kilian, who is well known in the Midwest as a possible reincarnation of Mark Twain, Will Rogers, and possibly even Aristotle. In the Chicago Tribune's Perspective page of Sunday, March 5, we are treated to a typical Mr. Kilian column, this one devoted to the news coverage of the President's China trip:

#### TIRED ABOUT HEARING OF CHINA?

(By Michael Kilian)

I am sure you all are about as interested in hearing more about Communist China as you would be in having a fourth helping of mashed potatoes with strawberry sauce. I myself reached the point where, if I saw one more picture of Pat Nixon feeding a pig in a Chinese commune, I swore I would donate my television set to the parking lot four stories below my living room window and hurl my morning newspaper back at the delivery boy.

Tough luck for all of us. Like Jacqueline Kennedy, the Chicago 7, and cholesterol, we are going to keep on hearing about China. Escaping it will be harder than making the Chicago River run frontwards again.

For one thing, it is more than likely we will have Richard Nixon around for another four years. He has so defused the Democratic Party's issues that Sen. Edmund Muskie, the Democratic front-runner, has been reduced to standing on a flatbed truck in a snowstorm and calling a New Hampshire newspaper publisher a "gutless coward" for printing stories about Mrs. Muskie's smoking habits.

#### "AS I SAID TO MAO . . ."

Presuming that we do have Nixon around, we may also presume he will keep telling us more about China. After all, his trip was his most spectacular accomplishment since he persuaded the Democrats to take John Lindsay. We may expect his every reply to be prefaced with: "Well, as I said to Chairman Mao . . ." or, "As Premier Chou said to me . . .," even if a reporter is only asking for the men's room.

We may even get a renomination acceptance speech about the sound of the wind whistling thru commune pigsties in the night.

And then there are all those political pundits and television commentators. Their going to China with President Nixon was their most spectacular accomplishment since G. Harrold Carswell was defeated for the Supreme Court, and they won't let us forget.

But the worst will be those who shape our culture. Dress designers will go absolutely mad with "le Chinois" look, especially if they can knock off 500 or 600 bucks for a People's Liberation Army uniform with ruffled cuffs. So many society matrons will be wadding around like overpadded coolies that Michigan Avenue on a Saturday afternoon will look like the building of the Burma Road.

Nor will the possibilities of the China thing escape the beady minds of those fellows who produce our movies and television and stage shows. If you can make millions with such hot properties as the Kent State shootings, how can you miss with a country that regularly bumped off several thousands of people every day?

First they will bring in road show versions of such boffo Peking productions as "The Red Detachment of Women" and "Taking Tiger Mountain thru Strategy." Some might think these a bit strange for American audiences, but I'm sure they'll catch on. After observing "Jesus Christ Superstar," I would not be surprised if they made a hit musical out of "Mein Kampf."

#### REPERTOIRE IS LIMITED

As the Chinese repertoire is somewhat limited—they were unable to top "Chairman Mao Puts on his Olive-Green Uniform"—the producers will then have to search elsewhere for material. One thing they might do is bring back old movies with new Chinese-style titles. "Gone with the Wind," for example, could be reissued as "Yankee Imperialism in Racially-Changing Georgia." Almost any Doris Day film could be brought back with the title, "Capitalist Decadence Runs Amok."

They'll even be able to make some new Grade B movies, "a la Chinols." Even with a very small budget, they could easily put together something like: "The Central Committee Learns Wisdom at the Feet of the Great Chairman."

All they'd have to do is film one of Mayor Daley's slate-making sessions.

### POLISH NATIONAL CATHOLIC CHURCH CELEBRATES 75TH ANNIVERSARY

#### HON. JOSEPH M. McDADE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, in the city of Scranton, the Polish National Catholic Church celebrated the 75th anniversary of its founding in the very city where this church was born.

This is very much an American institution, although it is called the Polish Catholic Church, founded in the city of Scranton by the Reverend Francis Hodur, who became the first prime bishop of the church. In his lifetime, Bishop Hodur saw the church spread beyond Scranton, through the anthracite area, then into other States and to other nations. He was active in the church until his death on February 16, 1953, and was buried in the Bishop Hodur Memorial Chapel in the St. Stanislaus Cathedral Parish Cemetery.

For the joyous occasion yesterday, the Most Reverend Thaddeus F. Zielinski, D.D., concelebrated a Mass of Thanksgiving, delivering the Polish sermon, with the English sermon delivered by the Right Reverend Bishop Francis C. Rowinski, Ordinary of the Western Diocese, with headquarters in Chicago, Ill.

Prior to the concelebration of the Mass of Thanksgiving, a Mass in Polish was celebrated with the Right Reverend Bishop Joseph Nieminski, Ordinary of the Canadian Diocese delivering the sermon in Polish, followed by a Mass in English, with the English sermon deliv-

ered by the Right Reverend Bishop Daniel F. Cyganowski, Ordinary of the Buffalo-Pittsburgh Diocese.

Following the Mass of Thanksgiving, a dinner was served in the St. Stanislaus Youth Center. Rt. Rev. Walter Slowakiewicz, Ordinary of the Eastern Diocese asked the invocation. The clerical speaker for the program was Bishop Nieminski, and the principal lay speaker was Attorney Ernest J. Gazda, Sr., a member of the Supreme Church Council and of the St. Stanislaus Parish board of directors.

This was a most joyful occasion for the many hundreds who came all over this country, and from other nations, to join in the celebration of the 75th anniversary, but it was a particularly notable one for Mrs. Mary Jaroszewski, the only surviving charter member of St. Stanislaus Parish.

I know my colleagues here in the Congress will join in offering their warmest best wishes to all who joined in the 75th anniversary of the Polish National Catholic Church.

Mr. Speaker, I will append here an excellent article on the foundation of the Polish National Catholic Church:

ST. STANISLAUS CATHEDRAL—POLISH NATIONAL CATHOLIC CHURCH, SCRANTON, PA.

The stirring story of the Polish National Catholic Church of America is one of irrepressible freedom. It is a story of belated Reformation with all the conflict and struggle that marked that phase of Church history, taking place in the 20th century on American shores.

The Polish National Catholic Church was not founded in Poland, but in the United States of America. From the U.S., missionaries went back to Poland to establish the church there.

Though still an infant in the Christian world, this church had phenomenal growth. From 1897 with little money but great enthusiasm 162 local churches have been organized in this country to date in the United States and Canada and more than 70 parishes in Poland.

In the year of 1897, Father Francis Hodur took leadership for a group of Polish immigrants in Scranton, Pennsylvania and with them founded the Polish National Catholic Church.

He drew upon the Holy Scriptures and the teachings of Christ for his deep faith and inspiration. He was a dedicated advocate of the Kingdom of God founded in the hearts of men. Father Hodur steered his course toward early Christianity.

The insignificant flame ignited in Scranton, Pennsylvania, by a very small handful of people and this youthful priest's hand, soon spread to the mining towns and into the hearts of thousands of Polish Americans in those numerous towns.

Starting with a congregation of 250 families when it was organized in March of 1897 St. Stanislaus Cathedral parish is one of the large parishes in Scranton numbering today over 1500 families and being instrumental in spreading the ideals of the Polish National Catholic Church in the Polish American Community, in Canada and in Poland.

The first Synod of the Polish National Catholic Church was held within its walls on September 6, 7 and 8, 1904. There were 146 lay and clerical delegates in attendance. This synod formed the PNCC with the combined congregations of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey and Maryland.

In 1904, Father Hodur was elected candi-

date for the episcopacy of the PNCC and in 1907 in the ancient Cathedral of Utrecht, Holland, he received the consecration of a Bishop from the hands of the Old Catholic Church possessing Apostolic Succession.

In keeping with the Bill of Rights and the democratic form of government, on March 20, 1897, the church adopted a very democratic type of government, permitting women to have equal rights and to hold office in the parish committee.

Growth of this church promoted the establishment of the Polish National Union of America, organized in August 1908, as a beneficial society which has in excess of 346 adult and 300 juvenile branches in the United States with a membership of more than 32,000 and assets of over \$13,000,000.00. Home offices are at 1002 Pittston Avenue, Scranton, Pa.

In December of 1935 St. Stanislaus Parish was instrumental in organizing the United Women's Societies of the Adoration of the Most Blessed Sacrament under the direction of Bishop Francis Hodur. This organization numbers many thousands of women in the U.S., Canada, and Poland. The Cathedral parish was also instrumental in founding other organizations national in scope, such as: The United Young Men's Societies of Resurrection, United Girls Societies, United Choirs, United Societies of Friends of the Polish National Schools, United Ladies Maria Konopnicka Societies. Forty-three years ago, through the encouragement of Bishop Hodur and members of the Cathedral Parish, the Polish National Union purchased the E. B. Jermyn Farm at Waymart, Pa., a tract of land consisting of 430 acres, and there established a home for the Aged and Disabled.

St. Stanislaus Cathedral Parish was also instrumental in establishing a theological seminary for the church. This was founded in 1904 and today is located at Cedar Avenue and East Elm Streets in Scranton bearing the name: Savonarola Theological Seminary.

More than 300 priests have been ordained at St. Stanislaus Cathedral and 14 bishops of the PNCC have received their episcopal consecration here.

The Church was faced with many obstacles, and the task of Bishop Hodur included many such obstacles too numerous to enumerate herein. But even those who were not united with him in the Church movement proclaimed him a great man who promulgated a great endowment to the welfare of mankind.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has proclaimed Bishop Hodur as one of the great reformers of our time: "Every age has its martyrs, heroes and reformers, men who take their proper places and maintain against all odds the great principles in whose defense or upholding they are enlisted. These men not only make for themselves a place in history, but in the vital affairs of their day and generation, they also play an important part unrecorded on written pages, touching, and winning the great pulsing heart of humanity."

"Their worth and goodness are not always soon recognized. It is often decades, and sometimes centuries, before the world awakes to the fact that a hero had stepped into the arena and grappled with some great evil or force which has menaced the well being of humanity."

"All along down the ages great minds have been at work with this idea in view, more liberty of thought, more freedom of will, more love to God, more justice to man."

"They have been leading men out of darkness into light out of chaos into order and harmony; out of the mystical and esoteric into the open day of clear thought. Such a man as this is Bishop Hodur. . . who was chosen by a number of his countrymen and members of the Church to be their standard bearer in a victorious and untrammelled march to greater light and better things."



On February 16th, 1953, the bells of St. Stanislaus tolled in mourning for the passing of a great man and a great religious leader. The Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania proclaimed the following:

Whereas, The death of Prime Bishop Hodur on February 16, 1953, is recognized as a great spiritual loss not only to Scranton and the Lackawanna Valley where he resided, but to the whole Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and

Whereas, His founding of the Polish National Catholic Church in Northeastern Pennsylvania, and the designation of the city of Scranton, Pennsylvania, as the headquarters of the P.N.C.C. has brought world-wide attention to the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and

Whereas, He has labored for the past fifty-six years faithfully for his Church and for the welfare of the inhabitants of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, and

Whereas from humble beginnings his work grew and he had established parishes of the P.N.C.C. in over one hundred sixty five cities and towns of the United States of America, and

Whereas, He has carried his work from Pennsylvania to Canada, and even to Europe, and

Whereas, Those who knew, loved and were influenced by him who have suffered a great loss therefore be it

Resolved, that the members of the House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania tender deepest sympathy to those who looked to him for spiritual guidance.

And on March 21, 1966, Governor of Pennsylvania, William W. Scranton, issued a statement calling to the attention of Pennsylvanians the 100th Anniversary of the birth of the late Bishop Francis Hodur in which he paid the following tribute to Bishop Hodur:

"He became well-known in the Scranton area and later throughout the world as a champion of the poor and unfortunate, and as a leading religious teacher."

#### MILITARY PAY RECORDS

### HON. CHARLES H. GRIFFIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, for some time I have been concerned over the foul up of pay records of servicemen. Too frequently, after discharge, a former serviceman will receive a letter from the military requesting payment of alleged overpayments while the man was in service. Also too frequently, it is found later that the alleged indebtedness did not exist at all.

However, the serviceman is stuck with the bill unless he tries to fight it. A recent case was called to my attention by a young constituent and friend, Mr. E. K. Purvis of Raymond, Miss.

Over a period of months in 1971, the Marine Corps demanded that he repay \$200. He demanded an explanation, but received none, and, therefore, contacted me.

I asked that his entire pay record be completely reexamined. The Marine Corps did this, and instead of Purvis owing \$200, it was determined that the Marine Corps owed him \$32.48.

I wrote Secretary Laird and suggested that the Defense Department establish a policy which requires a comprehensive

review of former servicemen's pay records before any repayment of an alleged indebtedness is demanded. I received a reply from Assistant Secretary of Defense, Robert C. Moot, which I insert in the RECORD at this point:

WASHINGTON, D.C.,

March 9, 1972.

HON. CHARLES H. GRIFFIN,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. GRIFFIN: The Secretary of Defense has asked that I respond to your February 9, 1972, letter suggesting a comprehensive review of a former serviceman's pay records, before demanding repayment of apparent debts to the Government.

I agree completely with the concerns you expressed and share your desire to eliminate the causes of this type of error.

Each Military Service is currently expanding considerable effort in a major modernization of its military pay system. The new system will enable us to perform much better than the old, which are highly susceptible to clerical, transcription, and computational errors. Under our new systems, each member will be provided a monthly Leave and Earnings Statement that will detail for him all his entitlements, deductions and net pay. Thus, overpayments and underpayments should be detected and corrected currently, and not accumulate to complicate his account.

Notwithstanding this and other improvements we will still experience human errors that generate overpayments and underpayments. To anticipate and minimize the effect of these, we have had continuous and intimate participation by the internal audit staff of each Military Department, from the beginning of system design and following on to actual operations.

Consistent with your suggestion, I am asking each Military Department to pay particular attention to the recoupment of apparent indebtedness of separated members. While resource availability will not permit 100% examination of the member's pay accounts for his entire service, except in unusual cases, it is believed that a comprehensive examination of the final six months of service, preceding the issuance of post separation collection letters, is feasible and will attain the objective you desire.

Thank you for bringing this important matter to our attention.

Sincerely,

ROBERT C. MOOT,  
Assistant Secretary of Defense.

Mr. Speaker, I am hopeful that this new policy will be implemented so that veterans will be relieved of harassment and embarrassment by the military due to mistakes made by the military.

#### EVADING THE ISSUE

### HON. G. ELLIOTT HAGAN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. HAGAN. Mr. Speaker, the maneuvering of those for and against busing changes every day. The pressure of the voters has produced considerable evasive dancing. The Mansfield-Scott bill created a lot of hullabaloo, but actually has not changed anything, even though some Senators hoped it would get them in the clear with the voters. That remains to be seen. A very good editorial summary of the situation entitled "Evading the Issue"

was carried by the Savannah Press on March 6, 1972, as follows:

#### EVADING THE ISSUE

President Nixon is supposed to be mulling over proposals for a positive Administration approach to the school busing problem and he is going to be under heavy pressure to make some sort of announcement soon.

The Senate, however, has evaded the busing question temporarily by adopting the so-called Mansfield-Scott bill, which would have absolutely no effect on existing policy.

Instead, the Mansfield-Scott proposal, under the guise of being a busing measure, merely gives some senators an opportunity to avoid taking a strong stand one way or the other on busing.

Interestingly enough, Sen. Hugh Scott, the Republican minority leader, had recently predicted that Congress would succeed in ducking this issue despite mounting public interest in it.

Sen. Scott certainly knew what he was talking about. He was one of those doing the ducking.

In the voting in the Senate, the President of the United States nonetheless should see the tip of the iceberg. That the tough Griffin bill could have been passed (although the Senate later reversed its stand when Democratic presidential candidates came back from the hustings) and that so many senators voted against the weak Mansfield-Scott proposal is an indication that some politicians are already responding to pressure from back home.

It appears, too, that the President is going to have to offer a plan to oppose busing either through legislation or through support of the proposal for a constitutional amendment.

He will have some difficulty since some Administration leaders like Sen. Scott are still playing the stalling game.

But he could also slow down busing orders by putting the executive branch and its administrative agencies in the battle in federal courts.

So far, some Administration bureaucrats have failed to get the President's message that he opposes busing.

The Senate's vote on the Mansfield-Scott proposal did give voters a chance to see how some candidates for president stand on busing.

Although they were content to miss some other important votes for the sake of presidential campaigning, three candidates returned to Washington to cast their votes for busing and to prevent the strong anti-busing proposal from staying alive.

The three candidates are Hubert H. Humphrey, George S. McGovern and Edmund S. Muskie.

In taking this course, they hoped to appeal to a small segment of the electorate which favors busing as a social experiment, especially when that experiment is confined largely to the South.

(At the same time, the South has been able to deal with busing difficulties in many cases with more success than the Northern cities where it has become a significant issue.)

But if and when their own home state voters have to confront the complications of massive busing, they may be hearing more about the stand they've chosen to take.

As presidential hopefuls, they are not answerable only to the people who named them to the Senate, but also to other voters. On that score, they struck out.

Indeed, they appeared once again to be writing off the South, where busing is more of a problem now because there is more busing in the South for the purpose of achieving racial balance.

But they also wrote off a large amount of opinion elsewhere in the nation, where sentiment is against busing because of race, only certain politicians somehow failing to get the message from the grassroots.

## DAY CARE: POLICY QUESTIONS FOR AN EXPENSIVE PROGRAM

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Alice M. Rivlin's March 5 article which appeared on the editorial page of the Washington Post addresses the tough questions raised by a comprehensive day care program. Those of us favoring day care are obliged to consider these issues. The Rivlin article follows:

## DAY CARE: POLICY QUESTIONS FOR AN EXPENSIVE PROGRAM

(By Alice M. Rivlin)

If you want to start an argument at a boring party—and you are tired of busing and Vietnam—try day care. Just ask a few people whether they think the federal government should provide day care for children of working mothers, and in no time your friends will be on the verge of heaving ash trays at each other.

Unfortunately, they will probably be arguing about a spurious issue—the issue of whether or not mothers should work. The argument may sound as though: (1) mothers don't work now, (2) the reason they don't is that the government does not provide day care, (3) if there were a government day care program, many more mothers would leave home, drop their kids in day care centers and go to work, (4) the gut issue is whether this would be good or not.

But out in the real world mothers have not been sitting around waiting for public officials to make up their minds about day care programs. Millions of mothers are working now—even those with very small children.

According to a Labor Department study by Elizabeth Waldman and Katherine Gover, about half the mothers of school-age children were in the labor force in March 1970, as were about a third of those with preschool children. Some worked part-time, but the majority had full-time jobs. Moreover, since many mothers work only part of the year, the proportion with some work history during the previous year was even higher than the proportion in the labor force at a given moment. Among wives living with their husbands, 44 per cent of those with children under 6 and 58 per cent of those with children of school age worked some time during the year. These percentages would be even higher if they included the increasing number of separated or divorced women bringing up children on their own.

Among black mothers, working outside the home is even more usual—and this is not just because a larger bigger proportion of black women are family heads. Among black mothers living with their husbands, 64 per cent of those with preschool children and 73 per cent of those with school-age children worked some time during the year.

Clearly we are dealing with a cultural phenomenon—not just oddball behavior. More than 26 million children have mothers in the labor force (up 10 million in a decade) and 6 million of them are under 6 years old. That's a lot of kids.

There are many theories about why mothers are entering the job market, although most of the explanations seem as likely to be manifestations of the phenomenon as causes of it. First, with a falling birth rate, increasing numbers of mothers have two or three children rather than four or more. A mother of two not only has less housework to do than a mother of six, she finds it easier and less expensive to arrange for someone else to care for her children while she works. Moreover, a

mother of two knows there are likely to be many years ahead when her children no longer need her. She may decide to keep working when her children are young, so she will not have to start at the bottom of the job ladder when the kids grow up. Second, convenience foods, wash and wear fabrics and labor-saving appliances have made it less necessary for mothers to stay home for reasons other than child care and at the same time have increased the family's need for cash income to pay for all these wondrous things. Third, with the mechanization of industry and the growth of services, fewer jobs require physical strength and more are open to women. Fourth, notions of "women's place" are shifting. Although attitudes may not be changing fast enough to suit the leaders of women's lib, the belief that women should be individuals with lives of their own, not just wives and mothers, is clearly gaining ground fast, especially among the young. And finally, kindergarten and nursery school are increasingly seen as desirable experiences for children even if their mothers do not work. The suburban mother whose 4-year-old is home all day may even feel guilty about it.

Since all these forces seem likely to continue operating in the same direction, there will probably be an increasing proportion of mothers in the labor force whether the federal government embarks on a large-scale day care program or not. By the end of the decade, the non-working mother could find herself odd-woman-out.

More government-financed day care would doubtless accelerate the movement of mothers into the labor force, and enable some women to shift from part-time to full-time work. It might help some mothers now on welfare to move into the labor force, although it should be remembered that many of these mothers need more than day care to help them get steady work at good wages. They need education, training, work experience, and job opportunities.

Nevertheless, the principal effect of a large-scale day care program would probably not be to increase the proportion of mothers who are working; rather it would be to broaden the range of child care arrangement available to mothers who have already decided to work.

To many people the word "day care" necessarily suggests a day care center—an institution taking care of a large number of children at once. But most working mothers do not use day care centers. They drop the kid at mother's, or maybe mother lives with them. They use relatives, neighbors, sitters, borders. They give the child a key and leave him on his own. Or they find another mother who is staying home anyway and is willing to look after two or three more children besides her own for a relatively modest fee. Some of these arrangements are good for children and some are dreadful—but that is also true for mothers.

A recent survey showed that day care centers (defined as facilities for more than six children) enrolled only a little over a half a million children in 1970—less than 10 per cent of the preschoolers with working mothers. Some of these centers are run for profit and others by nonprofit groups that often receive a government subsidy for caring for low-income children. The profit-seeking centers charge \$10 to \$20 a week per child and vary from good to abysmal.

The nonprofit centers usually have more staff and offer a rich educational program and, sometimes, health services and other benefits. The nonprofits spend about three times as much per child, on the average, but only a small part comes from parents. They usually restrict enrollment to children from poor or very poor families and have long waiting lists.

The result is a rather erratic two-class system in which some poor children (those fortunate enough to get into the subsidized centers) get better quality care than is avail-

able to families with somewhat higher incomes. The working mother with income slightly above the poverty line has the worst deal of all—unless she has a competent relative to turn to for free care. She earns too much to get her child into a subsidized center, but not enough to pay much for care. She does not even benefit appreciably from the newly liberalized income tax deductions for child care expenses. These benefits go mainly to people in higher tax brackets.

The important policy issue is not whether mothers should work—if they want to they will—but whether the public should take on new responsibilities for the wellbeing of children. Traditionally there has been little public concern for children until they reach school age and even then public responsibility has been limited to school hours. What happens to the preschool child or the school-age child after school hours has been considered a family responsibility, unless the child was badly abused or ran afoul of the law. But this *laissez-faire* attitude is now under attack, not only from women's lib spokesmen who believe that the public should provide day care so that mothers can make an easier choice between staying home and going to work, but by those who believe the public has a responsibility to enhance the development and capabilities of children as much as possible and that this can best be done by reaching them at a very early age.

The last argument combines fairly well established facts with an attractive but still unproved hypothesis. The widely acknowledged facts are that children develop intellectual skills and capacities at a rapid rate in the first five years of life (especially the first three); that children from deprived homes get less stimulation and early education and start school with smaller vocabularies, fewer learning skills, lower IQ's than middle-class children; and that some experimental programs have succeeded in narrowing these disparities significantly—at least for a while. Unfortunately, the gains made by children even in the most successful early childhood education programs appear to fade out when the special programs end and the children are plunged back into the stultifying atmosphere of regular poverty-area schools. The unproved hypothesis is that more comprehensive and sustained efforts to reach children earlier and longer—through parent-education, improved nutrition, early treatment of health handicaps, and a variety of part-day and full-day education programs—could make a permanent difference in their lives and build up a momentum that would carry on into the public schools.

The reason it is such a hard policy problem is that the potential cost could be very high. A really excellent full-day school program that provides enough staff to give children individual attention, plenty of space, play equipment, educational activities and routine medical attention costs at least \$1,800 a year per child. Part-day activities cost less, but not a lot less. There are about three million preschoolers in poor families so a comprehensive preschool program for poverty children could cost \$3-4 billion even if they did not all participate. But the real rub is that it would be politically impossible—and certainly unconscionable—to restrict such a program to the poor. Children from families with incomes of \$8,000 or even \$12,000 are not getting that kind of care now and their families could not afford to pay for it. A substantial subsidy, say \$1,000 per child, to this group could cost several more billions.

A lot of us would rather have good preschools than a new nuclear-powered aircraft carrier, but that is not likely to be the choice we get. In the real world of politics the choice is more likely to be between spending substantial sums in early childhood programs and spending them on improving junior



high schools, providing college scholarships or easing the plight of the aged poor. If you can get your friends arguing about these hard choices—rather than about whether mothers should work—you will at least have moved them off a spurious issue and onto a really serious and difficult one.

**THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE  
ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE  
CONTINUES TO INTIMIDATE UNI-  
VERSITIES**

**HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, I attach herewith an item indicating that the president of Stanford University, Mr. Richard W. Lyman, has rejected the 8-to-1 recommendation of a joint student-faculty committee and has refused to bar military recruiters from the campus at Stanford University.

The article follows:

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

**STANFORD WON'T BAR MILITARY**

PALO ALTO, CALIF.—Citing possible loss of \$16 million in NASA and Defense Department research funds, Stanford University President Richard W. Lyman yesterday rejected the 8-to-1 recommendation of a student-faculty committee to bar military recruiters from the campus placement center.

Lyman said that appropriations riders on Defense Department and NASA funds would result in the loss of support for "about 1,000 faculty, staff and students," if military personnel were barred from using university facilities.

[Lyman's action comes just two days after Defense Secretary Melvin R. Laird took strong exception to campus policies that have put military recruiters off limits.

[Addressing a Veterans of Foreign Wars convention in Washington this week, Laird said: "We cannot have objections to recruiting and presenting our case for voluntary service . . . and at the same time have protesters against the Selective Service program. You either have to have Selective Service as your manpower source, or you have to have a volunteer program. To protest against both means to disarm America, and we can't have that."]

I attach also an item from the March 3, 1972, newsletter of the American Council on Education. This item sets forth the position of the chairman of the House Armed Services Committee but also indicates that the Secretary of Defense, Melvin Laird, apparently does not agree with the position of Congressman HÉBERT that the Department of Defense should blacklist those universities which exercise their right to phase out ROTC recruiting.

The item follows:

**HÉBERT URGES CUTTING OFF ALL DEFENSE  
FUNDS AT ANTI-ROTC CAMPUSES**

F. Edward Hébert (D-La.), chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, said in a luncheon speech in Washington this past weekend that he favors cutting off all defense funds at colleges and universities that do not cooperate "1,000 percent with the military." Earlier he had pressured the Pentagon not to send officers to 13 campuses that had

phased out ROTC programs (see Vol. XXI, No. 8).

In a luncheon talk Feb. 25 at the 50th anniversary conference of the Reserve Officers Association of the United States, Hébert said that "if defense money is so dirty" universities that have dropped ROTC programs should not want it anyway. He said colleges and universities in the Midwest and South "won't object" if Department of Defense programs are shifted to them from the mostly Eastern institutions that have severed ties with ROTC.

The committee chairman admitted in his speech that Secretary of Defense Melvin R. Laird, "a great Secretary of Defense, . . . disagrees with me." If the Secretary's objections are valid, he said, "we are flexible." But he also said that he would "not violate the principle" of cutting off funds to institutions that don't cooperate "1,000 percent with the military."

A member of the Congressman's staff said that Hébert and Laird are to confer about the controversy, but no date was disclosed and it was not known if they would issue a public statement clarifying the issue. As Hébert acknowledged in his luncheon remarks, there is no law restricting Defense Department activities at non-ROTC campuses, although one bill, H.R. 2, would bar the Pentagon from extending medical scholarships to non-ROTC campuses. The bill was passed by the House and sent to the Senate. In pressuring the Pentagon, Hébert has relied upon his own feelings and those expressed by his committee that it is "morally wrong" for a university to reject ROTC on the one hand and accept Department of Defense contract work on the other.

According to the latest figures available—compiled by the National Science Foundation—ten of the 13 colleges and universities received Department of Defense obligations amounting to \$18 million in Fiscal Year 1970. Of the ten, Columbia University, whose current contracts were held up during a compliance review by HEW's Office for Civil Rights, was listed as having obligations of \$7.2 million, by far the largest amount in the group. The three listed by NSF as having no Defense obligations in 1970 were Colgate University, Hobart College, and Pratt Institute.

The others were listed as having the following DOD obligations in 1970: Boston College, \$925,000; Boston University, \$491,000; Brown University, \$1.2 million; Dartmouth College, \$305,000; Harvard University, \$2.9 million; New York University, \$2.4 million; State University of New York at Buffalo, \$366,000; Tufts University, \$393,000; and Yale University, \$1.6 million.

I attach also an editorial from the New York Times under date of March 7, 1972, which sums up the situation by stating:

The Hébert blacklist . . . shortchanges the armed forces, wastes public funds, and injures the freedom of universities as well.

The editorial follows:

**MR. HÉBERT'S BLACKLIST**

The roster of the 13 colleges and universities which have withdrawn from the Reserve Officers Training Corps program includes some of the most distinguished institutions of higher learning. There can be legitimate disagreement over the place of ROTC on a campus and particularly over the manner in which these programs were terminated under the duress of the radical student movement. But there can be no question that the final decision on this matter rests properly with the universities, which must be free to define their own relationship with the military.

It was therefore entirely out of place for Representative F. Edward Hébert, as chairman of the House Armed Services Commit-

tee, to bludgeon the Pentagon into declaring the graduate schools of those thirteen institutions off-limits to advanced study by officers. In blacklisting these schools, Mr. Hébert has called it "morally wrong for the military to spend dollars sending students to a particular college or university which has chosen not to cooperate with the military services." In fact, it would be morally wrong for a university to accept a role as agent for the military in return for special financial considerations.

Mr. Hébert's clumsy pressure tactics can ultimately hurt only the armed services and the taxpayers. The advanced education of officers is financed by the Pentagon, not to support graduate schools but to improve the leadership quality of the military. The Hébert blacklist would prevent some officers from attending the campuses most suitable to their academic goals. It thus shortchanges the armed forces, wastes public funds, and injures the freedom of universities as well.

**SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST  
WELFARE SERVICES**

**HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN**

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 13, 1972

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, in this day and age when the trend seems to be to take all that is available from society, I was encouraged to read an article in the Evening Star about the accomplishments of the Seventh-day Adventists and their contributions to society.

Their donations of time, money, supplies, and equipment to needy groups around the world are indicative of the Adventists' dedication to humanitarian work. I believe we can all benefit from the knowledge of their selfless giving, and I now insert the article describing their achievements into the RECORD:

**\$14.7 MILLION IN AID GIVEN BY ADVENTISTS**

Relief materials valued at \$14.7 million were dispensed by Seventh-day Adventist Welfare Services (SAWS) last year, church world headquarters here announced.

Theodore Carcich, president of SAWS, reported that the Adventist disaster-aid organization served 36 countries in addition to the United States and Canada.

Peru received the largest amount of assistance—food valued at \$11.4 million, clothing and bedding valued at \$339,000, medical supplies and equipment valued at \$165,000, and miscellaneous items of equipment valued at \$11,000, making a total of more than \$11.8 million in aid.

East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) received medical supplies and equipment from SAWS worth \$163,000, and a continuing program of aid is being carried on through the church's Southern Asia division headquarters at Poona, India.

Last year supplies processed by SAWS for Korea totaled nearly \$500,000 in value. Most of these items were clothing, but medical supplies were included. Besides the usual tornadoes, typhoons, floods, hurricanes, earthquakes, and war, which take their toll of human life and comforts, the church gave aid to people in Zaire (Congo) who suffered loss from a volcanic eruption.

The denomination has in the U.S. and Canada 672 centers dedicated to such humanitarian work. "In 1971 our members gave more than 4.1 million hours to this activity, and served more than 2.27 million people in North America alone," the official said.