

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

DIRECTOR OF BICYCLE INSTITUTE
OF AMERICA TESTIFIES BEFORE
HOUSE PUBLIC WORKS SUBCOM-
MITTEE IN SUPPORT OF H.R. 9369

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, last year the country was swept by a tidal wave of enthusiasm for bicycling and I predict that with the arrival of spring we will find millions of adults riding their bikes daily to and from work. Bicycling sales are climbing dramatically with an estimated 10 million bikes to be sold this year, up 2 million over last year and almost triple the sales of 10 years ago. There are now an estimated 73 million Americans who ride bikes, and the percentage of bike riders who are adults is climbing.

The bicycle, mechanically very simple, is a remarkable vehicle: it emits no pollution, makes no noise, takes up little room, and even has physical and mental benefits for the rider. And when provided their own bicycle lanes, bikes have a very low accident rate.

There is a danger, however, for cyclists when they are forced to compete with cars and buses in heavily congested streets. And thus, if bicycle transportation is to be encouraged, we need to develop exclusive bike lanes and paths.

Last week John Auerbach, director of the Bicycle Institute of America, appeared before the House Public Works Roads Subcommittee now considering highway legislation. He spoke in support of my bill, H.R. 9369, to permit States and localities to use highway trust fund moneys for the development of bicycle lanes and paths, the construction of bicycle shelters, and the installation of bicycle traffic control equipment.

I should like to place in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD his excellent statement that examines the need for Federal assistance to help maximize the potential of bicycle transportation, the initiative taken by States to construct bicycle paths and facilities, and the benefits that will accrue to all Americans, including the automobile drivers, from better cycling opportunities. Indeed, Mr. Auerbach notes that such auto-oriented groups as the American Automobile Association are supporting bike facilities programs.

I recommend Mr. Auerbach's statement to our colleagues and I hope that the Congress can approve H.R. 9369, which would benefit our Nation's transportation system, the environment, and most of all, the public.

John Auerbach's statement of March 15 before the Roads Subcommittee follows:

TESTIMONY OF JOHN AUERBACH, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, BICYCLE INSTITUTE OF AMERICA, INC., BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS IN THE MATTER OF H.R. 9369

Mr. Chairman, honorable members of this committee:

My name is John Auerbach. For the past 26 years I have been Executive Director of the Bicycle Institute of America, a trade association representing the domestic bicycle industry. During that quarter of a century I have seen bicycle popularity grow enormously in both dimension and character.

In 1949, total bike sales in America were about 1.5 million and almost all of them were thought of as toys for children. By 1971, sales had jumped to more than 8.8 million, with nearly half that number being rightfully regarded as recreational and transportation vehicles for young adults and adults from 16 to 65. This year sales are expected to exceed 10 million. There are over 73 million cyclists in America today. They are legitimate road users and road sharers.

History has a way of repeating itself, and we in the bicycle industry have come full circle. Back at the turn of the century it was a bicycle man, Col. Albert Pope, founder of the Columbia Manufacturing Company, who pioneered in the movement for a better network of roads for bicycles and automobiles. Naturally, if there were more highways, more people would drive cars. And bicycle enthusiasts know today, as did their forebears almost 100 years ago, that riding space is the basic essential for bicycle expansion.

This basic essential has never been more obvious and more pressing than it is today. The bicycle has come of age, and millions of American cyclists from all walks of life and from all age groups, are once again pressing state, federal and local legislators . . . not for more roads for cars, but for more bikeways, paths and trails for bikes.

This has become one of the most powerful grass roots movements that has ever been associated with any industry. It is truly an amazing phenomenon.

Times are changing, and our industry is now selling bikes to whole new classes of riders . . . adults and youngsters alike . . . who are no longer content with a simple ride around the block. They want to go places and do things, and since cars have preempted the use of many highways, riders are demanding equal access to the road space . . . they are demanding recreational bikeways, scenic trails and commuter bike routes.

And why not? Why shouldn't they have them? There are probably more cyclists in America today than there are motorists; why shouldn't they have the facilities they need to ride in safety and pleasure, and those which satisfy their aesthetic and recreational needs as well. This national attitude represents a major breakthrough in American thinking.

People are saying "Yes" to bikes . . . yes for health and fitness, yes for recreation, yes for transportation, yes for ecology, and a resounding yes for all those seeking a better and happier way of life.

This national approval is manifest in the thousands of requests we have received for help in establishing new bike facilities, and through the Bicycle Institute we have helped thousands of people—educators, recreation specialists, traffic experts and just plain citizens—we have helped them with booklets, proposals, bikeways plans and a hundred other self-help materials, as well as with our advice and counsel by mail, on the phone and in person.

Did I say there is national approval for bikes? It is more like a national love affair. It shows up in the countless bills, proposals, resolutions and directives that have funded and established bikeways, paths, trails and other facilities all over the country, by the thousands of people who have sought our help and were willing to be guided by us in their efforts.

This grass roots movement has produced remarkable results. Oregon adopted House Bill 1700, which provides 1% of highway tax money to be made available to communities for the construction and maintenance of bike and pedestrian paths. The State of Washington had adopted Senate Bill 33, which appropriates 1% of highway fuel tax money for the same purpose. Similar bills have been introduced in the state legislatures of California, Nebraska, Massachusetts, Maryland, Michigan and Arizona. All of them have excellent chances of becoming law, and all of them call for providing additional cycling and walking facilities in programs funded by highway fuel tax funds.

Highway trust funds are no longer conceived to have the narrow purpose of satisfying automotive traffic needs alone. They are no longer so conceived by the various states and by the people, and I respectfully submit that they should not be so considered by this august committee, because, as I have already mentioned, bicycles are legitimate users of the roads provided for individual transportation.

Cycling for health and fitness, cycling for family recreation, cycling for pollution-free transportation is a burgeoning American Phenomenon. It will not simply go away if it is ignored. It will continue to grow.

Our industry estimates sales of nearly 10 million units in 1972. Even a modest 5% annual increase in sales, compounded yearly will bring a staggering 15 million-plus sales in 1980, perhaps involving over one hundred million Americans by that time.

These millions of cyclists must have adequate riding facilities. Increasing numbers of them are and will continue to use the bicycle as a fast, convenient, economical means of short-haul transportation in and around our great urban centers. Facilities must be provided for them so that this popular form of transportation will remain as safe as it is convenient.

Federal funds must be made available for separate paths where that is practical, for separate lanes on existing roads, where that is practical, for marking and signing devices, for feasibility studies of various routes, for traffic and safety education, for parking facilities and for massive bicycle registration programs to help prevent theft.

The argument has been presented that bicyclists don't pay any highway use taxes, so why should they share in highway trust fund revenues. I respectfully submit that this argument is fallacious. Bicyclists and their families already own at least one and in many cases two automobiles that more than pay their own way. The bicycle is not supplanting the automobile . . . increased bike sales are not cutting down automobile sales. Rather, motorists are also buying bikes to be used along with, not instead of their cars. Indeed, even such auto-oriented groups as the American Automobile Association are supporting bike facilities programs.

But even if this were not true, the argument would still be invalid. If it were not, the childless family should not be taxed to support a school system it does not use; the man who has neither committed a crime nor been the victim of one should not have to support the police department. There is no need to continue the argument any further.

Obviously, the betterment of society as a whole is the issue; the promotion of the general welfare, if you will, and no group of citizens is exempt from either the benefits or responsibilities of that time-honored doctrine.

Mr. Chairman, there is no escaping the fact that bicycles belong. Bicycles are inextricably woven into the fabric of daily life in America. Indeed, they are a fact of life

across the length and breadth of this great country.

Coming directly to the matter of the bicycle industry's support of H.R. 9369, we commend the Honorable Mr. Koch for his far-sightedness in seeing the growing need for federal assistance in the bike facilities program. We commend the vigor with which he defines the right of the cyclist to share the roads of America with automobiles, and we wholeheartedly endorse his oft-stated concept that providing separate facilities for bicycles on and near our roads will not only decrease the risks of accidents, but indeed, speed up, rather than slow down motorized traffic by separating it from the slower-moving bicycle traffic. This will be a boon not only to the cyclist, but to the motorist as well.

Mr. Chairman, I would like to list the following as just a few of the reasons why our industry supports the bill this important committee of the congress is studying today:

1. According to the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation of the U.S. Dept. of Interior, bicycle riding is one of America's fastest growing outdoor recreation activity. The Athletic Institute lists cycling as the nation's leading outdoor recreation activity, with nearly 73 million participants of all ages.

2. With American bicycles sales almost matching Detroit's output of automobiles, more and more bikes are competing with more and more cars for what seems like less and less riding room.

3. Increasingly, bicycle riding has become a strong family recreation activity. These cycling families need specially marked bike lanes, bike paths and trails, bikeways, bike parking racks and other facilities to help make their cycling experience safe, as well as pleasant and healthy.

4. The bicycle is the only known form of transportation that doesn't pollute the atmosphere. More commuter and recreational cycling should be encouraged—by providing more cycling facilities.

5. More cycling by Americans, which would be encouraged by the addition of more cycling facilities, would be in keeping with the health and physical fitness advice of the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Lifetime Sports, the American Medical Association, the American Heart Association, the American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation and many other such groups.

6. Experience in cities like New York, Chicago and Washington, D.C., and on Bikeways in almost all states, shows that where cycling facilities exist, they get used. Nearly 18,000 people of a total population of 24,000 in Davis, California, use that city's bikeway system every year. Over 728,000 cyclists were reported to have ridden the 320 mile statewide Wisconsin Bikeway in 1970, by the Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources. Scenic and historic Bikeways in Ohio, New Hampshire, Indiana, Kentucky, Illinois and Florida are considered among those states' most popular tourist attractions.

7. Bicyclists have always been independent souls, solving their own problems and going their own way, gathering support as best he could on the local level. He has not come often to Washington seeking federal aid. But as I have said, the times are changing, and with 73 million cyclists on the road today, and the probability that there will be at least 100 million of them by 1980, federal planning and federal assistance are now an absolute necessity.

8. Finally, Mr. Chairman, no new money is being asked for by this bill. No new taxes are proposed under its terms. The nation's bicyclists are merely asking for equal rights . . . for their share as legitimate users of the road, in the monies already provided for road development.

The Bicycle Institute of America most earnestly urges your favorable consideration of H.R. 9369.

Mr. Chairman, members of the Committee, thank you for your courtesy in allowing me the privilege of testifying this morning.

A NEW APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF WASTE OIL DISPOSAL

HON. J. CALEB BOGGS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. President, our Nation faces a serious challenge in finding ways to dispose of waste lubricating oils without environmental damage. The Senate's water pollution control bill, S. 2770, includes a requirement that the Environmental Protection Agency undertake an analysis of the waste oil disposal problem and make a report of its findings to the Nation. The bill just reported in the House, H.R. 11896, contains similar language.

In addition, I am happy to note that EPA has initiated some research of its own, emphasizing the utilization of waste oil as a fuel. I applaud this initiative.

The problem of waste oil is not a minor one. To give my colleagues a better idea of the extent of this persistent problem, I quote a paragraph from the Senate report—92-414—that accompanied S. 2770:

The American people were greatly concerned at the damage created when a well discharged 60,000 barrels of oil into the ocean off Santa Barbara, California, in early 1969. According to calculations made earlier this year by EPA, that much used engine, machine, and similar oil is presently dumped into our environment every 36 hours.

Mr. President, a very interesting article has come to my attention on this subject. It appeared in the summer 1971 issue of the Ecology Law Quarterly. It is entitled "A Model Waste Oil Disposal Program in the Federal Republic of Germany." Because I believe this article is valuable for the further consideration of problems associated with waste oil disposal, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

A MODEL WASTE OIL DISPOSAL PROGRAM IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

(By William A. Irwin* and Wolfgang E. Burhenne**)

Industrial societies cannot easily eliminate dependency on oil as an energy source, but they can mitigate the harmful results of fossil fuel addiction. Besides air pollution and major oil spills, a prime environmental cost of oil consumption is improper disposal of waste oil. Slow acting bureaucracies and red tape contribute to the problem and provide little incentive for proper regulation. In

this article, the authors note some hazards of improper disposal of waste oil and describe Germany's attempt to alleviate the problem. The Federal Republic of Germany has developed a fairly efficient system of waste oil regulation which includes government financial support for proper disposal of used oil and tax incentives to use regenerated oil. They also note some of the law's defects and suggest improvements. Although the idea of such regulation is known to other industrial nations, to date few have acted on it.

In 1968, with the passage of the Waste Oil Law, the Federal Republic of Germany established a program to assure safe disposal of waste lubricating oils. Private firms contract with a federal office to collect waste oils from anyone having more than 200 liters (about 53 gallons) who requests this service. The contractors' costs are covered by payments from the federal office based on the amount of waste oil disposed of without contributing to pollution of the environment. More is paid for reprocessing the waste oil than for burning it. The payments are made from a fund which is supported by a special assessment collected from oil producers and importers. These suppliers pass this added cost along to users of oil at the rate of about one and a half cents per liter. The Waste Oil Law also provides for keeping records of oil disposal and for supervision of disposal methods. This Article describes the provisions of this law and the experience during its first two years in operation. The Article then offers suggestions for improving the German program and recommends adapting it in other industrialized nations.

I. THE ENVIRONMENTAL THREAT OF IMPROPER DISPOSAL OF WASTE OIL

Oil tanker collisions and oil drilling blow-outs¹ are spectacular events which introduce large quantities of petroleum into the environment. Such events are well recognized for their serious adverse environmental effects. A more insidious source of oil pollution exists in the daily discharges of oil which has been used but not consumed.² These discharges multiply with the increasing use of oil.

The improper disposal of waste oils is a serious environmental and public health problem for several reasons. First, it places excessive demands on the level of dissolved oxygen in the water supply. The oxidation of one liter of oil dispersed in a water mass would deplete the oxygen dissolved in 400,000 liters of sea water.³ To emphasize this point, it is worth noting that shipping on the Rhine and its tributaries generates an estimated 10,000 tons of waste oil annually.⁴ Until recently, a large portion of this oil was discharged into these waters.

A second reason for concern about improper disposal of waste oil is that oil discharges into surface water restrict the ability of natural organisms to break down wastes and impair the water's natural re-aeration processes by covering it with films. These effects hinder the water's self-purification capacity.⁵ Fish suffocate from the resulting lack of oxygen, and the oil films themselves often cause the death of birds and plants along the water's edge.

A third reason for concern is that the breakdown of carbon compounds contained in oil is a very slow process.⁶ Since oil tends to spread out over a large surface area when discharged into waterways, the resulting disadvantages for public water supply are often profound. One milligram of waste oil in a quart of water makes it unpotable, and most people can smell and taste concentrations of less than .01 mg./quart.⁷ These concentrations cannot be removed by normal wastewater treatment facilities and are extremely costly to eliminate in public water supply plants.⁸ Furthermore, larger concentrations

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may severely impair the efficiency of wastewater treatment facilities so that oil pollution can be indirectly responsible for the introduction of other contaminants into the water supply. Both municipalities and industries which depend on public water supplies suffer the external social costs of improper waste oil disposal.

Even more significant than the potential economic loss is a fourth reason for concern: waste oil discharges into surface waters tend to introduce into the human diet lead and other poisonous substances, some of which may be carcinogenic.⁹ Phenols¹⁰ are themselves poisonous and during oxidation they may form peroxides.¹¹ Other reactions in the water may produce naphtha acids which attack the nervous system.¹² The polycyclic aromatic hydrocarbons naturally occurring in raw petroleum have carcinogenic characteristics, but these are eliminated by refining processes so that waste oils usually would not contain them.¹³ However, such aromatics can be formed during combustion—they have been discovered in automobile exhausts, for example,¹⁴ and could thus appear in waste oils. Like radioactive materials, such poisonous substances can concentrate in aquatic organisms which constitute an important link in the food chain.¹⁵ Just as small concentrations of oil will often make water undrinkable, oil's characteristic taste and smell can make fish inedible.¹⁶ Fortunately, in many cases, the unpleasant taste resulting from small concentrations of oil deters people from consuming many of these substances.

Improper disposal of waste oil causes additional environmental problems for land, water, and air. If waste oil is spread on land, the soil becomes unsuitable for cultivation.¹⁷ Micro-organisms in the soil have a limited ability to decompose many types of oils.¹⁸ Furthermore, the oil frequently filters into ground water aquifers,¹⁹ for example, from dumps, often polluting them permanently.²¹ Finally, evaporation from waste oils deposited on land, or from films on the surface of water, contributes hydrocarbons to atmospheric pollution. The environmental and public health hazards enumerated above can be avoided by a comprehensive program of waste oil collection and disposal utilizing proper incineration or regeneration processes.

II. WASTE OIL DISPOSAL PRACTICES IN GERMANY AND OTHER EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY NATIONS PRIOR TO 1968

Thirty-five years ago Germany began encouraging the regeneration of waste oil by using governmental subsidies.²² The initial reason for this policy was to reduce national expenditures for importing raw materials and to assure the existence of the regenerating business.²³ By 1953 Germany had switched from a direct subsidy to a tax preference, reducing the oil production tax by 15 Deutsche Mark (DM) (\$3.75) for each 100 kilograms of regenerated oil.²⁴

In 1964 the Council of the European Economic Community (EEC) directed the member nations to unify their import duties on oil and harmonize their provisions governing the collection and harmless disposal of waste oil.²⁵ In order not to violate Articles 92 and 95 of the Treaty of Rome²⁶ in the process of revising its laws, the German federal government abandoned its tax preferences to regenerating businesses and offered financial assistance instead at the rate of 22.90 DM (\$5.70) per 100 kilograms reprocessed.

The Netherlands objected to this measure, claiming it would distort competition and hinder commerce among the member nations.²⁷ In investigating the objection, the EEC discovered that France and Italy gave tax preferences, as Germany had done until

1964. France's policy was to protect regenerating firms, partly to alleviate shortages of oil resulting from crises in the Middle East.²⁸ Italy based its preferences on the principle that since oil production is taxed in the first instance, it is unfair to tax the regeneration of waste oil.²⁹ The EEC also learned that the Netherlands did not collect a tax on regenerated oil products and that neither Belgium nor Luxembourg gave any kind of financial support to the reprocessing industry.³⁰ These countries' provisions governing regeneration have remained essentially the same since 1964.³¹

Meanwhile, in 1967 the Federal Parliament of Germany realized how expensive the pre-1964 tax preferences had been: in approving the budget committee's allocations to cover the new financial aid requirements, it was able to reduce the subsidy rate from 22.90 DM to 19.50 DM per 100 kilograms of regenerated products. It rejected the budget committee's suggested sharper reduction on the grounds that it would jeopardize the intended objective of environmental protection.³² Later, the annual increases in the amount of waste oil which seemingly disappeared caused the parliament to reconsider its environment policy.³³

The Parliament learned that the subsidy was effective only in heavily industrialized areas where the collectors' transportation costs were relatively low. The less densely populated areas were inadequately serviced by waste oil collecting firms because, under the subsidy system, the collectors could refuse wastes which were unprofitable to reprocess or to collect. The financial assistance was likewise insufficient to encourage private enterprises to invest in the expensive equipment necessary for either burning or regenerating.³⁴ In addition, the public depositories and waste-incinerating facilities were inadequate. Local and state regulations prohibiting the dumping of oil-containing wastes into sewer systems were difficult to enforce, as were federal and state water law provisions prohibiting discharges of bilge waters and other harmful substances.³⁵

These circumstances indicated the need for a new approach. The result was the *Altölgesetz*, the Waste Oil Law, of December 23, 1968,³⁶ which repealed the federal financial assistance provisions and established a comprehensive collection and disposal system based on the principle that those responsible for a threat to the environment should bear the cost of resolving the problem.

III. THE 1968 WASTE OIL LAW

A. Special reserve fund for free collection of waste oil

The new Waste Oil Law creates a special federal reserve fund³⁷ to absorb the cost of waste oil reprocessing. This fund is supported by a compensation tax of 7.50 DM (\$2.10) per 100 kilograms, to be paid by all those who produce or import designated kinds of lubricating oils.³⁸ Most of these suppliers pass this assessment along in higher prices to their customers at the rate of about one and a half cents per liter, thus bringing the financial burden of waste oil disposal to rest on those who are ultimately responsible for it. A few producers have so far absorbed the additional expense themselves in order not to jeopardize their competitive standing.

The Federal Office for Trade and Industry, an executive office of the Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs, administers the fund and deducts its administrative expenses from it.³⁹ The rest of the fund is reserved for payments to collectors who obligate themselves in contracts with the federal office.⁴⁰ Payments from the reserve fund cover collection, transportation, and disposal costs.⁴¹ The federal executive office pays 12 DM (\$3.33) per 100 kilograms for reprocessing into lubricating oil, 10.20 DM (\$2.83) per 100

kilograms for reprocessing into other substances, such as heating oils, and 10 DM (\$2.78) per 100 kilograms for incineration. The law authorizes payments in addition to these normal rates for unusually difficult collection or disposal situations or for extra equipment made necessary by the law.⁴²

The collecting contractors can be private enterprises or public corporations. They must dispose of the waste oil without harming waters or soil and without contributing to air pollution—either by reprocessing the oil or burning it.⁴³ They must collect all waste lubricating oils, including sludges and emulsions, from anyone within the districts for which they have contracted. Hence, anyone in West Germany, including West Berlin, is entitled to have any amount of waste lubricating oil over two hundred liters collected free of charge provided it contains less than ten percent foreign matter. This right is enforceable directly against the federal executive office.⁴⁴ If a customer does not yet have two hundred liters, the contractor must prepare for later collection, for example, by leaving him a container.⁴⁵ If the customer's oil contains more than fifteen percent foreign matter—such as water, lead, rust, combustion particles, additives, or metal rubbings—he must either pay the collector's charge for extracting the foreign materials or separate the pure oil from the dirty oil in order to reduce this charge. In either case the contractor is obligated to collect the oil.⁴⁶ Failure to warn the collector that waste oil contains substances which may be dangerous to destroy creates liability for any accident which may result.⁴⁷ The significant point, of course, is that the collection of used oil with ten percent or less foreign matter is free of charge.

B. The supervisory system and the penalties

The Waste Oil Law contains several provisions designed to assure thorough supervision and enforcement. In order to assure accurate measurement of the total amount of fresh oil, the importers and producers who are obligated to pay the 7.50 DM per 100 kilograms compensation tax⁴⁸ are required to permit customs and other federal officials to examine all information pertaining to the implementation of the law.⁴⁹ If a producer or importer refuses to provide the necessary information, the federal office may estimate the total compensation tax he owes.⁵⁰

In addition, the law authorizes government officials to examine inventories and to enter business facilities, offices, or other property. In the extraordinary case, where it is necessary to "prevent imminent danger to public safety and order," the authorized government official may inspect the living quarters of persons required to give information in order to examine business records and make inspections or tests.⁵¹ A producer or importer is not required to answer self-incriminating questions, however.⁵²

Both importers and producers must pay either oil duties or taxes to the Finance Ministry under other laws, thus providing a means of double-checking the accuracy of reported information. The Waste Oil Law directs the customs officials, who inspect all oil imports, to assist the federal office in determining the proper compensation tax for the Reserve Fund.⁵³

All collection contractors must keep a continuous record of the kind, amount, and means of disposal of all oils.⁵⁴ This rule also applies to any other establishment which may or will in fact generate over 500 kilograms of oil which, due to excessive impurities or for other reasons, is not eligible for free collection.⁵⁵ Any establishment responsible for keeping these records must show them to state government supervisory officials and give them any other information requested pertaining to disposal.⁵⁶ The same provisions exist for investigating un-

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cooperative collectors as exist for producers and importers.⁵⁷ If a business can be adequately supervised by other means, however, such as by examination of its oil tax payment records, it may apply for an exemption from the record-keeping requirement.⁵⁸ If a person has no waste oil other than that which must be picked up free by a collection contractor, he need not keep such records since it is assumed that he would have no reason to dispose of his oil illegally. Those who do not maintain the required records, who refuse to produce requested information or records, or who do not permit tests, oil samples, or inspection of business records by authorized officials may be fined up to 10,000 DM (\$2,778) per violation.⁵⁹

In addition, to protect against unwarranted probing expeditions, the Waste Oil Law provides penalties for breach of professional secrecy. Information gained from waste oil disposal supervision cannot be used in a tax collection proceeding.⁶⁰ Furthermore, anyone who divulges trade secrets which he discovered during the process of supervision is subject to fine and up to two years' imprisonment.⁶¹

C. The waste oils covered by the law

The waste oils covered by the law are defined as "used mineral oils and used liquid mineral oil products as well as mineral oil-containing wastes from storage, business and transportation receptacles."⁶² Liquid mineral oil products include diesel or internal combustion fuels and heating oils. Technically, gasoline is not included, but some is unavoidably collected. Oil-containing wastes are produced, for example, by motors, engines, compressors, transmissions, cylinders, axles, transformers, and cable or circuit breaker insulations. The law's definition of oil wastes encompasses deposits which result from cleaning heating and fuel oil tanks or oil separators.⁶³ Although oily bilge water from river boats must be collected free of charge,⁶⁴ the discharge of bilge water at sea remains an unsolved problem.

IV. TWO YEARS' EXPERIENCE UNDER THE LAW

The experience under two provisions of the Waste Oil Law provides a good foundation for a brief discussion of the first two years of the law's operation. These two provisions are that the Minister for Economic Affairs may alter both the payment rates and the compensation tax rate.⁶⁵

Both the regenerating and incinerating industries argued strongly for an increase in payment rates, commencing in 1971, which was the first opportunity for an increase allowed under the law. The Ministry responded by requesting an examination of the complete records of the enterprises involved. The incinerators' records indicated that those which burned liquid- and solid-containing wastes separately made a profit while those which burned the wastes together did not. On balance, the Ministry decided that no change in the payment rate for incineration was necessary. Meanwhile, the regenerating refineries have not yet presented their books, but have ceased their demands for higher payment: one can reasonably conclude that their profits are sufficient to create a fear that the Ministry might reduce the payment rates rather than increase them. Refineries, after all, can sell their reprocessed end products to help cover their costs.

At the beginning of 1969, it was generally thought that the compensation tax rate of 7.50 DM per 100 kilograms would be insufficient to support the Reserve Fund. In fact, that rate has proved ample. So strong was the fear among producers and importers that the rate would be increased by amending the law that some of them purposely reported

and paid for more oil in 1969 than they actually had produced⁶⁶ in order to avoid the expected rate increase in 1970. The Ministry had no legal basis for investigating what the producers' end-of-1968 inventories actually were, because the law did not become effective until January 1, 1969, and thus could not verify these exaggerations. Ultimately, since the tax rate did not increase, only the firms involved in the over-reporting scheme lost.

When the law took effect, there were eighteen refineries equipped to regenerate waste oil and three or four incinerating enterprises. Although the number of incinerating plants increased to eight by the end of 1969, most of that year's total payments went for reprocessing. In 1970 the ratio of reprocessing to burning was five to one,⁶⁷ but the incinerators had gained in their share of total payments received. No one requested payments for leaving waste oil at approved depositories, although a small amount was so deposited. By December 1, 1970, there were seventeen contracting refineries and ten incinerating businesses with total yearly disposal capacities of about 350,000 and 100,000 tons respectively. More than three-quarters of these are private enterprises.

The federal office has arranged for more than one collector to be responsible for an area, with the result that collectors have been forced for competitive reasons to lower the charges they initially announced for collection of oil containing more than ten percent foreign substances. Indeed, competition for collecting clean waste oil is so intense that one hears reports of collectors paying to take it away, rather than merely collecting it without charge.

The incinerators are equipped to burn solvents, acids, lacquers and other substances which present disposal problems; however, harmless disposal of the oil has been more difficult for the incinerating plants than for the refineries, which can regenerate the oil by chemical processes that do not emit air pollutants.⁶⁸ Initially, it was thought that burning the waste oil at temperatures of 1,200 degrees Centigrade would melt all combustion particles and cause them to run harmlessly down the side of the incinerator. Tests have shown, however, that some of the incinerating plants' emissions regularly exceed applicable emission limits. Since air-pollution control authorities carefully observe such plants, incinerating firms whose waste oils frequently cause such excursions will either have to install expensive electrostatic precipitators or face fines and possible shutdown for violating the air pollution laws. The federal office has promised to increase the payment rates to firms which have encountered this difficulty in order to ameliorate a high investment in control devices.

Some incinerating enterprises attempted to increase the subsidies paid to them by more devious means. Clean heating oil is normally used to start and warm up the incinerators to their effective temperatures. Instead of piping the clean heating oil through the special, unmetered pipe, the enterprises pumped this heating oil through the metered pipe which recorded total tons of waste oil burned. Had the federal office not discovered this practice, these incinerating firms would have received unwarranted payments for counting the heating oil as waste oil and would have thereby reduced their operating expenses. Since there was no way of distinguishing meter records of waste oil from meter records of clean oil, the Ministry for Economic Affairs instituted proceedings to recover all 1969 payments made to the firms involved.

The federal administration of the Reserve Fund is inexpensive. Where, in the Federal Republic of Germany, federal laws are ad-

ministered by state officials in the various states, the need for extensive federal supervision is eliminated. After two years of operation, only 1.7 percent of the fund's total income of 81,200,000 DM (about \$22,555,500) had been used for administrative costs. Only nineteen persons—three officials and sixteen chemists, technicians, drivers, and laborers—are directly involved with administering the Waste Oil Law. However, this administrative system has its disadvantages. Nearly two and one-half years after the law became effective, some states had not yet named their supervisory personnel. Because of this, and because the Ministry for Economic Affairs first wished to observe the operation of oil collection and subsidy payments, it failed to provide the necessary blank record books,⁶⁹ which are crucial to state supervision of waste oil disposal. It is expected that this impasse will be broken in 1971.⁷⁰

Representatives of industry have complained that the Waste Oil Law does not provide for payments to individual plants for the disposal of their own oil.⁷¹ The possibility of including such provisions was discussed and rejected by those who drafted the law. They reasoned that the money and supervisory personnel were inadequate to police effectively the many disposals and that greater efficiency and safety could be achieved by concentrating disposal in a few installations.⁷² An industry can dispose of its own oil if it agrees to be responsible for a collection district and maintain complete disposal records—an operation which, so far, only one company has been willing to undertake. Because no insurance company will insure the risks involved, the consequent liability for any damage the firm causes in disposing of the oil has deterred many firms from assuming such a contract for a district.

V. A PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT AND SOME SUGGESTIONS

Before 1963 much waste oil remained unaccounted for in West Germany.⁷³ The impact of the Waste Oil Law and its record-keeping system is not yet fully evident, although it is known that 30,000 more tons of waste oil were disposed of properly in 1970 than in 1969.⁷⁴ It is still too early to determine precisely the effect it has had on the environment—Germany's surface and ground waters and soil. Hopefully, as the supervision system is implemented, the degree of reduced damage to the environment should become clearer. Meanwhile, progress is needed toward reducing loopholes in the system through which oil wastes can escape unchecked.

Even with complete supervision under the Waste Oil Law, the law cannot assure complete and accurate reporting for a certain amount of waste oil, such as that which is reused or illegally dumped. Two-cycle boat engines burn a quantity of waste oil; some industries reuse oil for heating or lubricating purposes. Dumping oil from boats on inland lakes⁷⁵ and rivers is prohibited by Germany's federal and state water laws, but enforcement is difficult. Moreover, it is nearly impossible to prevent the private citizen from dumping the oil he drains from his car motor into a ditch under cover of night.⁷⁶

Two of the four loopholes mentioned—industrial reuse and burning in two-cycle engines—pose little threat to the environment except to the degree that they cause air pollution or contribute to oil in bilge water. To render bilge water disposal harmless requires more organizations to finance collection boats and other facilities,⁷⁷ more effective patrolling by water protection police, and increased efforts to dissuade boat captains from taking the convenient course of simply pumping bilge overboard.

Preventing the private citizen from discarding his used motor lubricating oil into

Footnotes at end of article.

a ditch is a more difficult problem. Public exhortations to his civic conscience and closer police surveillance may help, but in themselves are probably insufficient. The federal office might publicize more widely that anyone who calls a collector is entitled under the Waste Oil Law to receive a receipt. Perhaps it would be advisable to require oil companies to permit the sale of regenerated oil by their franchisers. This would enable the private citizen who wishes to buy the cheaper reprocessed oil to have his oil changed at a gas station, with proper collection facilities, rather than having to do it himself at home.⁷⁸

In order to achieve the reduction of improper disposal of waste oil to near zero, it may be necessary to amend the Waste Oil Law's provision which now permits anyone to dispose of up to 500 kilograms of oil annually without having to account for it.⁷⁹ Similarly, it may prove realistic to spot-check those for whom collection would be free to determine their actual disposition of waste oil.

At first other EEC member nations expressed little interest in Germany's new waste oil disposal system. Recently, however, representatives from both France and the Netherlands have asked about it in sufficient detail to indicate they are considering the adoption of similar programs in their countries.⁸⁰

The principles of the system need not be restricted to Europe's crowded circumstances. Experience in the United States indicates several unsound practices.⁸¹ About forty percent of the 1.2 billion gallons of lubricating oil drained from American autos annually is reprocessed. Twenty percent is unaccounted for. The remainder is disposed of in ways harmful to the environment: use as road oil to kill weeds and control dust,⁸² use by farmers to oil hogs as a pest control or skin curative measure,⁸³ dumping into sewers,⁸⁴ dumping onto the ground,⁸⁵ or burning. Since a small amount of waste oil will easily create a costly slick, it is unfortunate that the United States has not yet found the available means to support an adequate collection and disposal system.⁸⁶ The cost ratio of environmentally safe disposal to unacceptable disposal is one to two hundred.⁸⁷

In 1970, Maine's legislature adopted a partial cure, the Maine Coastal Protection Fund, a "nonlapsing, revolving fund" available for use by Maine's Environmental Improvement Commission in supervising the transfer of oil from tankers and in inspecting the facilities used in the transfer and subsequent storage of the oil.⁸⁸ The commission is authorized to license annually all "oil terminal facilities" for operation;⁸⁹ the license fees, as well as fines and other charges collected under the law, are credited to the fund.⁹⁰ The license fee is one-half cent per barrel of oil or petroleum products transferred, to be "paid monthly on the basis of records certified to the commission."⁹¹ The fund covers the commission's administrative and personnel expenses and equipment costs, as well as the costs of oil spill clean-up, third-party damage claims, and state insurance.⁹²

Although Maine's law is primarily an example of a response to the threat of oil spills,⁹³ it admirably implements the principle that those responsible for a threat to the environment should bear the expenses for disposing of the threat. Unfortunately, although the law's definitions encompass the problem of waste oil disposal,⁹⁴ facilities not engaged in the transfer of oil to or from the State's tidal waters are not covered by the law.⁹⁵ This means there is no comprehensive supervision to enforce the law's outright prohibition of discharging oil or petroleum products into coastal waters or lands or inland streams.⁹⁶

Similar ineffective blanket prohibitions

caused Germany to create its present system of contracting with waste oil collectors, assigning them districts where they must pick up normal waste oil without charge, and paying them for its safe disposal from a fund supported ultimately by the users of oil. These principles of self-financing, comprehensive and mandatory collection, payments for harmless disposal, and thorough supervision are workable in solving Germany's waste oil disposal problem, and appear well-suited for application to the waste disposal problems of the American states as well.

APPENDIX I

INCOME, ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS, AND DISPOSAL PAYMENTS OF THE WASTE OIL RESERVE FUND OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

[January 1969 to December 1970]

Year	Income (Deutsche marks ¹)	Percent of income spent for adminis- tration ²	Payments for safe disposal ³	
			Deutsche marks	Tons
1969....	39,200,000	1.2	*23,000,000 *625,000 *150,000	*191,000 *6,625 -----
1970....	42,000,000	1.7	*22,800,000 *3,800,000 *370,000	*189,000 *37,800 -----

¹ From assessments paid by approximately 2,000 producers or importers of oil. \$1 equals 3.6 Deutsche marks.

² This percentage represents the aggregate expenses, salaries, supplies, etc. of the total income of the fund to date.

³ Excluding 11 percent turnover tax (Umsatzsteuer), which under German law must also be paid to the disposers from the reserve fund because the payments are made for services rendered.

⁴ For reprocessing.

⁵ For incinerating.

⁶ For extra costs. Extra costs include, in addition to increased payments for especially difficult collection and disposal situations, contributions to disposers toward the price of installing specially developed devices which collect samples of the waste oil disposed of. These samples form the basis, after laboratory testing, for the payments they receive.

⁷ For incinerating. As explained in the text, incinerating waste oil did not get under way until late 1969, thus the large increase in 1970 tonnage.

⁸ For extra costs.

APPENDIX II

(Law Concerning Measures to Assure the Disposal of Waste Oil (Waste Oil Law) of 23 December 1968 (I Bundesgesetzblatt 1419) (translated by Author))

The Federal Parliament has passed the following law:

Part One: The economical assurance of waste oil disposal

§ 1 Reserve Fund.

(1) To assure the economical disposal of waste oil, a special federal fund is created with the name "Reserve Fund for Assuring Disposal of Waste Oil" (Reserve Fund).

(2) The Federal Office for Trade and Industry (Federal Office) is responsible for administering the Reserve Fund. The costs of administration are to be paid from the fund.

(3) The funds may otherwise only be used for payments according to §2(1) of this law.

§ 2 Purpose.

(1) Trade and other economic enterprises as well as public-law juristic persons located within the jurisdiction of the law which dispose of waste oils collected from others according to §3(3) may receive payments for those costs not otherwise covered, if the waste oils are disposed of without harm to waters or soil and if air pollution, from which the general public and the neighborhood should be protected, does not arise. The Federal Minister for Economic Affairs, with the agreement of the Federal Minister for Health Affairs and in consideration of economic factors, shall determine by regulations what disposal methods, including regeneration, and what minimum level of continual payments may be used.

(2) The payments will be made by the Federal Office according to guidelines estab-

lished by the Federal Minister for Economic Affairs. These guidelines should especially insure that:

1. the recipients of the payments obligate themselves to collect the waste oils according to §3 in districts determined by the Federal Office or to prepare for later pick-up;

2. collection and transportation costs are part of the disposal costs;

3. in the payment rates for the individual disposal methods, the costs caused by collection conditions of above-average difficulty shall be specially compensated;

4. the payments at most correspond to the unincurred costs which on the average arise for an enterprise of the same kind;

5. payments for regenerated oil products made from waste oils (re-refined products) are to be paid back insofar as the products are exported to other member nations of the European Economic Community;

6. the requirements of the Reserve Fund are to be kept as low as possible under the previous principles.

(3) The payment rates established by the guidelines shall remain unchanged for the first two years after this law becomes effective; thereafter they may be changed yearly at the beginning of a calendar month after six months prior notice.

(4) The Federal Government shall report to the Federal Parliament on the activity of the Reserve Fund by the 31st of March of every third year, for the first time on March 31, 1972, especially on the possibilities of a reduction of the continued payments (§2(1)) and the compensation tax (§4(2)).

§ 3 Collection of Waste Oil.

(1) Those within the area of validity of this law who possess waste oils may require of the Federal Office that:

1. their waste oils be collected in quantities over 200 liters, insofar as the necessary facilities for the collection and harmless disposal of waste oil exist;

2. for amounts less than 200 liters, later collection will be provided for.

(2) Waste oils within the meaning of §3(1) are used mineral oils and used liquid mineral oil products as well as wastes from storage, business and transportation receptacles containing mineral oil.

(3) Waste oils shall be collected free of charge according to §3(1). The Federal Minister for Economic Affairs is empowered to issue regulations concerning:

1. the identification and measurement of the collected materials;

2. the permissible proportion of foreign substances, which may not exceed fifteen percent.

(4) Quantities of foreign substances in excess of the permissible proportion (§13(3) Number 2) shall be picked up for a fee. The fee shall correspond to the price list filed with the Federal Office by enterprises obligated to collect waste oils.

(5) Those possessing waste oils remain liable for harm caused by failure to notify others of foreign substances in the waste oils.

§ 4 The Compensation Tax.

(1) The Reserve Fund shall be supported by a compensation tax.

(2) The following dutiable goods:

1. Lubricating oils from Number 27.10-C-III of the customs tariff schedule;

2. gas oils from Number 27.10-C-I of the customs tariff schedule, to the extent they are used as lubricating oils;

3. greases with their heavy oil components; are all subject to the compensation tax insofar as they are subject to the compensation tax insofar as they are subject to the oil tax according to the Oil Tax Law of 1964 as published on 20 December 1963 (I Bundesgesetzblatt 1003) and last amended by the Law Amending Penal Provisions of the Federal Tax Law and other Laws of 10 August 1967 (I Bundesgesetzblatt 877). The compensation tax amounts to 7.50 Deutsche

marks per 100 kilograms of dutiable goods. The Federal Minister for Economic Affairs is empowered to reduce the compensation tax rate by regulation to the extent that the requirements of the Reserve Fund allow.

(3) The liability for the compensation tax arises when the oil tax liability for the dutiable goods becomes unconditional.

(4) The compensation tax is payable by the person liable for the oil tax.

(5) If dutiable goods are withheld or withdrawn from customs supervision the compensation tax is due immediately. Otherwise the person liable for the compensation tax must pay the amount which has accrued during the course of a calendar month no later than the 10th of the second month following without being requested to do so.

(6) The compensation tax is collected by the Federal Office. The Federal Minister for Economic Affairs is empowered to issue by regulation the required provisions concerning the levying and collection of the compensation tax. Customs officials shall provide the Federal Office with the information necessary for the administration of the compensation tax and shall make the required documents available to the Federal Office.

§ 5 Information.

(1) The person liable for the compensation tax must furnish the Federal Office the information and documents needed for the implementation of this law and the regulations issued under it.

(2) Employees and agents of the Federal Office and employees of the customs administration are authorized within the scope of § 5(1) to check dutiable goods, to enter property, business installations and offices, and, for the prevention of imminent danger to public safety and order, also the living quarters of the person required to furnish information, to make inspections and tests there and examine business records of the person required to furnish information. The basic right of Article 13 of the Constitution concerning the inviolability of a residence is to this extent limited.

(3) The person required to furnish information may refuse to do so for questions whose answers would expose himself or one of the relatives listed in § 383(1) Numbers 1-3 of the Civil Procedure Law to the danger of criminal prosecution or a proceeding under the Law Concerning Violations of Regulations.

(4) If a person required to provide information refuses to furnish information or relevant documents according to § 5(1), the Federal Office may establish the conclusions necessary for determining the compensation tax by way of estimates.

Part Two: Supervising the location of waste oil

§ 6 The Duty to Keep Records.

(1) Trade and other economic enterprises must keep a record book for each business in which at least 500 kilograms of waste oils within the meaning of § 6 (2) accumulate or in which a yearly accumulation of waste oils of this amount may be reckoned with. The same applies to trade and other economic enterprises which accept at least this amount yearly of waste oils of this kind. The official responsible under state law may upon application

1. approve centralized maintenance of records in a main office if the supervision of the whereabouts of the waste oils will not be thereby disadvantaged;

2. relieve one of the duty to keep a record book if, because of its nature and management, the enterprise can be adequately supervised without a record book.

(2) Waste oils within the meaning of this provision are those substances named in § 3 (2), insofar as

1. their collection is not required under § 3 (1);

2. they are mixed with foreign substances

whose amounts exceed the permissible proportion under § 3 (3) Number 2.

(3) The kind, amount and whereabouts of the waste oils are to be continually entered in the record books. The details concerning the set-up and keeping of the record book, the retaining of receipts and the periods of safekeeping of the records shall be governed by regulations issued by the Federal Minister for Health Affairs in cooperation with the Federal Minister of Economic Affairs.

§ 7 Supervision.

(1) Trade and other economic enterprises as well as public law juristic persons which accumulate waste oils within the meaning of § 3 (2) or accept waste oils of this kind must upon request furnish the official responsible under state law the information required to supervise the whereabouts of the waste oils. § 5 (3) applies accordingly.

(2) The persons commissioned by the responsible official with gathering information are authorized within the scope of § 7 (1) to enter property, installations, and business offices and, for the prevention of imminent danger to public safety and order, also the living quarters of the person required to furnish information, to make tests and inspections there, to take samples, and to examine the business records of the person required to furnish information. The basic right of Article 13 of the Constitution concerning the inviolability of a residence is to this extent limited.

(3) Record books and receipts under § 6 must be presented or delivered upon request to responsible officials for examination.

(4) The information and documents obtained under § 7 (1), (2), and (3) may not be used in a tax proceeding, a criminal proceeding involving a tax offense or a fine proceeding involving a tax violation. The provisions of §§ 175, 179, 188(1) and 189 of the Federal Tax Law concerning the duties to assist and give notice to the financial authorities do not apply to this extent.

§ 8 Exception.

(1) §§ 6 and 7 of this law do not apply.

1. to lake and river transport businesses;

2. to the Federal Railways and the Federal Post Office;

3. to federal installations which serve sovereign purposes and do not fall within § 28(1) Number 2.

(2) The Federal Minister for Traffic is empowered, in agreement with the Federal Minister for Health Affairs, to issue regulations with provisions for lake and river transport concerning the collection of the waste oils named in § 3 (2) from watercraft and floating installations, in particular concerning

(1) the duty to deliver waste oils at specific intervals to an enterprise obligated to collect (§ 3) or to a collection place approved by a responsible official;

2. the record of delivery and the safekeeping of these records; and

3. the supervision of the collection and delivery of the waste oils.

(3) The International Treaty on the Prevention of the Pollution of the Sea by Oil of 1954 as well as the legal provisions promulgated in accordance with the Law Concerning the International Treaty on the Prevention of the Pollution of the Sea by Oil of 1954 of 21 March 1954 (II *Bundesgesetzblatt* 379) remain undisturbed.

Part Three: Penalty and fine provisions

§ 9 Breach of Professional Secrecy.

(1) Anyone who reveals without authorization another's secret, especially a trade or business secret, which became known to him in his capacity as employee or agent of one of the officials assigned a duty on the basis of this law will be punished by imprisonment up to one year or a fine or both.

(2) If the perpetrator acts for money or with the intention to enrich himself or an-

other or to injure another, the penalty may be up to two years' imprisonment; in addition a fine may be imposed. These punishments also apply to one who converts another's secret, especially a trade or business secret, which became known to him under the conditions of § 9 (1), into money without authorization.

(3) The crime will only be prosecuted upon application of the party injured.

§ 10 Imposition of Fines.

(1) It is a violation of a regulation intentionally or negligently to

1. fail to keep a record book, contrary to § 6(1);

2. fail to furnish information or fail to furnish it correctly, completely or timely, contrary to § 7(1);

3. refuse to permit tests, inspections, the examination of business records or the taking of samples, contrary to § 7(2);

4. fail to present or deliver record books or receipts, contrary to § 7(3); or

5. contravene a regulation issued on the basis of § 6(3) or § 8(2), if it imposes a fine governed by this section on particular acts or omissions.

(2) A violation of regulations may be punished with a fine of up to 10,000 Deutsche marks.

Part Four: Transition and concluding provisions

§ 11 Transition Provisions.

(1) Dutiable goods (§ 4(2)) for which the oil tax became unconditional before this law became effective are subject to the compensation tax, with the exception of those which are in the hands of consumers, service stations or auto repair shops. The tax liability arises when the law becomes effective. The person who is liable for the tax is the possessor of the goods. For goods en route the liability transfers to the recipient with the transfer of ownership.

(2) The person liable for the tax must declare the dutiable goods to the Federal Office in writing within four weeks after this law becomes effective. Payment of the tax is due without request four weeks after the declaration; for goods not properly declared it is due at the expiration of the declaration period.

§ 12 Validity in the State of Berlin.

This law is valid according to § 13(1) of the Third Transition Law of 4 January 1952 (I *Bundesgesetzblatt* 1) in the State of Berlin also. Regulations issued on the basis of this law are valid in the State of Berlin according to § 14 of the Third Transition Law.

§ 13 Effectiveness of the Law.

(1) § 3 (1), (2), (3) Sentence 1, and (4) become effective 1 July 1969. § 6(1) becomes effective on the first day of the calendar year following the publication of the regulations based on § 6(3).

(2) Otherwise this law becomes effective on 1 January 1969.

FOOTNOTES

* A.B., J.D., University of Michigan. Mr. Irwin is presently completing a study on the law and administration of effluent charges in several European countries on a grant from the Council on Law-Related Studies, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

* * Secretary General-elect, Interparliamentarische Arbeitsgemeinschaft (Interparliamentary Working Center), Bonn, Germany; Chairman, Committee on Environmental Law, International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources.

¹ See Baldwin, *The Santa Barbara Oil Spill, in LAW AND THE ENVIRONMENT* 5-47 (M. Baldwin & J. Page, Jr. eds. 1970).

² The Environmental Protection Agency has released figures indicating that sixty-seven percent of all oil pollution in the waters of the world is caused by used motor and industrial oil, while tanker accidents and normal

offshore drilling operations contribute a combined total of only four percent of all the water pollution caused by oil. Zeldin, *Oil Pollution* (Audubon Black Paper No. 1), Audubon, May, 1971, at 99.

³ ZoBell, *The Occurrence, Effects and the Fate of Oil Polluting the Sea*, 7 AIR AND WATER POLLUTION 173, 185 (1963).

⁴ J. Hopmans, Das Problem der Aufarbeitung von Altoel in den Mitgliedstaaten der europäischen Wirtschaftsgemeinschaft (The Problem of the Disposal of Waste Oil in the Member Nations of the European Economic Community) app. III (unpublished report contracted for by the EEC, 1968).

Continuing this calculation to its conclusion, one reaches the staggering figure of 114 billion gallons of water depleted of dissolved oxygen. See ZoBell, *supra* note 3.

⁵ See E. PHELPS, *STREAM SANITATION* (1944).

⁶ Knorr, *Ueber Mineralöl und seine Produkte im Grundwasser* (Mineral Oil and its Products in Ground Water), 1957 WATER 41.

⁷ W. Zimmermann, Pollution of Water and Soil by Miscellaneous Petroleum Products, at B60-B61 (General Report No. 2, International Water Supply Congress & Exhibition, Stockholm, June 15 to 19, 1964, published by the International Water Supply Association, 34, Park Street, London W.1, England).

⁸ J. Hopmans, *supra* note 4, at 9-11.

⁹ *Id.* at 12.

¹⁰ A phenol is defined as "a caustic, poisonous, white, crystalline compound, C_6H_5OH , derived from benzene and used in various resins, plastics, disinfectants and pharmaceuticals. Also called 'carbolic acid'." THE AMERICAN HERITAGE DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE 983 (1969).

¹¹ J. Hopmans, *supra* note 4, at 12.

¹² K. Reimann, Die Schädlichkeit von Oel- und Teerprodukten fuer niedere Wasserorganismen (The Danger of Oil and Tar Products for Lower Water Organisms), Oele und Detergentien im Wasser und Abwasser (Oils and Detergents in Water and Wastewater), 1962 (Volume 9 of the reports of the Muenchener Beitrage zur Abwasser-, Fischerei- und Flussbiologie (Munich Conference on the Biology of Wastewater, Fisheries and Rivers)).

¹³ J. Hopmans, *supra* note 4, at 12.

¹⁴ Hettche, *Hygienische Fragen zum gesteigerten Mineralölverbrauch* (Health Issues in the Increased Use of Oil), 1960 GESUNDHEITS-INGENIEUR 81.

¹⁵ J. Hopmans, *supra* note 4, at 13. Cf., W. Zimmermann, *supra* note 7, at B53-B54.

"The presence of carcinogens in water has been proved by Borneff in a series of excellent experiments. Borneff's research on surface waters (middle-Rhine, Lake of Constance and other areas) involved the contents of benzyprylene, benzothiazene and dibenzanthrazene. These substances were found in water as well as in top-soil cultures and in dust collected from city streets. Statistical data show that adults drinking purified surface water take with the drinking water between 0.1 and 1 mg. carcinogenic hydrocarbons per year, which, obviously to the most part, originate from oil-containing industrial waste waters. In tests on mice the carcinogenic result of benzyprylenes added to the drinking water was strengthened by detergents.

See Borneff, *Mausefuetterungsversuche mit 3, 4-Benzpyren, Mineralöl und Tensiden* (Mouse-feeding Experiments with 3, 4 Benzpyrene, Mineral Oil and Tensiden), 147 ARCHIV FÜR HYGIENE 28 (1963).

¹⁶ Mann, *Geschmacksbeeinflussung bei Fischen aus dem Hamburger Hafengebiet* (The Influence on the Taste of Fish from the Area of the Hamburg Harbor), 1951 STAEDTEHYGIENE 123.

¹⁷ For a good brief technical survey, see W. Zimmermann, *supra* note 7, at B38-B54.

¹⁸ Knickmann, *Pflanzenschaden durch Oelverschmutzung von Boden und Wasser*

(Damage to Plants by Oil Pollution of Soil and Water), 1960 UMSCHAU 118.

¹⁹ See Foster, *Hydrocarbons as Substrates for Micro-organisms*, 28 ANTONIE VAN LEEUWENHOEK 241 (1962).

²⁰ Gratschewa, *Zur Verunreinigung von Grundwaessern mit festen Abfallstoffen aus der industriellen Produktion* (Pollution of Ground Waters with Solid Wastes from Industrial Production), 35 GIGIENA I SANITARIA 101 (1970).

²¹ See A. KNEESE & B. BOWER, *MANAGING WATER QUALITY: ECONOMICS, TECHNOLOGY, INSTITUTIONS* 86 (1968).

²² Kruse, *Die Sicherung der Altoelbeseitigung* (Insuring the Disposal of Waste Oil), 1970 KORRESPONDENZ ABWASSER 9.

²³ Interview with Mr. F. Kruse of the Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs, in Bonn, Apr. 8, 1971.

²⁴ J. Hopmans, *supra* note 4, at 1. The conversion rates employed in this article are \$1 = 4 DM before 1969 and \$1 = 3.6 DM thereafter. After the May 1971 monetary crisis the Deutsche Mark was allowed to "float" and \$1 became worth slightly less than 3.6 DM.

²⁵ Interview with Mr. Kruse, *supra* note 23.

²⁶ These articles proscribe subsidies and tariffs whose effect is to hinder competition among the member nations of the EEC. Article 92 provides in part:

"[A]ny aid . . . which distorts or threatens to distort competition by favouring certain enterprises or certain products shall, to the extent to which it adversely affects trade between Member States, be deemed incompatible with the Common Market."

Treaty Establishing the European Economic Community (Treaty of Rome), Mar. 25, 1957, art. 92, § 1, 298 U.N.T.S. 1, 51. Article 95 states in part:

"A Member State shall not impose on the products of other Member States any internal charges of such a nature as to afford indirect protection to other products."

Id. art. 95, U.N.T.S. at 53.

²⁷ J. Hopmans, *supra* note 4, at 1.

²⁸ *Id.* at 14. France experienced a severe oil shortage during the 1956 Suez crisis. N.Y. Times, Nov. 17, 1958, at 6, col. 4; *id.*, Dec. 1, 1956, at col. 4; *id.*, Dec. 18, 1956, at 10, col. 3.

²⁹ J. Hopmans, *supra* note 4, at 2. Italy asserts the applicability of the legal principle of *non bis in idem*, (literally, not twice for the same), a civil law principle corresponding to the common law's proscription of double jeopardy. Tax lawyers in some other EEC countries argue that the principle is not applicable in this situation. *Id.*

³⁰ *Id.* at 1.

³¹ In October 1970, a written inquiry, No. 33/70, was sent to the Council of the EEC asking when the harmonization announced in 1964 would be implemented. No answer had been received by mid-April 1971.

³² J. Hopmans, *supra* note 4, at 3.

³³ In 1963, 35,000 tons of waste oil were disposed of by unaccounted-for means, most likely in sand and gravel pits, garbage dumps, or into sewer systems. In 1965, the amount was 51,000 tons. Czychowski & Häring, *Directions for Indemnified Disposal of Waste Oil*, 1969 WASSER UND BODEN 120. Cf., W. Zimmerman, *supra* note 7, at B30:

"The disposal of oily wastes by throwing them into drainage inlets, dustbins, on waste ground, on refuse-tips or directly into a nearby stretch of water is still thought to be the simplest and cheapest way of getting rid of them. The increasing amount of oil traces found in urban sewage water can only be explained by the fact that used oil is discharged into the sewer by households, industrial plant, garages, etc. In Baden-Baden (Germany) for instance, it has been ascertained that frequently up to 1 ton of oil flows from the sewer system in a 12-hour period."

³⁴ Cf., recent articles arguing that tax incentives are also inadequate, e.g., Reitze &

Reitze, *Tax Incentives Don't Stop Pollution*, 57 A.B.A.J. 127 (1971); Roberts, *River Basin Authorities: A National Solution to Water Pollution*, 83 HARV. L. REV. 1527, 1530-37 (1970).

³⁵ Czychowski & Häring, *supra* note 33, at 120.

³⁶ Gesetz ueber Massnahmen zur Sicherung der Altoelbeseitigung (Law Concerning Measures to Assure the Disposal of Waste Oil), [1968] BGBl. I 1419. An unofficial translation of the law is provided in Appendix II, which may be referred to for the sections cited in subsequent footnotes.

³⁷ *Id.*, § 1(1).

³⁸ *Id.*, § 4.

³⁹ *Id.*, § 1(2).

⁴⁰ *Id.*, § 2(1).

⁴¹ *Id.*, § 2(2)-2.

⁴² *Id.*, § 2(3)-3.

⁴³ *Id.*, § 2(1). Depositing waste oil at approved places was allowed as a transition measure until December 31, 1970. For a discussion of the incinerating firms' difficulties in meeting air pollution emission limits, see text at note 68, *infra*.

⁴⁴ *Id.*, § 3.

⁴⁵ *Id.*, § 3(1)-2.

⁴⁶ *Id.*, § 3(4). The law allows the Minister for Economic Affairs to set the percentage of foreign matter at up to fifteen percent. *Id.* § 3(3)-2. He fixed it at ten percent.

⁴⁷ *Id.*, § 3(5).

⁴⁸ See note 38 and accompanying text *supra*.

⁴⁹ Law Concerning Measures to Assure the Disposal of Waste Oil, § 5(1), [1968] BGBl. I 1419. Cf. *id.* § 4(2).

⁵⁰ *Id.*, § 5(4).

⁵¹ *Id.*, § 5(2).

⁵² *Id.*, § 5(3).

⁵³ *Id.*, §§ 4(2), 4(6).

⁵⁴ *Id.*, § 6.

⁵⁵ The federal post office and railways, as well as military installations, are exempted from the duty to keep records. *Id.* § 8(1)-2.

⁵⁶ *Id.*, §§ 7(1), 7(3).

⁵⁷ *Id.*, § 7(2).

⁵⁸ *Id.*, § 6(1)-2.

⁵⁹ *Id.*, § 10.

⁶⁰ *Id.*, § 7(4). The constitutionality of such provisions is currently being debated within governmental circles in Germany. The Minister of Finance has recently recommended that all such provisions be repealed. Interview with Mr. Kruse, *supra* note 23.

⁶¹ *Id.*, § 9.

⁶² *Id.*, § 3(2).

⁶³ Czychowski & Häring, *supra* note 33, at 121.

⁶⁴ Law Concerning Measures to Assure the Disposal of Waste Oil, § 5(1), [1968] BGBl. I 1419.

⁶⁵ *Id.*, §§ 2(3), 2(4).

⁶⁶ The information in this section was largely provided by Dr. Jochen Krüger of the Ministry for Economic Affairs in an interview, in Bonn, Dec. 28, 1970.

⁶⁷ See Appendix I, *infra*. The information was obtained in the interview with Dr. Krüger, *supra*, note 66. The table comprising Appendix I, *infra*, was compiled by the authors.

⁶⁸ These processes, however, do produce wastewaters which must be treated. So far, the refineries have been relatively successful in meeting the effluent standards imposed by state water officials.

⁶⁹ Law Concerning Measures to Assure the Disposal of Waste Oils, § 6(3), [1968] BGBl. I 1417.

⁷⁰ The states have excused their tardiness by arguing that it is pointless to select supervisory officials before the industry record books that they are to inspect become available.

⁷¹ Oil industry representatives (from the Mineralwirtschaftsverband) made several attempts to persuade representatives of the Interparliamentary Working Center, the Fed-

eral Ministry for Economic Affairs and the Federal Parliament itself that the collection system embodied in the draft Waste Oil Law should be changed.

At the outset the oil representatives argued that regenerating waste oil should not be encouraged as a matter of public policy at all because the availability of reprocessed products would reduce the demand for the importation and production of fresh oil. Only a few countries, however, are still reluctant to prefer protection of public health and the environment over insuring the health of the oil industry or the build-up of raw material stores, and Germany is not one of them.

Oil representatives next argued that the people who have waste oil should pay to leave it at service stations or have it collected. The proposed system was unfair, they said, because it would make the oil producers and importers bear the costs of collection and disposal rather than those who actually use the oil. The response to this argument was that nothing would prevent the oil companies from passing along the expense of the compensation tax in the form of higher prices for their products, and that experience had indicated that a system that relies solely on people consciously bearing the effort and expense of disposing of their waste oil is inadequate. Furthermore, it would be administratively impossible to collect the users' payments for the Reserve Fund from thousands of service stations and collectors. See File No. II/642 at the offices of the Inter-parliamentary Working Center, Adenauerallee 214, 53 Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany.

⁷² Kruse, *supra* note 22, at 11.

⁷³ Czychowski & Häringer, *supra* note 33, at 120. Cf. Häringer, *Gefährliche Verunreinigung der Gewässer durch Mineralölabfälle und ähnliche Stoffe (Dangerous Pollution of Waters by Oil Wastes and Similar Substances)* 1968 KORRESPONDENZ ABWASSER 1.

⁷⁴ Not all of this increase can be attributed to an increase in consumption. In 1970, payments for safe disposal of waste oil were made for nearly 30,000 more tons than in 1969. By no means can all of the increase be attributed to expanded use of oil. See Appendix I, *infra*.

⁷⁵ Of particular concern is Lake Constance, which is the major source of water supply for cities as far away as Stuttgart.

⁷⁶ As an inadvertent defect in a system which promotes the regeneration of waste oil, service stations are prevented by their contracts with the large oil companies from selling regenerated oil. A consumer, however, can save up to half the price of his new motor oil by buying reprocessed oil in a department store rather than paying for fresh name-brand oil at a service station.

⁷⁷ A special cooperative association collects bilge water from the 8,000 boats on the Rhine by transferring the bilge water to a refinery for reprocessing and shares with the refinery the payments it receives from the federal office. Similar arrangements are being made for other rivers. See J. Hopmans, *supra* note 4, at 25-26, app. IV.

⁷⁸ Cf. note 76 *supra*.

⁷⁹ Law Concerning Measures to Assure the Disposal of Waste Oils, § 6(1), [1968] BGBl. I 1419.

⁸⁰ Interview with Mr. Kruse, *supra* note 23.

⁸¹ See generally ENVIRONMENT ACTION BULLETIN, Apr. 17, 1971, at 2-3.

⁸² Rainwater runoff washes some of this into the nation's surface waters. *Id.*

⁸³ Given the porous nature of skin, it is reasonable to assume that the toxic metals found in oil will eventually find their way into the food supply. The Food and Drug Administration should be concerned.

⁸⁴ Dumping into sewers creates problems, such as fires and fouling of the operation at sewage treatment facilities. ENVIRONMENT ACTION BULLETIN, Apr. 17, 1971, at 2.

⁸⁵ Oil dumped onto the ground, as in city dumps or open areas, eventually makes its way to streams, lakes, and fields.

⁸⁶ The U.S. federal government has exacerbated the problem: its red tape in labeling procedures has forced some refineries out of business. Also, free pickup service has declined. ENVIRONMENT ACTION BULLETIN, Apr. 17, 1971, at 2. Besides federal failure to act, few states have initiated control programs. Maryland is one of the few states that has begun to move toward regulation. The Maryland public health engineers have issued a report recommending the establishment of a system for collection, transportation, refining or reprocessing, and reuse of waste oils. 2 BNA ENVIRONMENT REP.—CURRENT 295 (1971).

⁸⁷ The ratio stated is offered by Harold Bernard, a section chief of the Federal Water Quality Office of the Environmental Protection Agency.

"One-hundred gallons of oil can easily form a slick in a river that will require significant efforts to clean up. . . . [C]leaning up such a slick may cost \$1,000. That's \$10 per gallon for a waste product that costs about five cents a gallon to dispose of in an acceptable manner [picked up by a used-oil truck]."

ENVIRONMENT ACTION BULLETIN, Apr. 17, 1971, at 2.

⁸⁸ ME. REV. ANN. tit. 38, § 551 (1970).

⁸⁹ *Id.* § 545. An oil terminal facility is defined as "any facility of any kind and related appurtenances, located in, on or under the surface of any land or water, including submerged lands, which is used or capable of being used for the purpose of transferring, processing or refining oil, petroleum products and their by-products, or for the purpose of storing the same, but does not include any facility used or capable of being used to store no more than 500 barrels, nor any facility not engaged in the transfer of oil, petroleum products or their by-products to or from tidal waters of the State." *Id.* § 542.7.

⁹⁰ *Id.* § 551.

⁹¹ *Id.* § 551.4.

⁹² *Id.* § 551.5.

⁹³ *Id.* § 541.

⁹⁴ Oil, petroleum products and their by-products, discharges of which are absolutely prohibited, are defined as "oil of any kind and in any form including, but not limited to, petroleum, fuel oil, sludge, oil refuse, oil mixed with other wastes, crude oils and all other liquid hydrocarbons regardless of specific gravity." *Id.* § 542.6. "Discharge" means "any spilling, leaking, pumping, pouring, emitting, emptying or dumping." *Id.* § 542.4.

⁹⁵ Such facilities do not fall within the definition of "oil terminal facility." See note 89, *supra*.

⁹⁶ The discharge of oil, petroleum products or their by-products into or upon any coastal waters, estuaries, tidal flats, beaches and lands adjoining the seacoast of the State, or into any river, stream, sewer, surface water drain or other waters that drain into the coastal waters of the State is prohibited.

ME. REV. STAT. ANN. tit. 38, § 543 (1970).

SOVIETS FIGHTING WATER POLLUTION

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, some years back the Soviet Union lofted its first Sputnik into space and Americans were sorely embarrassed to find that their country was lagging behind the

U.S.S.R. in space exploration. Under the leadership of President Kennedy, the United States reacted and in due course we overcame the Soviet's lead and went on to our highly successful program of Moon landings.

I cite this bit of history only to make the point that the United States apparently is in another race with the Soviet Union—and that is a race to clean up our waterways. Surely we do not want to allow the Soviet Union to move ahead of us in this all-important environmental effort.

The New York Times of March 18, 1972, carried a report from Moscow outlining a new Russian effort to combat river pollution. I would like to share this information with my colleagues and, therefore, I insert the text of the New York Times article to appear at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

ONE BILLION DOLLAR SOVIET PROGRAM TO COMBAT RIVER POLLUTION

(By Theodore Shabad)

Moscow, March 17.—The Soviet leadership, evidently concerned over growing pollution of the nation's waters, today unveiled a billion-dollar pollution-control program expected to affect a third of the population.

A combined decree of the ruling Communist party's Central Committee and the Soviet Government called for construction of waste-treatment plants and strict enforcement of control measures in the entire drainage basins of the Volga and Ural Rivers.

The Volga is to Russia what the Mississippi is to the United States, draining the nation's heartland, with much of its industrial and farm potential and population. The Ural River, to the southeast, carries water from the heavily industrialized Urals region.

MAJOR DRAINAGE SYSTEMS

The two drainage systems cover roughly a third of the area of the European part of the Soviet Union with a population of about 80 million out of a national total of 245 million.

The latest decree, the most wide-ranging pollution-control program made public here, appears to reflect a quickened pace of control measures designed to save the nation's water supply in the most heavily populated areas from depletion.

Public attention in the past has focused mainly on the problem of Lake Baikal, a huge lake in southern Siberia whose unusually pure water and rare plant and animal life were threatened by waste discharges from a wood-pulp complex on its shore.

There has not been much public discussion in the controlled Soviet press about the more serious pollution problem in the industrial regions of European Russia. The decree today, coming to grips with that problem, was apparently decided upon without broad public participation.

Soviet water-resources experts, writing in technical journals, have been warning that the continued heavy withdrawals of water for industrial and municipal uses, combined with the discharge of untreated wastes, would soon endanger the clean water supply of the economic heartland.

The adoption of the pollution-control directive suggested that policymakers tend to be responsive to the counsel of scientists on key domestic issues.

The program aims basically at the construction of 421 industrial-waste treatment plants at a combined cost of 700 million rubles, or \$850-million, and 15 municipal plants at a cost of 300 million rubles, or \$360-million, over the four-year period 1972-75.

By 1980, according to the directive, the discharge of all untreated wastes into the

Volga and Ural river basins is to be prohibited.

STRICT ENFORCEMENT ORDERED

The Committee of People's Control, watchdog agency, has been charged with enforcing the measures and holding violators "strictly responsible." There has been some question about the efficacy of pollution-control measures in the Soviet Union, where all industry is Government-run and one Government agency in effect would be penalizing another.

According to the announcement, 670 waste-treatment installations with a combined capacity of 800 million gallons a day were built in the Volga and Ural drainage basins over the last five years. The total capacity of water-recycling systems, which significantly reduce the amount of water drawn from streams, has risen to 20 billion gallons a day, the decree said.

As a result, the discharge of untreated industrial wastes, including oil products, chemicals, copper and zinc compounds, was said to have declined. However, the statement added, "A substantial amount of untreated and inadequately treated wastes" continues to pollute the drainage basins.

The Volga and the Ural Rivers empty into the Caspian Sea, a vast inland lake whose water level has been dropping recently, partly because of increasing withdrawals from tributary rivers. By ordering a reduction in consumption, the decree also sought to alleviate the Caspian problem indirectly.

Specific measures ordered in the announcement included the collection of bilge water and ballast water from river vessels instead of the discharge of such wastes into streams and the construction of riverside plants for their treatment.

The Government is to establish specialized construction agencies in areas that require the building of large numbers of treatment plants. The Materials Supply Agency, which controls distribution of equipment, was ordered to provide construction projects with all essential supplies. Design agencies were given the task of improving waste-treatment techniques to reduce the discharge of pollutants into receiving waters to a minimum.

HAPPY COMPROMISE?

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, there is an urgent need in our country for more and better trained medical personnel. They are needed in order to raise the quality of medical care in our country. Yet, we have an example, in my State of California, of funds for improved medical training facilities at the University of California being cut by the State Board of Regents in a more political than practical or responsible fashion.

The regents are supposed to be an independent body, free from political pressure. But here we see them yielding to Governor Reagan's wishes.

The following editorial in the Fresno Bee of March 2, 1972, expresses my thoughts on this matter of concern to students of medicine in California and to the general population who want better and more widespread medical care in the future. I would like to share it with my colleagues by reprinting it herein.

The editorial follows:

FOR UNIVERSITY, "HAPPY COMPROMISE" IS PLEASING GOV. RONALD REAGAN

In an Orwellian statement UC President Charles J. Hitch called it a "happy compromise" when the UC Regents trimmed a proposed \$294 million bond issue for medical buildings and equipment nearly in half to tailor it to Gov. Ronald Reagan's specifications.

What is so happy about a compromise which means the University of California will be graduating 30 per cent fewer doctors annually than the proposed bond issue would have provided for?

For the University of California at Davis the "happy compromise" means a third medical building—needed before there can be a substantial increase in the number of medical students at Davis—will have to wait until at least 1976 and probably longer.

For the San Joaquin Valley pleasing the governor dims even further the hope for a badly needed UC medical center in that part of the state. The \$294 million bond issue would have included planning money for a new campus, either in the San Joaquin Valley or in Berkeley.

The regents presented the splitting of the bond issue into two parts to obtain the governor's endorsement as a great victory for the university and the people of California in their effort to train more doctors.

It was the sour victory a school boy with two cookies in his lunch box achieves when the big kid in the school yard lets him keep one of them.

The regents' action, taken with the full approval of the university officials, illustrates once again the hold the governor has on what once was an independent Board of Regents governing what once was an independent university.

For the most part the regents are more than willing to do what the governor wants, while the university officials appear afraid of the governor's power to destroy the institution. This attitude indicates they have decided unless they get the governor's blessing on any significant public action, no matter how necessary or beneficial for the students or the people of California, the action is doomed from the start.

The part of the regents' agreement with Reagan to offer a second medical bond issue for \$138 million to the voters in 1976, two years after the governor's term expires, indicates they think Reagan's power to help or hurt the university will remain long after he leaves office.

Instead of knuckling under to the governor, the regents, set up in the state constitution as an independent body, free from political pressure, should think of what is best for the university and steadfastly pursue that goal.

THE LATE HONORABLE JAMES W. TRIMBLE

SPEECH OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 15, 1972

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, the death of our former colleague, Jim Trimble, is mourned by all who knew him. He served many years in the Congress. A hard worker, he was devoted to his own district, its economy and the development of its resources. In a broader sense Jim always supported a strong national defense. Always honest and sincere, he

voted his own convictions, in the light of what he believed was best for the country.

Jim Trimble was an honorable man in every sense of the word. Always affable and agreeable, he was universally respected by those with whom he served. To many of us he was a personal friend.

To his surviving family I extend my profound sympathy in their bereavement.

RICHARD J. WEBB, A VOICE OF FREEDOM

HON. FERNAND J. ST GERMAIN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. ST GERMAIN. Mr. Speaker, Rhode Island's winning entry in the Veterans of Foreign Wars' annual Voice of Democracy contest was a speech of unusual insight and imagination.

Mr. Richard J. Webb, 16, of Barrington, R.I., has grasped the real meaning of this year's contest theme, "My Responsibility to Freedom." An outstanding student at Barrington High School, he has used his literary and debate skills to full advantage.

I am honored to place this speech in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

SPEECH OF RICHARD J. WEBB

Mom! Hey, Mom—Where does our freedom stop? No, I've got to do this essay for history and the question was, "Where does an American's freedom end?" When he breaks a law and gets put in jail? Yeah, okay, thanks Mom. Hmmm—that's true, I guess, but I've got a feeling I can come up with something better! I don't exactly have to break a law to have freedom taken away from me. I mean, look at Roger Williams. He wasn't breaking a law when he wanted religious freedom, but the Puritans kicked him right out of Massachusetts for it, so he had to go start Rhode Island. And in the news, when those kids were demonstrating. They didn't break a law, but the policemen told them to go somewhere else. Hey, wait a minute! They didn't break a law, but what about those other kids who weren't demonstrating? They couldn't get to classes, some of them, and it was too noisy to study. I bet that's the reason they got kicked out. Yeah, and "majority rules . . ." I know about that! There was only a couple of hundred guys demonstrating, I think, but there were lots and lots more who weren't, so it wasn't fair to the majority.

Now, back to this paper. Where did I hear it, "one man's freedom ends where another man's freedom begins"? Oh, I don't remember, but it's still a good way to start. One man's freedom ends where another man's freedom begins. Mmm . . . we've got a responsibility to the other people in our country, and each one of them has a responsibility to try and preserve the freedom that our fathers fought for as best they can. Each one of us has that responsibility to freedom. The thing is, however, no one can be taught responsibility to anything, let alone to freedom. How could anyone get all upset if I decided tomorrow that an intangible ideal like freedom just wasn't worth the worry—wasn't worth that responsibility. How can I understand that I'm responsible for the freedom I supposedly have if I can't even conceptualize freedom. The Constitution says I've got lots of freedoms, that they're guar-

anted to me because I'm a citizen of the United States. What would it be like without my guaranteed freedoms? I don't know! That's even more difficult to visualize than the freedoms themselves. Maybe I can't really see the freedoms I've got, but I know they're there, and I know everybody tells me what a good thing it is to have them. When I'm older, they say, I'll understand. *I hope so.*

Good job, Dave. I liked the way you questioned freedom by pointing out that it's intangible. I think you could have drawn a better conclusion, a better reason for that responsibility to freedom, however, other than that older people tell you it's important. Your decision that freedom relies on individual and collective responsibility was a very good point. Your ideas were all there, though I think you could have developed them more, continuing to say, perhaps, that this responsibility to freedom is why we're not supposed to infringe upon the rights of others. If each person tries to fulfill his responsibility and is careful not to abuse the rights of others and the rights that are given to him in addition, I think we'll be that much closer to a peaceful existence.

THE ROLES OF WOMEN

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, the busy life of today's American housewife is exemplified in the following article written by Detroit Free Press staff writer, David Wilkening. Mrs. Grace Deitemyer, mother of six boys, is daily cast in the roles of wife, mother, wage-earner, economist, and student. Her struggle to clothe and feed her children, lend moral encouragement to her out-of-work-but-looking husband, even down to elbowing her way to the half-priced food cans at the supermarket, is typical of mothers of thousands of middle-class families trying to make ends meet. It is the cumulative hopes of all these women for a better life for their families that enables all Americans to look forward to brighter tomorrows.

The article follows:

ONE AMERICAN MOM'S DAY-AFTER-DAY MAGIC (By David Wilkening)

The food store opens at 9 a.m. Strolling through the glass doors a few seconds later is this mild-mannered, quick-stepping housewife: Mrs. Grace Deitemyer.

With determination in her eyes, she immediately walks toward the shopping cart with the half price cans.

"I'm getting real good at elbowing my way up there," she says, smiling, amused at this image of herself. "I've also learned to spot the big juice cans at the bottom of the cart. Of course, I'm careful to select only the cans that are absolutely safe—no bulging or rusty ones ever."

With what might be called the "half-price-can philosophy" of buying food, Mrs. Deitemyer serves well-balanced meals to a family of eight for a surprisingly small sum: \$25 to \$30 a week.

It's not only her determination to eat cheaply, however, that makes Mrs. Deitemyer a "model" suburban housewife. It's also the way she organizes her large family, and her pace of activity.

For much of the past four years, she has combined the two roles of running a large household with a full-time secretarial job. The job was necessary to help send her husband through college.

Even now, with Dale graduated but unable to find a full-time job, Mrs. Deitemyer takes care of six sons. Babysits for three other children in the morning. Supervises a lunchroom at the school on the corner. Works as a secretary from 12:45 to 6:15 p.m. And takes a shorthand course at night.

She does it with a certain amount of humor.

Around 10 a.m. one weekday, with three children playing in the living room floor of her Ann Arbor home, she breezily observed: "No, they're not mine. But what's left here at this time is what we're stuck with."

HERE'S HER ADVICE

A small woman who wears glasses, aged somewhere in her 30s, Mrs. Deitemyer seldom has a moment like the one she is now enjoying.

The children have left for school, and she is sitting at the kitchen table of her home at 3425 Fernwood, urging a listener not to take her words as bragging.

"I don't have all the answers," she admits, breaking off pieces of peanut butter cookies and sipping coffee from a nearby pot that is kept hot all day.

"Our system works for us, yes. What we do is not magic or anything, and I guess almost anyone can do it, though it does take planning."

Mrs. Deitemyer's system of food buying was pieced together over the past four frugal years. Some of her advice:

Mix a gallon of regular milk with a portion of powdered. Put it in regular carton. Savings for her: \$3 or more a week. A word of caution: don't tell the kids. They probably won't know the difference.

Buy in quantity. Mrs. Deitemyer buys a lot, if something is cheap. "A freezer is one of the first things we got when we were first married," she says. "And it's more than paid for itself many times."

Buy cheaper cuts of meat and utilize leftovers. Mrs. Deitemyer buys chuck steak (five pounds for \$3), and put tenderizer on it. She uses a blender to mix up soup from leftover ham and other meats.

Always have enough money when you go to the store. Once she found bread on sale at 10 cents a loaf. She only had a dollar. Collecting change from the kids, she managed to scrape up enough for 30 loaves. The moral: don't be caught short of money.

DON'T DO THESE

A list of Mrs. Deitemyer's don'ts:

Don't be forced to shop more than once a week. "You can always find stuff you think you need, if you shop more often."

Don't be in a position where you have to buy something. Plan ahead. When you have to buy, says Mrs. Deitemyer, you're at the mercy of the store, paying whatever price they want.

Don't buy snacks. "Why should I knock myself out making well-balanced meals and then have the kids eat snacks?" reasons Mrs. Deitemyer.

Don't make rigid grocery lists. You don't know the bargains until you go to the store, she argues. Plan your meals after you've bought the groceries.

Another suggestion is to train your husband to like foods sometimes regarded as less desirable. Casseroles, for example.

"Dale is very good at eating foods like that," says Mrs. Deitemyer. "He sets a good example for the kids."

The Deitemyer family moved to Michigan four years ago after selling their small farm near Toledo. The reason, says Dale: it was

too small an operation to make a sufficient profit.

Then 33-years-old, Dale decided to study engineering at the University of Michigan. The family "scraped together enough money" for a down payment on their three bedroom home in a middle-class area of Ann Arbor.

THE BOYS COOK

With a small income, and at that time five children aged six to 15 living in a three bedroom house, the Deitemyers not only had to economize. They also had to organize.

Chores were a way of life on the farm. The pattern continued in Ann Arbor.

The children who used to follow Dale around to help feed the hogs now assisted him in expanding the basement. They built two bedrooms, a family room, and a bathroom.

The boys were made responsible for keeping their rooms clean. They were also assigned to take care of one other room in the house.

Mrs. Deitemyer says she seldom has to nag them. "Group pressure" usually works on a delinquent.

The children have also learned to cook. They make their own breakfast and lunch. The entire family washes the dishes after supper.

"Mom bosses and washes," says Mrs. Deitemyer.

The Deitemyer family's schedule was abruptly changed last August when "surprise boy number six" arrived. The following December, Dale graduated from the University of Michigan, and Mrs. Deitemyer expected to stay home with the family.

It didn't turn out that way. Dale, a quietly competent man with a black beard, has been unable to find a fulltime job in his field: meteorology and oceanography. He works part-time at the Ann Arbor YMCA.

On the afternoon he is not home, the other children help babysit for the youngest boy, Donnie. Mrs. Deitemyer says she tries to give her children as much responsibility as possible.

"I think that it's good for kids to feel they're part of the whole family. What makes the family work, what makes it possible, is that every member contributes to it."

The children seem to agree. Danny, 14, who delivers a paper route for spending money and is adept at making bread pudding from cast-off heels of bread, says:

"Most of the kids at school, their parents do the work for them. Some of them say 'What else are parents for but to pick up the house?'"

"No, I don't agree. Everybody messes up a house. Why shouldn't everyone clean it up, too?"

Mrs. Deitemyer, explaining her system of running a house between nervous sips of coffee and bites of peanut butter cookies, readily admits her organization is far from perfect.

Sometimes, the chores don't get done. The beds remain unmade. The pace tires her. She gets irritable.

Still, she says, there is challenge in what she does. She would not trade it for more glamour.

"I don't feel sorry for us," she maintains. "I think this is fun, a challenge. I'd hate to think of the day when Dale would say, 'All right, spend all you want at the store.'"

"I'll probably be trying to pull cans out of the half price cart when I'm being wheeled into the store in a wheelchair."

The only regret that Mrs. Deitemyer admits to is that she seldom gets a few minutes to herself. When things get too hectic, however, Dale single-handedly, takes the children to the Church of the Good Shepherd on Sunday morning.

She stays home, resting, feeling very guilty at her "love of luxury."

REMARKS OF JUDGE EDWARD
HEALEY AT ANNUAL MEETING OF
THE SONS OF IRISH KINGS

HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, on March 4, I had the pleasure of attending the annual St. Patrick's Dinner Meeting of the Sons of Irish Kings. The main speaker at this event was Judge Edward Healey, associate justice of the Family Court of Rhode Island.

At this point in the RECORD I would like to insert a copy of Judge Healey's remarks, and I urge all of my colleagues to take a few moments and read them:

SPEECH BY JUDGE EDWARD V. HEALEY, JR.

Almost 1500 years have passed since our Beloved Patrick placed his mark upon Ireland forever to remain. One writer has said: "The Irish made of St. Patrick the very embodiment of the National soul, its surety and defender."

I think tonight of the pride that must be in his heart as he gazes down upon "his very own".

Perhaps he might, just for this day, step down and wander, once again, over the green fields, drink heartily from the bubbling brooks, commune with his fellow priests as they offer the Holy Sacrifice, and listen with a faint twinkle in his eyes as the speech makers orate about past glories.

How his heart must glow when young voices supplicate St. Columba, St. Killian, Educators of Europe, St. Brigit, St. Brigid, St. Brendan the Navigator, St. Malachy, St. Lawrence O'Toole, the Soldier Saint, Blessed Oliver Plunkett. His soul must be filled to overflowing as he notes the thousands of Bishops and Priests given to the service of God by this tiny island.

These men have gone forth to spread the Gospel to every nation on the earth. This surely is our greatest heritage, because the faith instilled by Patrick remains as strong now as it did in the fifth century.

Then sadness grips him; his eyes lose their sparkle as tears well up; for these achievements have not been won without battle. The Romans, Celts, Gaels, Danes, Normans, English all invaded Ireland and took their bloody toll. But this truly said that these invaders became more Irish than the Irish.

The twinkle of his eyes is miraculously restored as suddenly he hears a loud almost boisterous roar from across the ocean, the bombast of the orators telling the story of the American Irish that was so long withheld. Their contributions, once suppressed by historians, now stand out in brilliancy. Constant repetition by St. Patrick day speakers has proven to a once "Know-Nothing" American public that the Irish were among the major architects of this great republic. From Washington's "Line of Ireland" up to this day, men of Irish blood have untiringly, unstintingly given of their talents, creativeness, courage—yes, even their blood—to make us the first country of the world.

Men named Sullivan, O'Brien, Barry, Carroll, Jackson, Kearney, Corby, Meagher, Duffy, Murphy, Kelly, Kennedy, McCormick, O'Connell, Cushing have left their imprint never to be removed, nor forgotten.

There were, each mother's son, Irishmen sired by Irish fathers, suckled by Irish mothers, dedicated to church and country—men of compassion and empathy—dynamic and forceful when the occasion demanded it—kind and understanding—cool under fire—diligent in their duties—executing them for the good of all—and willing to put their lives

on the line so that all peoples might have liberty and justice. Liberty—that's the key.

Daniel Webster said:

"The spirit of liberty is indeed a bold spirit—it demands checks; it seeks for guards; it insists on securities; it entrenches itself behind strong defences and fortifies itself with all possible care against the assaults of ambition and passion. This is the nature of constituted liberty, and this is our liberty if we rightly understand and preserve it."

And Dr. Szaz in his book "Law, Liberty and Psychiatry" stated:

"Our founding fathers declared liberty an unalienable human right second only to the right to life. Unfortunately emotionally powerful symbols tend to have intellectually imprecise meanings. Although we cannot easily define liberty, we can, with a little effort, understand what people mean by it."

"In an elementary sense, to be at liberty, or to be free, means to be unfettered. Hence the exact content of liberty will depend on the impediments a person or group wishes to overcome. When the impediment is political oppression, liberty is political freedom; when the impediment is feudalism, liberty is Socialism or Communism; when the impediment is theological tyranny, liberty is religious freedom; when it is starvation, liberty is adequate nutrition."

It means different things to different people.

And that, my friends, in simplistic terms is the root of our national and international problems.

Liberty means different things to different people.

To Bernadette Devlin it means freedom from oppression, from bigotry, from debasement, so she becomes a Fabian Socialist.

To Ian Pashley it means law and order under present rules, so he becomes a demagogue.

To Martin Luther King it meant freedom from bondage, so he became a martyr.

To Angela Davis it meant a totally black power structure, so she became a Marxist.

Because all peoples have not achieved liberty, the world is in turmoil.

Asians kill Asians.

Semites kill Semites.

Irish kill Irish.

Blacks kill blacks.

Two thousand years ago a God man exhorted us to "Love Thy Neighbor". His apostles and disciples have spread His word throughout the world—but alas, it has fallen on many deaf ears.

It is up to us, Catholics of Irish Ancestry, sons and daughters of Patrick, to lead the way, to open the ears, to still the guns, to heal up the wounds, to make each man his brother's keeper.

We can do it if we learn the lessons of history, if we shed our own inborn prejudices, reject ancient myths, substitute reason for fear.

If Patrick has his way, it will be done.

Irish leaders at home and abroad will bring our peoples together—for surely of all peoples the Irish know prejudice—bigotry—tyranny—thus giving example to the world.

Irish priests will lead the way in strengthening our church and protect it from attack from within and without.

Irish policemen will establish a rule of law and order with justice, thus giving truth to our pledge of liberty and justice for all.

Irish businessmen and labor leaders will bring to all a fair share of their labors.

Irish educators will instill in our young a sense of dedication to liberty that will guarantee our heritage.

To have Irish lineage will be the Hallmark of a Man. There'll be no hyphenated Americans.

Just as the invaders of Ireland were assimilated, becoming more Irish than the Irish, so too, in this country of ours, there will soon come a day when all will be Americans. And what will this American be?

He will have the—

Strength of a John L. Sullivan.

Wit of a Fred Allen.

Eloquence of a Bishop Sheen.

Rascality of a James Michael Curley.

Political savvy of a James A. Farley.

Courage of a Gen. Phil Kearney.

Loyalty of a Commodore Barry.

Individuality of a John McGraw.

Sympathy of a Father Duffy.

Genius of a Eugene O'Neill.

Beauty of a Maureen O'Hara.

Vigor of a John F. Kennedy.

Simplicity of a James Whitcomb Riley.

Emotions of a Margaret Sullivan.

Cockiness of a James Cagney.

Sadness of an Edgar Allan Poe.

Sensitivity of a Joyce Kilmer.

Business Acumen of a Msgr. Carey.

Versatility of a George M. Cohan.

Brilliance of a Charles Carroll.

Stubbornness of a Mike Quill.

Pugnacity of a Terry McGovern.

Humbleness of a Father Patrick Peyton.

Saintliness of a Matt Talbot.

Capacity of a Brendan Brehan.

Sobriety of a Judge Fred Murphy.

In truth he won't be an American; He will still be an Irishman.

So let not this be just a day of past glories; let it be a day of great expectations.

Armed with Patrick's religion, an unquenchable yearning for liberty, a passionate desire for justice, let us move forward.

Our history—great, noble and mighty; our future—greater, nobler and mightier.

Let the cry be heard loud and clear—

The Irish are coming!

TOLL INCREASES ON THE BENJAMIN
FRANKLIN AND WALT WHITMAN
BRIDGES

HON. JAMES A. BYRNE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. BYRNE of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable George X. Schwartz, president of the City Council in Philadelphia, has advised me the Council of the City of Philadelphia adopted on March 2, 1972, a resolution to suspend and delay the effective date of the proposed increase in tolls on the Benjamin Franklin Bridge and the Walt Whitman Bridge. This increase in tolls is to take effect April 1 and will place a great hardship on commuters. The Delaware River Port Authority plans to issue commuter tickets in blocks of 50; they must be used within 1 month. This new plan is unfair because the average commuter will not be able to dispose of his 50 tickets in 1 month. Using April as an example, there are 20 working days; therefore, if the commuter crosses the Delaware River twice daily, he will use only 40 tickets. And if he is unable to use the additional 10 tickets, he will lose \$3.50. The individual toll is also going up from 50 to 60 cents, and the commuter toll will be 35 cents per crossing. I believe it is very unjust to ask the commuter to buy more tickets than he can use in 1 month at a higher rate. Therefore, I am calling to the attention of my colleagues the resolution passed by the members of the city council, whose views I share in this important matter.

RESOLUTION

Urging the Honorable John Volpe, Secretary of Transportation of the United States, to suspend and delay the effective date of the proposed increase in the tolls on the Benjamin Franklin Bridge and the Walt Whitman Bridge.

Whereas, The Delaware River Port Authority on February 16th, 1972, voted that the tolls on the Benjamin Franklin Bridge and the Walt Whitman Bridge be increased, effective April 1st, 1972; and

Whereas, The haste with which these proposed increases were adopted did not afford the opportunity to ascertain and verify the need for the proposed increases, if any, nor permit interested and affected parties to be heard; and

Whereas, It is vital to the citizens of the City of Philadelphia, and to others who are compelled to use the Bridges in their daily businesses, to keep the costs down to a reasonable minimum; therefore

Resolved, By the Council of the City of Philadelphia, To urge the Honorable John Volpe, Secretary of Transportation of the United States, to suspend and delay the effective date of the proposed increases, for the purpose of holding public hearings, in order that the Delaware River Port Authority be required to justify and substantiate the alleged need for the increases.

Resolved, That certified copies of this Resolution be sent to the Honorable John Volpe, Secretary of Transportation of the United States, and to the Members of Congress from the Delaware Valley area.

RESPONSIBLE PROGRESS

HON. JAMES HARVEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, I want to bring to the attention of my colleagues two recent articles which have appeared in the Christian Science Monitor—March 9 and 17 of this year—relative to progressive efforts by both the General Motors Corp. and the Ford Motor Co. to substantially improve wage and working conditions in their plants in South Africa.

In the past, there has been strong criticism of American companies' policies in South Africa. Perhaps some of it is well founded. But, there is no denying, as you will discover in the two articles which follow, that at least General Motors and Ford are taking positive and constructive steps to provide equal employment opportunities and benefits and, in some cases, extra consideration in special educational programs and labor relations.

The newspaper articles follow:

[From The Christian Science Monitor, Mar. 17 1972]

PRESSURE ON SOUTH AFRICA—BLACK AUTO WORKERS GAIN

(By Paul Dold)

U.S. motor companies in South Africa—under increasing pressure from overseas—have substantially improved black wages and working conditions.

Ford is the second U.S. motor company to release details of its black wages and labor conditions, announcing that the company last year formed a six-man council representing black workers to negotiate labor grievances with the white management.

In response to a survey by this correspondent, General Motors disclosed that:

Its first nonwhite group leaders had been appointed in 1971.

A "works committee" to negotiate with management for black workers had been set up late last year.

Since January, 1970, black and Coloured average wages had increased by 20 percent.

Significantly, these developments have all taken place since strong pressure was exerted on U.S. companies and since black U.S. congressman Charles C. Diggs Jr. (D) of Michigan, criticized Ford and GM for their South African policies.

VELL PARTIALLY LIFTED

The most detailed replies on black wages and working conditions have thus far come from GM. But Ford has to a degree lifted the veil of secrecy over its operations.

Ford refused to give any breakdown of the highest, lowest, and average monthly wages paid to blacks, Coloureds, and whites. It replied that to do so would unfairly distort the pictures since averages are made up of wage scales in 11 grades.

"You would be averaging apples and oranges since there are no nonwhites in labor grades 10 and 11, which encompass the skilled trades and are still restricted to whites by job reservations, laws, and union practice. Historically, Ford employed more whites than nonwhites and the nonwhites were employed in the lower grades," the firm noted.

Ford did disclose the lowest black wage is 75.83 rands a month—R5.83 above the poverty line in Port Elizabeth, where the plant is situated.

SOME BLACKS PAID MORE

The wage, based on 40 South African cents (56 cents) an hour is paid to a laborer, and Ford said the fringe benefits for this category of employee are R17.50 a month.

GM also has a minimum hourly rate of 40 cents but GM's 45-hour workweek brings its monthly pay packet to R78.

Ford made the startling announcement that some blacks at the plant are paid more than whites. Two grade levels—six and seven—were described as "representative" by the Ford spokesman.

In grade seven there are 7 black, 38 Coloured, and 36 white employees. Five of the blacks earn more than 13 of the whites, while only 10 of the whites are paid more than the blacks. Three of the 7 blacks earn more than or as much as 32 of the Coloureds.

TRADE UNIONS DISALLOWED

In grade six there are 17 blacks, 34 Coloureds, and 7 white employees. Eleven of the blacks earn more than 2 of the whites, and only 3 of the whites earn more than the black employees in the grade.

Ford says the annual increase for workers of all races is 8 percent.

Blacks in South Africa are not allowed to form trade unions, but Ford says the terms of the collective-bargaining agreements negotiated by whites apply also to blacks as well as Coloureds.

Last year Ford formed a six-man council representing black employees on an "unofficial basis." The council presents complaints and grievances to management.

BLACK SKILLS USED

Ford has adopted the pay rate assigned to a job irrespective of race and says blacks are being progressively upgraded into the semi-skilled jobs. Ten years ago blacks worked only in grades one and two. Now there are blacks in eight of the first nine labor grades.

There are medical-aid and pension plans for all races.

Ford also gave some details of its education plans but declined to give the total spent on blacks and Coloureds last year. The company's answer was that all employees are eligible irrespective of race.

Ford has set up a tuition-refund program that applies to any approved high school, technical school, or college course successfully completed.

University scholarships worth from R250 to R500 and high-school scholarships worth R10 to R25 are available. In addition, there are a number of in-plant training programs.

[From the Christian Science Monitor, Mar. 9, 1972]

SOUTH AFRICA GM BARES BLACK, COLORED WAGES

(By Paul Dold)

General Motors' South Africa subsidiary has lifted its veil of secrecy surrounding wages paid to black and Coloured (mixed race) workers—claiming that its pay scales are among the highest in South Africa's motor industry.

General Motors is the first American motor company to disclose details of its black wages in response to a survey being made by this correspondent.

Answers should be valuable evidence in the continuing debate about whether American companies, in fact, help better the black African's lot or, contrariwise, help the government's apartheid policy.

A GM spokesman disclosed that the lowest starting rate for any employee at the Port Elizabeth plant is 40 South African cents (56 U.S. cents) an hour. Based on a 45-hour week (the current workweek), this means a minimum wage of 78 rands (\$109.20) per month.

The spokesman claimed that the rate was above the poverty datum line (PDL) for Port Elizabeth, when the full sphere of company benefits is also included.

A Port Elizabeth Chamber of Commerce official says that the University of Port Elizabeth is currently conducting a research program to establish the area's PDL. But the chamber estimates the PDL will probably be about R70 a month—slightly lower than Johannesburg's R76.

BUSINESSMEN SURPRISED

Port Elizabeth businessmen were surprised at GM's high minimum-wage figure. They said if the figures were accurate, General Motors had definitely taken the lead in industry. Many nonwhite workers in other industries are being paid R12 a week compared with GM's R18.

General Motors' claim to be among the top wage payers in the motor industry is based on a GM survey of the majority of motor companies in the country. The survey included 15 of the 18 motor companies.

GM said it is striving to pay the rate for the job and that there are already a number of grades in which blacks and Coloureds as well as whites are employed. In such grades, the rate for the job is paid irrespective of race. Pay is subject only to length of service and ability.

RACIAL DISTINCTION DENIED

GM refused to disclose its average and maximum rates of pay for blacks, whites, and Coloureds as it was "competitive information" but stressed that pay was not fixed on a racial basis.

Since January, 1970, GM reports, the average basic rates of pay for nonwhite workers have jumped by 20 percent. GM employs 2,500 nonwhites. Only 10 percent are blacks—the vast majority being Coloureds. About 245 of these nonwhite workers have received pay hikes as high as 33 percent since 1970.

This raise in basic pay prompted other increased benefits such as higher overtime pay, year-end gratuity, and pension-fund accruals.

Replying to a question on black-white labor relations, GM noted it had been one of the leaders in establishing an industrial council for the motor industry in the eastern Cape. And both white and Coloured employees are represented through their trade unions which

have appointed shop stewards to smooth labor relations.

COMMITTEE FOR BLACKS

Since blacks are prohibited by law from being represented by unions, recently GM set up a "works committee" for black employees. This committee negotiates with management on behalf of the blacks.

Job reservation (reserving skilled jobs for whites) was abandoned in the industry in 1968, and GM now negotiates with the white union on what jobs can be Africanized. GM claims the union has been "very cooperative" resulting in opening many jobs, previously occupied by whites, to nonwhites.

GM is one of the few companies to have medical aid for blacks and Coloureds. It also provides its staff, irrespective of race, with a pension plan, group life insurance, and benefits following disability, injury, and sickness.

RESPONSIBILITY TO FREEDOM

HON. OTIS G. PIKE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. PIKE. Mr. Speaker, we are often moved by a magnificent landscape, a beautiful symphony, a stirring march, or the smile of a child, but less often by words alone. Words, after all, are our stock in trade. I was, however, most moved when I first heard the words I am about to quote to you, spoken by a young lady in my district, Miss Barbara A. Brady, a student at Newfield High School in Centereach, N.Y. She had won an essay and oratorical contest sponsored by the Tordik-Diederich-Duffield Post No. 4927 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars on the subject of "My Responsibility to Freedom."

After winning the contest within her own school against tough competition she went on to win the contest on a county-wide basis, then on a district basis, and finally, was declared the top winner by the Veterans of Foreign Wars for the Department of New York.

She came to Washington this month for the national finals, and while she did not win the national championship, the fact that she placed as high as she did in a contest in which 500,000 secondary school students throughout the Nation participated is a source of great pride to all of her family, teachers, friends, the members of the Veterans of Foreign Wars in our area, and to me. While a reading of her composition is not nearly so moving as hearing Barbara Brady deliver it herself, it is still sufficiently powerful that I take great pleasure in sharing it with you and our colleagues:

MY RESPONSIBILITY TO FREEDOM

(By Barbara Brady)

Have you looked at the sky lately? I have. When was the last time you threw your head back and felt the wind rushing around you? Felt it rushing through your hair, burning at your cheeks, singing in your ears and making you feel free? As free as the birds soaring about you; the animals in the trees and on the land? Have you got the feeling? Can you feel your heart beating harder and harder? Does it feel like it's going to burst? Look in your mind. Take your dreams and let them go. Let them soar, higher and faster than the birds until they reach your star.

Now, take a deep breath and laugh! Yes, laugh, hard and loud! Laugh, because you're free.

I have just described to you the most valuable gift life can give. Freedom. Freedom of the mind, body, spirit. It makes me feel good just to think of it. It's mine. No one can take it from me. And I'll fight with all of my strength to keep it.

Yet, like all gifts it must be taken care of. It is my responsibility to take care of freedom. No, not just mine, everyone's. The whole world should be allowed to experience this beautiful gift.

Now, you smile. Here I am a seventeen-year-old girl trying to free the oppressed people. Idealistic? Yes, very. But don't you see? I've got to be. It is my responsibility to freedom to spread it. To instill hope. A hope that will lead those people to dream. A dream so strong and beautiful that they will want to fight for it. They don't have to kill for it. In killing they are not taking care of freedom. They are betraying it by denying it to someone else. If everyone has the same dream and lives it and spreads it, the hope will become the truth!

It is my responsibility to freedom to help others in their quest for it. To use it, not abuse it. For if I abuse it I will most likely be infringing upon someone else's freedom.

But I have not yet mentioned my greatest responsibility to freedom. This is to be thankful for it. To be thankful for all that I have. When I look at my home, friends, family, it's easy to be thankful. But when I realize that in the United States I have the opportunity to do or be anything I want I am breathless. I'm free; to do anything I can. My gratitude makes me want to fulfill my great responsibilities to freedom.

Now as I stand before you I begin to wonder what it would be like to be a seventeen-year-old girl in a country where there is no freedom. Life would be much different.

But these thoughts only make me more aware of my great responsibilities to freedom. And as I grow older they will grow also. It will be time to pass them on to my children as they have been passed on to me. To instill in my children hope. The hope of a better world and the determination to shape it.

BUSINESS COMMUNITY AND THE CONSUMERS

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, recently I attended a meeting in the Capitol hosted by the American Collectors Association, Inc. At that time I had the privilege, along with many others, of listening to the president of the organization, Mr. Richard M. Smith, of San Jose, Calif., and because he had so much interesting and pertinent information that could be of value to all who are interested in the business community and the consumer, I take this opportunity to insert his remarks in the RECORD for perusal by all who may care to read it and I highly recommend that every Member of Congress read these remarks:

CONGRESSIONAL LUNCHEON ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF AMERICAN COLLECTORS ASSOCIATION, RICHARD M. SMITH, SAN JOSE, CALIF., MARCH 8, 1972

Brevity seems to be in order today. With the two-dollar lunch, I guess it's only right that you should get the two-dollar speech, too. I'll keep my eye on the time, but I do

want to seize this opportunity to just briefly acquaint our Congressional guests with our organization.

As concerned and vitally interested citizens, we have come here to Washington to meet and to visit with you and to learn more about the Legislative processes. In turn, it seems only appropriate that you should know a little something about us, too, and the important and responsible role we play in the economic picture of our Country.

Our American Collectors Association is a National Federation of State Associations. We are composed of businesses providing accounts receivable collection service and other related credit services to credit grantors and to consumers alike. Our organization was founded in 1939—which means we are celebrating our 33rd birthday this year. Our International headquarters, called the ACA Center, is in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

And our own 20,000 square ft. building there houses some 45 employees, a computer operation, library, and printing plant, among other things. It is from there that our many industry programs are directed—and this includes a very vital program of continuing education for the collector, as well as the consumer and the credit grantor.

Our ACA has approximately 2,500 member offices which are staffed with some 23,000 employees throughout North America and a growing number of countries overseas. Our members serve more than 800,000 retail, professional, and wholesale credit grantors. And from our daily contact with tens of thousands of individual consumers and businesses with financial problems, we have acquired a vast knowledge and the status of experts in finding solutions to these problems.

Every year, millions of dollars, otherwise lost or stifled in unpaid accounts receivable, are collected and returned to the economic cash flow of our country through the services of our ACA member offices. This feat is professionally accomplished by thousands of highly trained and dedicated men and women. The result for many of the businesses we serve, is the return to them of much needed operating or expansion capital. In other instances, it actually represents the margin that enables a credit grantor to carry on his enterprise and to continue to be of service to the consumer.

Perhaps you may have never thought of it in this way, but being of significant assistance to the business and professional community and to the consumer, alike, is the compatible role of the professional collection agency. For the consumer, faced with delinquency in his obligations, it means a helpful return to dignity through the process of honoring his commitment to his creditors. For all other consumers who pay as agreed, it means an appreciable benefit reflected in lower costs for merchandise and services, that would otherwise need to be increased in price to cover a greater degree of accounts receivable losses.

So that this luncheon will be remembered as more than a passing pleasantry, I would respectfully ask our Honored Legislators, who are here present, to please make note of three things that are of importance: one is a person, one is an entity, and one is a word of caution.

First, the person sitting next to you, who is your ACA Host for this luncheon, is an expert in the highly specialized field of consumer outlook and behavior toward consumer debt. He or she is available to you for consultation in any Legislative matter, but particularly in that area effecting consumer debt collection. He or she is a respected constituent of yours and I know I speak for each of them when I say that they would, indeed, be pleased and honored to share their views with you at any time.

Second, please remember the entity American Collectors Association. Our member, who

comprise the largest organization of Bonded Collection Agencies in the world, are all interested in good, sound, and equitable consumer Legislation. Our Code of Ethics, under which we operate, is a litany of fairness, in itself, that could well be used in guiding the relationships between the credit granting community and the consumer public. Our capable ACA Staff in Minneapolis, headed by our Executive Vice President John W. Johnson, who is likewise a Legislator in the State of Minnesota, would be only too happy to make available to you any of the research and library facilities of our organization.

And finally, at the risk of shocking you a bit, please remember, if you will, the term Legislative "overkill". I don't even like to use it. In fact, I couldn't even find that word—"overkill"—in Webster's Dictionary. I think maybe it needs no defining. But it does need, and deserves, your grave consideration when applied in connection with the processes that govern the lives and effect the credit dealings of our citizens.

There is a growing philosophy of permissiveness abroad in our land and an accelerating Legislative trend toward the re-deployment of risk and responsibility in the field of consumer credit. Bear in mind that our Country has been made great, in part at least, by the marvelous credit economy we enjoy. Yet, there is a growing pressure being applied presently, to go to extremes, to overdo, to "overkill" with so-called corrective Legislation in the area of consumer credit problems, real or imagined.

In this regard, I would leave with you this cautioning word for your consideration: anticipate well the adverse aftermath of any proposed Legislation that would lessen, abolish, or aid in the evasion of fiscal responsibility in the individual. For the dictates behind the history of human behavior sound the warning that you cannot lessen, by Laws, the moral and fiscal responsibility of the individual without creating chaos in the market place and fostering an eventual crisis in the basic honesty and the moral stability of the consumer public.

To our Congressional guests, on behalf of everyone here, I thank you for sharing your valuable time with us. This has been a rewarding experience and we are grateful to you.

To our members, who have come here from all over this great County of ours, thank you for your attendance, and I wish you God-speed and a safe return to your homes.

AIR FORCE SUPPORTS SPACE SHUTTLE

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, March 16, 1972, the Honorable Robert C. Seamans, Jr., Secretary of the Air Force, appeared before the Subcommittee on Manned Space Flight of the Committee on Science and Astronautics. Secretary Seamans reviewed in depth the importance of the development of the space shuttle to this Nation not only for peacetime applications, but also as a future contributor to our national security. The distinguished Secretary of the Air Force outlined the significant cooperation between the Department of Defense and NASA which has led to the design of a space shuttle useful not only in the NASA missions, but also to the Department of Defense. Be-

cause of the significance of this statement I am including it in the RECORD and commend its reading to my colleagues and the general public:

SPACE SHUTTLE

Mr. Chairman, I am very pleased to have this opportunity to express the Air Force views on the Space Shuttle program. As you know, the Department of Defense and the Air Force have an extensive space program, designed to help us accomplish existing military missions. As part of our national policy, defense operations in space do not pose a threat to the security of other nations, but are limited to assisting our forces in maintaining an effective deterrent.

Toward this end the Air Force has been launching DOD satellites into orbit since 1958. Through these efforts we are now able to provide our forces with better communications, improved navigation, more precise maps, and better early warning. We are continuously assessing our military mission requirements against available technology and fiscal considerations. When space systems can best help us accomplish our military tasks, and are competitive in terms of cost and performance, we would expect to pursue their development. And in the future, I anticipate that space systems will allow even further improvements in our defense posture.

We are not alone in recognizing the potential of space. Foreign countries have made notable scientific achievements in space. And in the case of the Soviet Union their efforts include a major defense space program. The best information available indicates that they plan to spend more on space this year than both the DOD and NASA combined. I believe that the priority given to our space efforts should reflect the fact that our national security could be seriously jeopardized if another nation should move very far ahead of us in space technology.

To make better use of space systems, we must find ways to reduce the cost of operating in space and to improve our operational flexibility. Toward this goal, both NASA and the Air Force have conducted studies which show that cost reductions could be realized if boosters and spacecraft were reused, rather than discarded after a single use. From these studies we have also concluded that a properly designed Space Shuttle could permit the DOD and NASA to pursue promising space applications which are presently not feasible.

I would like to enumerate some of the ways a Shuttle could enhance our defense space operations. The Shuttle could be used as an on-orbit test bed to conduct development and qualification testing of new space systems and subsystems. On-orbit tests could allow our engineers to define potential technical problems and improve designs while in the prototype stage by testing under realistic operating conditions rather than in ground facilities built to simulate the space environment. This could offer significant savings by allowing us to prove the capability of a proposed system prior to undertaking the expense of developing an entire satellite.

Retrieval of payloads from orbit also offers the potential for refurbishment and reuse which could lead to more effective use of our space hardware. Similarly, operational risks associated with the deployment of complex new systems could be reduced. If a satellite should fail, it could be recovered by the shuttle, returned to earth for diagnosis and repair, and operationally redeployed in a minimum of time with better confidence that the problem was resolved. Also, by being able to better diagnose the causes of malfunctions that occur in space, we should be able to improve the design of future spacecraft.

From an operational standpoint, the Shuttle will be designed to significantly reduce pre-launch checkout time with im-

proved reliability and less dependence on ground support. This would allow a rapid response capability which could be invaluable during certain crisis situations.

While we foresee many advantages from the Space Shuttle program, it is questionable that either NASA or the DOD alone could justify the cost of such a development. However, when the needs of the two agencies are jointly considered, the Shuttle appears to be an effective way to satisfy the needs of most of our national space systems.

For the past two years, the Air Force has worked very closely with NASA in an effort to define a Space Transportation System which could meet both the DOD and NASA requirements. We recognize that NASA has primary responsibility for developing a system with national utility. We have conducted complementary efforts to identify DOD mission applications and operational requirements and to assess the concepts being evolved by NASA to assure that they meet DOD needs.

To identify DOD requirements for the Shuttle, we first had to predict what our space program might be like 10 to 20 years from now. As you can well imagine, such forecasts are most difficult and must be continually updated and refined. We envision a need to perform essentially all the same functions as today, but in an improved manner and probably with expanded capability. In addition, there could be new functions performed by space systems.

After extensive analyses, we have developed a mission model which we feel will meet the DOD needs in the 1980's and 1990's. The number of DOD Shuttle launches reflected in this model averages about twenty per year, which represents about the same level of effort we have today. The model includes direct projection of today's systems and some new ones which are now in the advanced planning stage. Our planning does not, however, reflect any radical change in the role of military space programs as we know them today.

We will continue to use satellites to provide communications in support of our forces and for the command and control of these forces. Communications between major defense centers will be accomplished through systems similar to our present Defense Satellite Communications System but with added capability. Our mobile forces will be able to communicate with each other and their commanders through improved tactical communications satellites. Satellites also will provide us early warning against ICBM and SLBM launches.

Typical of the new space systems we expect to deploy is the Defense Navigation Satellite System. This system would enable ground, sea, air and space users to quickly and accurately determine their exact position anywhere in the world. Feasibility of such a system has been shown, and tests to refine the concepts and demonstrate the technology are underway. When these are concluded three to four years from now, we could begin full-scale system development and have an operational system deployed in the early 1980's. This system would replace many existing systems which are all special purpose and unable to satisfy the needs of all our forces.

These are the types of space programs included in the DOD mission model and are representative of the satellites we would expect to orbit even if the Shuttle was not developed. We have recommended that NASA use this model for planning purposes, and it is the basis for the DOD design requirements.

In assessing the DOD payload requirements for the Shuttle, we divided them into two categories. First, we considered those that can be placed directly into final orbit by the Shuttle orbiter and second, we studied those that require a high energy upper stage to boost them from low earth orbit to

their final operating orbit. Over 50% of the planned DOD payloads will have to be delivered to high energy orbits. In the latter cases, an upper stage plus the mission satellite would constitute the Shuttle payload.

The heaviest satellite presently projected in the model for high energy or synchronous orbit is 5,000 pounds. An upper stage is needed to transfer such a satellite into synchronous orbit. This requires that the Shuttle be capable of delivering approximately 65,000 pounds equivalent payload weight into a 100 nautical mile easterly orbit. The 60,000 additional pounds is the weight of the upper stage and the propellants required to boost the payload to the higher orbit and return the upper stage to the orbiter. Of course, a shuttle with this capability also would be able to meet payload requirements for low altitude satellites.

In addition to assessing weight requirements, we also examined the minimum payload size capability suitable for the DOD missions. Based on our studies, the dimensions of a reusable high energy upper stage with the capability to transfer a satellite into synchronous orbit would have to be approximately 34 feet long and 15 feet in diameter. And when the size of this upper stage is combined with the payload satellite size, a shuttle payload bay of 15 feet by 60 feet is required. Even if we used an existing expendable upper stage, the payload bay length would have to be 60 feet because these stages are similar in length to the proposed reusable upper stage.

I would like to now say just a few words about the upper stage required for high-energy orbit missions. The Centaur or Agena stages are the current analog to a Shuttle upper stage, known as the Orbit-to-Orbit Shuttle or Space Tug. Preliminary studies have shown that a reusable upper stage can be developed which is compatible with the 15 x 60 foot payload bay size and the 65,000 pound weight capability I previously referred to. We have also considered an expendable upper stage involving either a new development or a modification of an existing stage. However, studies show that approximately \$5 million per launch could be saved on a high altitude mission if the upper stage was reused rather than expended. This does not include savings from recovering the satellite itself which also may offer a potential advantage.

Moving on to other operational requirements for the Shuttle, there is both a DOD and NASA need to be able to maneuver 1,100 nautical miles cross-range during re-entry of the orbiter. This will allow the orbiter to return to the point of departure after a single orbit of the earth. The requirement is based on safety considerations in case it should become necessary to return the crew after a single orbit and also on the possible need to conduct single orbit operational missions.

We have also identified Shuttle operational requirements in the areas of survivability, reliability, security, vehicle turn-around time, payload retrieval, vehicle autonomy and on-board checkout.

With regard to vehicle autonomy and on-board checkout, our concern is the degree the vehicle and crew can perform exclusive of external control and assistance. In our view the Shuttle should be as autonomous as possible, with the ultimate objective of having space operations more like those associated with aircraft rather than like past space launches. If we can minimize the ground support facilities and control complexes required, we should be able to reduce the operational costs and increase system flexibility.

I would like now to turn to the results of our assessment of the ability of the current Shuttle concept to meet DOD needs. Based on our present data, the Shuttle configuration and design characteristics as proposed by NASA can meet the DOD mission needs forecast for the 1980-1990 time period. The pres-

ent design concept includes a reusable orbiter having a 1,100 nautical mile cross-range capability with a 15 ft by 60 ft payload bay, and a 65,000 pound payload bay capability for launch into a 100 nautical mile east orbit.

Our cost analysis has shown potential savings in the payload area from use of the Shuttle. This would be possible because of the capability to recover payloads and refurbish them for reuse, or to repair malfunctioning satellites. However, we would not anticipate significant initial reductions in overall cost of DOD space operations. The potential payload savings are offset by the costs of ground facilities, operations, and Shuttle procurement associated with the posposed vehicle configuration. But the Shuttle should be cost competitive with present expendable systems even in the short run; in the long run we believe the Shuttle could result in considerable savings. And the system does offer the potential for improving our mission flexibility and capability.

After the Preliminary Design Review in December 1973, better data on costs, capabilities and operation concepts will be available. Final cost and performance assessments will not be possible until after development testing has been conducted and the prototype vehicles flown.

In accordance with a Presidential decision, NASA is requesting funds to begin development of the space shuttle. The Air Force will continue to support analyses and planning efforts with the aim of delineating DOD's use of the shuttle. And if the shuttle meets its performance and economic targets, the Air Force intends to procure shuttle equipment.

I would like to commend NASA for the excellent work they have done in the Shuttle program. They have been very receptive to our suggestions and our working relationship is outstanding. We will continue to work closely with NASA to assure that the Shuttle system that is developed will meet our needs and have utility to the DOD.

In this effort, representatives from both agencies are co-chairmen of the Joint Space Transportation System Committee which was established in February of 1970. Also, we have assigned liaison engineers to work with NASA centers and have personnel from our Air Force laboratories working with NASA on various working groups.

Currently we are working together on a program to develop experimental flight data in hypersonic, supersonic and subsonic flight ranges. This test program, which uses the X-24B vehicle, should provide valuable technical information which can be applied to the Shuttle development.

In conclusion, we have reached a stage in our space program development where we are increasingly able to define promising opportunities. And, with the available technology, I believe the next logical step is to move toward development of the Space Shuttle. If we proceed, step-by-step, we should be able to develop a Shuttle that will offer significant advantages in the way we operate and perform our missions in space. Also, if we are successful in our development efforts, we could open new avenues for a greater range of applications of space which would benefit all of mankind.

LOCAL CONTROL

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, recent court decisions have raised questions in regard to future financing of our local schools.

If property taxes are not to be used for local financing of our schools, we must, because of a lack of any other revenue source, turn to the Federal Government. Will that, then, result in complete Federal domination of our school systems?

Margery Burns, a weekly newspaper columnist in our Minnesota Sixth Congressional District, deals with this problem in one of her recent newspaper articles, which for the information of my colleagues and all of the other readers, I insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

LOCAL CONTROL

(By Margery Burns)

The other day a friend of mine asked how I could go along with the state taking over the schools' finances when I had been so concerned about local control of the schools.

And that is the big problem coming up for all of us. Because of the court cases about school financing around the country, everyone is getting into this problem. There will be many different answers to this question of how the schools will be financed and how to preserve local control of the schools if the state or Federal government take over the finances.

In the book, *Private Wealth and Public Education*, the writers, John Coons and W. H. Clune III, have some interesting things to say. They believe that there should be local control of schools at the same time as there is equal opportunity for the children. Today, the richer school districts can tax themselves at a lower rate than the poor school districts and still have better schools. And . . . "In the purchase of education it should 'hurt' as much for a poor district to raise an extra dollar as a rich one, but it should hurt no more."

One big question is what is "quality" education? Since it is almost impossible to define . . . "are two hours of folk singing equal to one of history, or four teachers with B.A.'s equal to three with M.A.'s" . . . these authors say that we'll have to use money as the criterion of quality in education.

However, as Phyllis Myers says in the *Washington Star*, "The pall left by the so-called 1965 Coleman study, which concluded that nothing the schools did made a significant difference in student achievement, save what he brought from his family upbringing and whom he met in schools, still confounds all discussions about dollars and equality."

But Coons and Clune still say that the only method so far of evaluating schools is by using money. "If money is inadequate to improve education, the residents of poor districts should at least have an equal opportunity to be disappointed by its failure."

"Power equalizing" is the solution these authors come up with to equal school financing and still keep local control. For instance, every school district would have equal tax rates. A 10% tax in one district would bring in \$10 per pupil and in another \$90 per pupil. So the state pays the first district \$80 to help the school. Then a flat state tax of, say 8% brings in \$8 from the first district and \$72 from the second. The extra money from the richer districts is used to give every district the ability to buy equally good schools. And . . . "as a percentage of local wealth each total tax is exactly the same, which redistribution of wealth has produced equal expenditures . . . from each according to his ability, to each according to his effort."

That is one solution. What do you think of it? I believe that everyone of us should start thinking about this problem because it's going to hit us fast. The President mentioned the terrible burden of property taxes and the possibility that the Federal government might have to take over the financing of the schools while still keeping local control in the districts.

So what do we do? How do we keep local control if the state and the Federal govern-

ment hands out the money? Do we put farmers out of business and put people out of their homes because their property taxes are too high, or do we find a way to keep local control while we get state and Federal money?

To quote Coons and Clune again: "... in our experience persons seeking better schools through centralized 'quality' often overlook the fact that the achievement of such an equality guarantees not better but only similar schools.

HON. H. JOHN HEINZ III SENDS FIRST QUESTIONNAIRE

HON. H. JOHN HEINZ III

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. HEINZ. Mr. Speaker, because I have a deep interest in the views and concerns of my constituents, I am mailing a questionnaire to every family in the 18th District of Pennsylvania, which I represent. This is my first questionnaire, and I have asked my constituents to inform me of other areas of concern not discussed in the mailing.

The text of the questionnaire follows:

QUESTIONNAIRE

DEAR FRIEND: In order to represent you and your views, it is important that I have the benefit of your thinking on the important issues facing all of us today.

Please take a few minutes and fill out the attached questionnaire. The questions are designed to help me vote responsibly on the complex legislation that comes before the House of Representatives.

Note that the questionnaire has been designed for use by both husband and wife. When you have completed the questions, simply detach this portion and return the answered portion. I will report to you on the results as soon as they are tallied.

Thank you. Your views are always welcome.

Sincerely,

H. JOHN HEINZ III,
Your Congressman.

(NOTE.—Each question provided boxes marked "his" and "hers" and "yes" and "no." 1. Would you support a "value added" (national sales) tax if revenue would cut property taxes dollar for dollar?

2. In principle, do you favor some form of national health insurance?

3. Are you willing to spend as much as \$20 billion, as proposed, to improve the quality of our nation's water?

4. Do you favor limiting imports even if it results in higher prices for some American-made goods?

5. Do you favor my proposal to extend medicare coverage to include federal payment for most of the cost of prescription drugs?

6. The defense budget for the coming year is \$79 billion. Which of the following would you prefer (please check your choice in appropriate box):

Increase.

Leave the same.

Cut 2%.

Cut 5%.

Cut substantially more than 5%.

7. Do you feel federal aid to higher education (\$6 billion this year) should be:

Increased.

Stay the same.

Reduced.

Eliminated.

8. Which policy do you believe we should follow in Vietnam:

Escalation.

Continue to withdraw troops but not all unless S. Vietnam can defend itself.

Set withdrawal date based on guarantee of return of American POWs.

Pullout immediately without conditions.

9. A 5% increase in Social Security benefits plus automatic cost-of-living increases is under consideration. Which do you favor.

The above proposal.

Greater benefits than above.

Do not favor benefit increases in above proposal.

10. How would you rate President Nixon's performance in the following areas? Use A. Excellent; B. Good; C. Fair; D. Poor.

Reducing inflation.

Combating unemployment.

War in Vietnam.

Crime Control.

Environment.

Foreign policy other than Vietnam.

Holding line on government spending.

Combating drug abuse.

THE SOVIETS AND THE MOSCOW WARSAW TREATIES

HON. FLOYD SPENCE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. SPENCE. Mr. Speaker, a very significant article from Bonn, under the byline of John M. Goshko, regarding the proposed Warsaw and Moscow treaties being debated in the West German Bundestag appeared in Friday's Washington Post. It notes that the Soviet Union, "fearful that Chancellor Brandt may lose" the treaty fight, has moved to bolster his position with "potentially important concessions."

In a report from Moscow just a week ago, Robert G. Kaiser appeared in the same paper quoting Pravda as saying, "Either the treaties are ratified and further progress toward detente can be made or they are defeated and West Germany returns to the policy of cold war—and hostility to neighboring states," and outlining other evidence of strong intervention by the Soviets to insure ratification of the treaties.

These two articles make it very clear that the Soviet Union will do whatever is necessary to gain ratification. It will threaten and if its threats backfire it will put on a conciliatory face. But it is obvious that Moscow desperately wants these treaties. And they want them because they expect to gain from them.

Failure of the treaties is viewed as a threat to Brezhnev's policy. Their ratification is the first step toward a European Security Conference to unify Europe under a Soviet orientation.

Any concessions they offer are designed to insure ratification. In fact, they will not be worth the paper they are written on—if, indeed, they are ever reduced to writing.

Mr. Speaker, I insert the aforementioned news article in the RECORD.

The articles follow:

BONN GETS SOVIET AID ON TREATY

(By John M. Goshko)

BONN, March 16.—The Soviet Union, fearful that Chancellor Willy Brandt may lose the fight to ratify the Bonn-Moscow good-

will treaty, tried today to bolster Brandt's position with some potentially important concessions.

Brandt revealed to the Foreign Affairs Committee of the West German Bundestag that the Kremlin leadership will bring the controversial "letter on German unity" to the "official attention" of the Supreme Soviet, when it is called upon to ratify the treaty from the Soviet side.

The letter, also known as the "German option," is a device to counter charges that ratification of the treaty will cement the permanent division of Germany. This is the main argument made against the treaty by the opposition Christian Democrats.

The letter says it is the Brandt government's understanding that the treaty does not rule out the possibility of peaceful reunification. Now, Brandt can contend that the proposed Soviet action gives the letter Moscow's open stamp of approval and signifies Soviet agreement with Bonn's interpretation of the reunification question.

However, the Soviet gesture was immediately rejected by the Christian Democrats' parliamentary spokesman on foreign policy, Werner Marx, who said his party's opposition would remain unchanged. This had been expected since the Christian Democrats say they will accept nothing less than inclusion of a statement on reunification within the treaty text.

Where the Soviet move could be important is in overcoming the doubts of those government deputies known to be wavering in their support of the treaty. At least three have expressed fears over the reunification question, and their defection would almost certainly deprive the government of the majority necessary for ratification.

Brandt also revealed that Moscow had put an additional sweetener in the pot. He said the Kremlin is prepared to sign a new Soviet-West German trade agreement that would recognize Bonn's right to act for West Berlin in trade matters. Negotiations on such an agreement have been bogged down for years because of Moscow's past insistence on excluding West Berlin from its provisions.

Announcement of these concessions indicated that the Soviets apparently are moving away from their campaign of threatening dire consequences for West Germany if the treaty is defeated. These threats had prompted several complaints here about interference in Bonn's internal affairs.

The reunification issue has been the single biggest sticking point throughout the two-year effort to bring a Bonn-Moscow treaty into effect. Because East Germany insists that its separation from West Germany is irrevocable, the Soviets have been constrained from giving Bonn a clear-cut commitment about reunification.

Originally, the two sides hoped to get around the issue through the "German option" letter, which Brandt handed to the Soviets when he signed the treaty in Moscow on Aug. 12, 1970. The Soviets accepted the letter without comment, and the Bonn government contends that under international law it then became a valid part of the treaty.

However, the Christian Democrats have never accepted this as sufficient. They contend that the treaty's provisions binding the signatory governments to respect existing borders in Europe could be interpreted by Moscow as barring reunification forever.

Previously, Moscow had tried to help Brandt refute this charge by giving him a statement from Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko indicating that the West German and Soviet interpretations of the treaty are identical. Yesterday, the Soviet ambassador here, Valentin Falin, reaffirmed this in a letter to Foreign Minister Walter Scheel.

Now, Moscow has gone yet another step with its promise to bring "the reality" of the letter on reunification to the notice of the

Supreme Soviet. But, diplomatic sources here seem to agree that the Soviet Union's need to keep peace with its East German client probably stamps this latest move as the maximum concession it will make.

SOVIETS FEAR REJECTION OF BONN TREATIES (By Robert G. Kaiser)

Moscow, March 9.—The possibility that the West German Bundestag may not ratify Bonn's treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland appears to be causing extreme discomfort in Moscow.

Soviet concern is clearly evident in the pages of the official press. Several articles in recent days have implied ominous consequences if the treaties are not ratified—a possibility that has suddenly been taken seriously in Bonn.

"This is a threat to Brezhnev's entire foreign policy," one European diplomat observed. "They are very worried," said another.

The newspaper articles have been cautiously worded, and in the opinion of several experienced diplomats here they have understated the strength of Moscow's feelings.

COLD WAR

A middle-ranking Soviet official, speaking last week in West Berlin, may have been more frank when he was asked what would happen if Chancellor Willy Brandt lost his fight for ratification of the treaties, and an anti-treaty Christian Democratic government took power in Bonn:

"Then everything would be destroyed," this official said, "everything we've accomplished so far. Then a new Cold War would break out, and a hot war might be possible."

Though Moscow has never seemed to take ratification of the treaties for granted, it has shown no signs of seriously fearing their rejections. The real possibility of parliamentary defeat of the basic element in Brandt's policy of improving relations with Eastern Europe has probably been as much a surprise here as in the West.

Soviet party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev has constructed a Western policy of his own, and the treaty he signed with Brandt in August, 1970, was also its basic and crucial element. Many Western Kremlinologists have argued that Brezhnev had to overcome substantial opposition from conservative colleagues in his Politburo to pursue his opening to the West.

POWER ALIGNMENT

One diplomat here who enjoys friendly relations with the Kremlin speculated this week that the alignment of power inside the Politburo which has supported Brezhnev thus far, might be strained to the breaking point if Brandt fails to win ratification.

If the treaties were defeated, the Brezhnev's enemies would soon emerge from the woodwork, this observer speculated, and might well force him out, or force a very abrupt change in the Soviet line.

Other diplomats view the situation with less alarm, contending that Brezhnev's policy probably represents a strong and durable consensus in the Politburo.

In any event, a "no" vote in the Bundestag in early June, probably forcing a general election in West Germany, would put the Kremlin in a delicate dilemma. Would the Soviets sit out an electoral campaign, hoping that "their side" would win?

The problem is compounded by the "linkage" which the Soviets themselves established between Bonn's treaties with Moscow and Warsaw and the four-power agreement on Berlin. Moscow has said that without West German ratification of the treaties, the Berlin agreement cannot come into force.

For the Western nations, final ratification of the Berlin agreement is a prerequisite to holding a European security conference, the ultimate goal of Brezhnev's European policy.

Thus if the treaties fall in the Bundestag,

the Soviet Union's entire European policy—nurtured carefully for two years—could unravel rapidly.

The Kremlin's difficulties are further increased by the timing of President Nixon's visit to Moscow. Mr. Nixon may be here in late May just as the parliamentary maneuvering in Bonn is entering its most critical stages, discussing issues which could become irrelevant if the treaties are defeated.

To convey their concern, the Soviets have relied primarily on their press. An authoritative article in Pravda signed "Observer" stated the case most clearly.

"OBSERVER" ARTICLE

"Observer" argued that Bonn's treaties with Poland and the Soviet Union—both renouncing force and accepting existing boundaries—are the crucial factors in the recent improvement of the political climate in Europe. Either the treaties are ratified and further progress toward detente can be made, Pravda said, or they are defeated and West Germany "returns to the policy of 'Cold War' . . . and hostility to neighboring states . . ."

The article ruled out any middle ground, and said the opposition Christian Democrats' argument that good relations could be achieved with Moscow without the treaty are either "a conscious deception of the Bundestag . . . or an actual display of losing touch with reality."

Any return to past West German policies "would damage the Federal Republic of Germany seriously," Pravda said.

Vikenty Matveev, a senior commentator for Izvestia, the government newspaper, wrote that "there is no alternative in existence" to Brandt's policy. Matveev also suggested that any further agreements in Europe depend on ratification.

In a lead editorial today, Pravda wrote that leaders of the Christian Democratic party in Bonn who oppose ratification " . . . are particularly aggressive."

BONN GOVERNMENT OPTIMISTIC ON TREATIES

Bonn, March 9 (AP).—Chancellor Willy Brandt's government rejected today speculation that it will fail in a crucial parliamentary showdown on its Eastern detente policy.

At the same time, it warned the Soviet Union and other foreign governments to stay out of the West German internal controversy on Bonn's nonaggression treaties with Moscow and Warsaw.

Government spokesman Conrad Ahlers told a news conference that the ruling coalition is convinced it can muster enough votes in the Bundestag (the lower parliamentary house) to ratify the treaties.

"The federal chancellor is not even considering retiring," Ahlers said, rejecting demands by the opposition Christian Democratic Party which has maintained Brandt no longer has enough votes to support his foreign policy.

THE NUMBERS GAME

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, at this time, I would like to insert in the Record an article which appeared recently in the Detroit Free Press, written by staff writer, Tom Ricke, on the numbers racket. It is a revealing description of what the numbers game means to the people who risk their money to take the

chance of winning and those persons who exploit them and their dream.

The article follows:

NUMBERS RUNNERS SELL DREAMS

(By Tom Ricke)

"Paint—To dream of paint denotes that you will soon move to better quarters—417."

To dream of paint? To dream of the numbers, that's the important thing. The dream of paint is only the beginning, the clue, the hunch that today is the day, that the Lucky Star Dreambook is right, and that a quarter bet will come back 500-fold on number 417.

Maybe 100,000 Detroiters—one of every 15 people in the city—play the numbers every day, as far as the police can tell.

There is no scientific way to decide what number from 001 to 999 will fall, especially when the fix is on, so the clues come from everywhere: Phone numbers, addresses, birthdays, license plates, gospel passages, hymn numbers, the weight of a new baby, or from the dreambooks, venerable collections of subjects and numbers—paint, 417. Food, 989, at least according to Lucky Star.

The Red Devil Dreambook and the Three Wise Men Dreambook might say differently. You pay your money . . . and dream, for that is what the numbers are all about.

Since the early 1900s, numbers men have been making billions of dollars selling people the chance to dream of having money.

Most of the people who play numbers are black. It's always been that way. It started in the ghetto and is still there. It is the only way for many to get a sum of money and it is a habit for many others that started when they bought dreams to help them through empty days.

The price? Whatever a person can scrape together each day. For that money, he buys a thousand to one chance of getting 500 times the amount he bet.

But it's more than that. He has purchased a thought—the right to think all day long about what he is going to do with the money if he wins. And that makes it easier to get through each day. Just the thought of it.

So everything in life becomes a clue, a tip, a whisper in your ear of what number will come in the next day.

In the old days when we could stop someone on the street we thought was taking numbers and question them right there, we would stop these guys and ask them what was going on," says a Detroit policeman who has been investigating numbers since the 1940's. "Often we didn't have enough evidence to arrest them, and they would tell us what we wanted to know. Then they would ask for our badge number. They would bet our badge numbers because they figured that was their lucky number because they didn't get arrested."

Pat Theodore has bet the numbers every day for 25 years. He's a middle-aged black man who used to be a number runner with his sister about 10 years ago when the business was more open than today.

Now he works in a hospital. "I put more money into the numbers than I got out of it," he said, "but I used to hit once in a while. The people who collect numbers are the heaviest players themselves because they have the money and they see people hitting every day."

"The two most common numbers we used to play were the (dream book) numbers for white women and black women."

"Whenever the number for black women hit, people from all over town would call me because they knew I played it every day and we'd have a party. The time I hit the most came after a dream."

"I dreamed I was hungry and I went to the icebox and it was full of nothing but eggs. Eggs falling out all over the place. I looked up the number for eggs in the Three Wise Men and put \$15 on it and it hit. I couldn't believe it. I had \$7,500."

"I went out and bought a new Pontiac car for cash. It had everything on it. Then I just kept the rest at home. A big stack of \$100 bills. Every time I wanted to party I'd take one or two of them and take off. I parted it away and lost my job while doing it, but I sure had a good time."

"The number was straight in those days. Once a preacher came through town and gave out a number and it hit. Our house paid off \$67,000 that night. I remember all those \$100 bills stacked up on the dining room table. But the house still made a profit that month."

There are two ways to play the numbers: Conventionally, by betting, say 25 cents, that a specific, three-digit number, say 357, will come in.

Or by "boxing," betting a quarter, or \$1.50 altogether, on every combination of those three digits—357, 375, 735, 537, 573, 753.

The return is 500 times the bet on the winning number. On a quarter bet, the win is worth \$125.

In Detroit, the numbers men give out four winning combinations a day and most Detroit players bet on all four chances. To box a 25-cent bet on 357 on all four chances costs \$6.

The numbers currently being played in Detroit are supposed to be based upon a complicated mathematical formula from race-track results. Of the four numbers a player can bet on each day, two are fixed by the syndicate. They are called the Detroit numbers. The other two, called the Pontiac numbers, are actually taken from the racetrack results.

Playing the numbers each day means thinking about numbers all the time. The number on a dry cleaning slip. A bill from a restaurant. The number of pages in a book. Things that people who don't play the number take for granted are very important to people who play.

On a warm summer night in an inner city bar, a woman sat and cursed and slowly ripped a piece of paper she got when she left her shoes at a shoe repair store.

It said 576 on it, and it was the number that had come in that day.

"I've been looking for that number for three days," she yelled. "I knew I would have played it."

Ted Thomas, who works at Metro Airport, did play that number that day and when it came in, he had \$6,000.

He came into the same bar later that evening and bought the house drinks all night long. He went out the next day and bought three new suits.

But that's all he got for his big win. He threw a big poker party the next weekend. All of his life he had wanted to play in a big stakes game. "I spent years with \$30 or \$50 on me while they bought pot after pot from me. It was my chance to play big," Thomas said.

Thomas got drunk the weekend of his party and the pros who heard he had money came and took it from him in a two-day long poker game.

After it was all over, Thomas sat down and figured out how much money he had bet on the numbers over the years. It came out to about \$11,000 and he got \$6,000 back and lost it all within a week.

"I still play 'em," he said recently. "If I hit again, I'm going to spend that money right."

Not everyone who wins money from the numbers blows it in a poker game or on a series of good time drinks.

Sam Morgan grew up in a numbers house. His parents collected numbers from a factory and from neighbors for years, and every day his mother put a dollar or two on 356.

Then one day while shopping, she asked a parking lot attendant what number had hit, and he said 356. She nearly bowled him over with a joyful embrace.

"She always had wanted expensive deep blue carpet with matching drapes," Morgan said, "and that's what she bought."

For some people, playing the numbers takes on the trappings, and to a degree the feelings of religion, a mercenary kind of faith that breeds an odd kind of ritual.

Every dream book is advertised as best used in tandem with its own special incense, to be burned before bed and upon rising, to insure dreams that produce numbers.

LaMaar McQueen had made his living selling lucky incense and lucky oils and candles and all kinds of dream books for 43 years.

He currently owns a store at 5040 Brush called McQueen's Novelties. He started in 1929, just a few years after numbers became organized in Detroit. His first store was on Hastings, in the heart of Detroit's first black ghetto. He moved to Brush street in 1934 and had been on one corner or another there ever since.

His store is full of 30 kinds of special candles that are supposed to bring luck in playing numbers. He stocks more than 35 kinds of special lucky skin oils. And he sells about 45 kinds of incense. He has just about every dream book ever published.

"Sure people still buy them," he said. "People been buying these for 40 years and they never change 'em. They just put a new date on the cover."

One day last week, there were seven people in his little shop, waiting to be served. One lady bought a lucky candle. Two bought dreambooks. And another bought a "green sheet," put out weekly by local numbers houses and listing all the numbers that have hit it the past two years.

But there are many more places to find help in picking a number, and one of the most important is church.

Whenever a minister selects a Bible verse to contemplate or read aloud, he is also inadvertently providing a number—Matthew, Chapter 5, Verse 17 . . . 517.

Whenever he hangs a hymn number on the wall, he is doing the same thing.

A Detroit Baptist minister spoke from the pulpit years ago about all that, and his words are now folklore:

"I know some of you are taking the numbers of our hymns and betting on them," he intoned. "I'm not saying whether I approve or not, but if you play them . . . be sure and box 'em."

Now deceased, once legendary Profit Jones was famous for the numbers he gave out. People used the number from the passage of the Bible he gave out each week as the number to play. Once that number hit four weeks in a row, according to police, and broke four medium-sized Detroit numbers houses.

"Once he was waiting for a train in New York," said Jones' PR man, who lived with him for 20 years, "and a lady walked up and handed him an envelope with \$800 in it. She hit the numbers for a big amount."

There are also other so-called preachers not in organized religion who make their living selling "special blessings," which are numbers. These preachers give each person a special blessing (for a fee), working under the theory that if they give out enough numbers some are bound to hit.

"I remember one church," said a black police officer who has investigated numbers for the past 14 years, "where they had four lines for those blessings—a \$25 line, a \$15 line, a \$10 line and a \$5 line."

Other preachers sell blessed candles. The blessing is a small piece of paper wrapped around the candle with a number printed on it.

There are still advertisements for these special blessings on Sunday night radio. They give an address or a phone number to call to make arrangements for the service.

For a lot of people playing the number isn't all sweet, incense-filled dreams. It can be a nightmare.

The woman Pat Theodore worked for when he picked up numbers went broke betting them. "I remember one day," he said, "she hit for \$5,000 and I congratulated her. She told me that wouldn't begin to cover her losses for the past six weeks. The operation finally closed down, because she bet away all of the profits."

Sam Morgan recalled a school teacher in Oak Park who called his parents twice a day to place bets.

"She would call with a whole string of numbers and just after we'd get them all down, she'd call with another bunch. Even if she hit once or twice a week, it didn't cover what she bet that week. She borrowed all she could from her credit union and was still in debt."

"When I was growing up, I just couldn't understand why that lady did that. All she bet was dimes, but they added up to more than her weekly salary. And if she hit one, all she got was \$50. She would bet that in two or three days."

James has been collecting numbers for 30 years. He's been downtown to police headquarters, he says, 200 times since he started. "The worst player I ever had," he recalled, worked in a Chrysler plant and bet \$130 to \$150 a week himself.

"I prayed for that man to hit," James said. But he seldom did and he started drinking about a year ago, and I haven't seen him since. Numbers is a terrible thing for a lot of people. The more they bet and lose, the longer they bet. They think each day is the day they will hit. My son told me the other day: 'A numbers player is a fool.' I told him he was right."

LOUIS B. SELTZER AND HEALTHY HEARTS

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, the fame of Louis B. Seltzer long ago spread beyond the bounds of the city of Cleveland he loves and serves so well, just as the affection felt for this great Cleveland and American is shared by his countless friends across the Nation.

Louie Seltzer continues to be a joy and pride to our community, who demonstrates his devotion to our city through continued good works. When he said, "I love Cleveland and my whole being is intertwined with it," he meant every word, and Cleveland is the finer for his endeavors.

His latest project, and a highly successful one as are all the civic ventures he undertakes, was as chairman of Heart Sunday recently during the residential fundraising campaign in Cuyahoga County. Bob Seltzer, a splendid writer in the family tradition, dedicated one of his splendid columns to this most worthwhile cause. In doing so he had some heartwarming words to say not only on behalf of the American Heart Association, but, with justifiable pride, about his remarkable dynamo of a brother.

The article follows:

[From the Cleveland Press, Feb. 21, 1972]

L.B.S. AND HEALTHY HEARTS

(By Bob Seltzer)

The busiest retired executive in Cleveland is a dapper dynamo whose most recent voluntarism is as Heart Sunday chairman Feb. 27

in the residential fund-raising campaign in Cuyahoga County.

Louis B. Seltzer, 74, editor of *The Press* from 1928 to 1966, will lead 20,000 volunteers in the quest for funds for research, community service and education in the fight against America's No. 1 killer and disabler.

He has personal motivation because of the death of his only son, Chester E., a magazine writer and editor, from a heart attack at 56 last Oct. 5 in El Paso, Tex. The son had no history of heart trouble.

Louis Seltzer, dedicated to this city, as he was for 53 years to his profession, is a member, director or officer of 61 organizations. He is the city's ambassador without portfolio, and for years has been known as "Mr. Cleveland."

Said he: "Every time I walk on Euclid Ave. or the main street of any city, I see men and women who owe their lives to heart surgery made possible by many years of research. Goal of the eight-county campaign of the Northeast Ohio Chapter, American Heart Assn., is \$1,227,000."

Seltzer, a White House guest of five Presidents, vowed when he retired to remain in his native Cleveland and work voluntarily in its behalf, despite glowing offers elsewhere.

"I am busy because I believe you should turn back to your community what the community has done for you," he said. "I love Cleveland, and my whole being is intertwined with it."

Seltzer, slight in stature and a rigid self-disciplinarian, is a man of boundless energy and enthusiasm. He is intuitive and outgoing and an impeccable dresser.

At 13 he was office boy and cub reporter for the old *Leader*. He became city editor of *The Press* at 19, then politics editor, chief editorial writer, associate editor and editor. In 1937, he was named editor-in-chief of the *Scripps-Howard Newspaper of Ohio*. As editor of *The Press*, he arrived at his desk daily at 6 a.m.

Seltzer stayed close to the people and shared their problems. His articles on the editorial page signed LBS mirrored the joys and sorrows of readers, but he never pontificated.

His wife, the former Marion E. Champlin, a foremost civic and welfare leader and his constant companion, died of cancer in 1965. They had celebrated their golden wedding anniversary on Jan. 9, 1965, at *The Press* Golden Wedding Party. A new school on the site of old Landon School, which she attended, is named for her.

Seltzer, chairman of Cleveland's Sesqui-Centennial last year, also is chairman of the Bicentennial commission appointed by Mayor Perk. Seltzer is a board member of the Cleveland Convention & Visitors Bureau, which he served three times as president; a director and four-time president of the Cleveland Safety Council, and a trustee and three-time president of the Welfare Federation.

He lives with his daughter and son-in-law, Shirley and Arthur E. Cooper, at 480 Parklawn Dr., Rocky River, and has five grandchildren and two great-grandchildren.

If you sense an element of pride in the subject of this column, you are right. He is my brother.

THE METRIC SYSTEM

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, the metric system of measurement has been a legal system of measurement in this country since 1866, and there has been a slow but steady adoption of

the system on the part of both industry and Government. Today we find the system used to varying degrees in such industries as the electric power, chemical, photographic, optometric, and pharmaceutical industries, and in the Government by a number of agencies, including the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Department of Defense, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

In September 1970, NASA announced a policy that in the future, measurement values used in their scientific and technical publications would be expressed in the metric or updated and internationally agreed upon SI units. Further than this, a start has been made in using metric engineering standards in product development. The report of the Secretary of Commerce to the Congress last August, entitled "A Metric America," called for a coordinated plan toward a more universal use of the metric system in the United States over a 10-year period. Following this report, I have introduced in the Congress, for myself and several other Members, a joint resolution to implement this report and establish a board to adopt a plan to carry out the recommendations of the report. You no doubt are aware that I have been an ardent supporter of the metric system for many years and I look forward to the adoption of the joint resolution.

A recent issue of *Reader's Digest* has in it a very interesting article on the metric system entitled "Here Comes the Meter!" and I recommend it to my colleagues. I insert it at this point:

[From *Reader's Digest*, April 1972]

HERE COMES THE METER!

(By Harland Manchester)

(NOTE.—Like it or not, the United States is finally joining the rest of the world on the metric-system bandwagon. The only remaining question: Will the changeover result from costly drift—or efficient design?)

One of the greatest inventions of man, comparable to the wheel in simplicity and universal application, is the metric system of weights and measures. Since its introduction in France in 1790, it has swept most of the civilized world, and is now the common language of commerce, industry, science and everyday living among more than 90 percent of the world's people. Even Great Britain, the once-proud parent of the so-called imperial, or English system, is now changing to the meter, with a goal of completing her conversion plan by 1975.

Along among the great nations, the United States is still entangled in an antiquated, bewildering web of feet, rods, miles, acres, pounds, ounces, tons, grains, quarts, bushels, pecks, gills, barrels and other vaguely related units, many of which change from region to region. This sloppy, jerry-built structure has driven generations of schoolchildren up the walls, tripled the work of engineers and draftsmen, abetted fraud in the marketplace and confused shoppers. Ever since the country's birth, practical statesmen, scientists, industrialists and educators—from Benjamin Franklin to the astronauts—have time and again urged adoption of the simple, time-saving international metric system. And always they have been defeated by lethargy and man's built-in dislike of change.

Now the United States has yet another chance to emerge from its inch-pound chaos. The National Bureau of Standards, ending a three-year study that cost \$1.3 million, has published a 13-volume survey which contains the results of thousands of interviews and reports from companies, trade associations

and other groups representing every sector of society. This monumental document is summarized in the final volume, titled *A Metric America: A Decision Whose Time Has Come*. The outstanding fact emerging from this report is that a switch to the meter is inevitable—the only questions are when and how.

Consumer experts pointed out that processed foods are packaged in such a wide variety of sizes that they make quick price comparison for the housewife in the supermarket next to impossible. Going metric would help solve this problem, and lead to a reduction of confusing practices in information about products. Curiously enough, big business, which has the greatest investment in conventionally measured machines and equipment, led in promoting the meter. Of more than 2000 manufacturing firms responding to the Bureau's questions, 93 percent were in favor of a coordinated national program of "metrication," either voluntary or mandatory.

A leading industrial advocate is the Ford Motor Company, which for years has been involved in metric usage in many of its foreign plants. Ford's Lima, Ohio, plant is now manufacturing the new Pinto engine with metric parts which will match those made in European plants. Ford has also published several pamphlets acquainting industry with the virtues of the metric system.

"We are going metric anyway," says Daniel V. De Simone, of the Bureau of Standards, who headed the study. "The choice is whether the country continues its haphazard and piecemeal drift toward joining the rest of the world in the use of the metric system—a process which may continue into the next century—or adopts a well-planned schedule." Ever since Congress made the metric system legal in 1866, it has been sporadically supplanting the foot-pound jumble. The entire pharmaceutical industry went metric about 15 years ago, and doctors now prescribe doses in cc's (cubic centimeters). Last year, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration announced its metrication, and TV viewers heard moon travel defined in kilometers. Increasingly, items like photographic film, chemicals, ball bearings and spark plugs are measured metrically.

The Bureau now proposes that a central board of private citizens be appointed to coordinate and supply technical assistance during a ten-year changeover period, similar to the conversion period that Great Britain is now passing through. Bills calling for such a program have been introduced in both Senate and House, and it may be that we shall at last take the metric hurdle.

Often called SI, for *Système International*, the metric system has three commonly used units that differ from ours: the meter (39.37 inches) for length, the liter (roughly our quart) for capacity, and the gram (.035 ounce) for mass or weight. Prefix this simple troika—meter, liter, gram—with terms like kilo-, centi- and milli-, and you can measure almost anything. The metric system also supplants the Fahrenheit scale thermometer with the more logical Centigrade scale, in which 0° C. stands for the freezing point of water, and 100° C. for its boiling point. (There are further refinements of the system that are important mainly to scientists and engineers.)

Foot-pound victims who have dipped into the metric system are amazed at the drudgery that can be avoided. For example, if you have a few thousand meters, simply move the decimal point two places to the left and you have kilometers, while to change feet into miles you have to divide by 5280—if, that is, you remember that figure. Last fall, a suburban couple wanted to compute the volume and weight of the water needed to fill a pond they were planning to build. Using feet, gallons and pounds, the job took

21 minutes. They had to consult a reference book, and use 168 digits. With metric measurements (to which they were not accustomed), they got answers in only three minutes, using only 19 digits.

In general, the more people know about the meter the better they like it; college graduates and professional people are among its leading advocates. Young people are much more receptive than their elders to the metric system, the Bureau survey shows. And a study sponsored by the American Association for the Advancement of Science found that lower children learn metric more readily than they do the present system.

Given a ten-year conversion schedule, the Bureau of Standards report proposes that, after two years of research and preparation, SI be taught from kindergarten through the sixth grade as a "first language," with the present system as a "second language"; that during the next four years SI be used exclusively in grades 7 to 12. After the eighth year of the conversion program, SI would be used exclusively in all elementary and secondary schools.

Despite its clear advantages, a vigorous campaign of public education is imperative if SI is to have a chance of genuine popular acceptance. Great Britain has created a lively model for such a campaign, with television, radio, films, the press and billboards combining to proclaim the message of the meter. Already, the American Association of Museums has volunteered to display popular exhibits of SI in its member institutions, and the Advertising Council, which has helped greatly in publicizing such programs as the campaign against cancer, has offered its help in a national metrication drive.

An estimate of the total cost of conversion is impossible to compute, but the costs and inconveniences involved would be temporary—they would stop at the end of the transition period. The benefits would continue indefinitely. With the haphazard adoption now in progress, moreover, it might take 50 years to get things straightened out—with the delay increasing annual conversion costs by as much as seven percent. During the conversion period, no pressure would be brought upon firms and individuals who prefer the old measures. (In some European countries that went metric long ago there are still rural areas that stick to Grandfather's ways, and no one cares very much.) Football plays will still be measured in yards, and the mile, quart and pound will remain in the dictionary for a long time.

A leading Congressional campaigner for metrication is Rep. George P. Miller of California. For many years he has been preaching its gospel—his enthusiasm dating from his trouble with fractions in grade school—and he is the author of a comprehensive metric conversion bill which he plans to bring before the House. Of late, he reports, converts have been many, including a machinery manufacturer "who once asked me why I wanted to upset the applecart with all those foreign meters. Since then he has got a lot of foreign orders and has to use two standards in his factory. The last time I saw him he demanded, 'When are we going to switch to the metric system? That's what the country needs!'"

WATER POLLUTION BILL

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I am in receipt of a communication from the Northern Environmental Council, Duluth, Minn., urging support for the clean water package of amendments to the pending water pollution bill, H.R. 11896.

So that all of my colleagues will have an opportunity to be aware of the council's views and its membership, I include the text of its communication and the list of the council's member organizations at this point in the RECORD:

FLOOR AMENDMENT OF BLATNIK WATER POLLUTION BILL, H.R. 11896

This letter speaks for 40 regional environmentally concerned groups affiliated with the Northern Environmental Council, including several in your district. We wired you on March 15 urging your support on the floor of the Congress for the "Clean Water Package" sponsored by Representative Saylor-Dingell-Reuss.

There is no use passing another weak water pollution bill. We have many bills and little clean water. Now or never is the chance for you to support the following demands:

- (1) Establish 1981 requirements and 1985 zero discharge goals now.
- (2) Grant EPA authority to reject individual permits.
- (3) Establish employee protection programs.
- (4) Give any citizen the right to sue to enforce the law.
- (5) Do not weaken the National Environmental Policy Act.
- (6) Retain the 1899 Refuse Act as a pollution abatement statute.
- (7) Prevent weakening of the Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act.

MARY ALICE BOOKHART RECEIVES AWARD

HON. CHARLES H. GRIFFIN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. GRIFFIN. Mr. Speaker, on March 17, 1972, one of Mississippi's most distinguished and honored journalists, Mrs. Mary Alice Bookhart was awarded the Woman of Achievement Award of the Mississippi Press Women's Club. Mrs. Bookhart is women's editor of the Clarion Ledger of Jackson, Miss. I can think of no more deserving recipient of this award than Mrs. Bookhart.

It gives me pleasure to include an article from the Clarion Ledger of March 12, 1972, which covers Mrs. Bookhart's long and noteworthy career:

PRESS WOMEN'S AWARD TO MRS. BOOKHART

Mary Alice Bookhart, women's editor of The Clarion-Ledger and one of Mississippi's most honored journalists, will receive the Mississippi Press Women's award of Woman of Achievement at a banquet here Friday March 17.

Presentation of the award at a banquet at the Heidelberg Roof will be like saying: "She's at it again."

Mrs. Bookhart has been winning awards for years; among them last year's Golden Deeds Award of the Jackson Exchange Club. Before that there was the Media Awards from the Hinds County chapter of the American Cancer Society; National Foundation (March of Dimes); National Federation of Music Clubs, Mississippi Federation of Music Clubs, Mississippi Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, and South Jackson Civic League awards.

In 1970, too, she was the first woman to receive the Silver Inky award from Mississippi State College for Women, for contributions to the community through excellence in journalism. That citation read:

"To Mary Alice Bookhart: For 28 years she has directed with dedication the women's pages of Mississippi's largest daily. She has

been a communications counselor for statewide women's groups and for civic cultural projects within her area. To these activities, she has brought understanding, wisdom and a high sense of helpfulness. For these ever ready services to journalism and for her newspaper, Mississippi College for Women presents its Silver Inky for 1970 to Mary Alice Bookhart of The Clarion Ledger."

That was only one of 100 awards won up to that time in Mississippi Federation of Press Women competition, and among 18 received from the National Federation of Press Women, including six for first place.

In addition, she has been named "Honorary Recruiter" for the U.S. Air Force, and received a "Flying Orchid" from Delta Air Line.

Her Golden Deeds Award last year was for long and continued service to her community and her adopted state.

When Mrs. Bookhart, wife of John Bookhart, a retired industrial executive, did adopt Mississippi, the act was mutual. Mississippi took her quickly to heart.

A native of Little Rock, Ark., she attended school at Pine Bluff with another woman who has made her mark in public works, Mrs. Martha Mitchell, wife of the just-resigned Attorney General of the United States.

She moved to Jackson with her husband in 1937, and five years later joined the staff of the state's leading newspaper.

Active in a variety of civic affairs, she helped organize and is a past president of the Jackson Symphony League, the Goodwill Auxiliary and the Casual Luncheon Club. She also was one of the organizing forces of the Jackson Music Association, and the Hinds County Kidney Foundation.

She has served as memorial gifts chairman of the Hinds County Health Association, and is a member of the Mississippi Arts Commission, the Altrusa Club and the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America in Mississippi.

Mrs. Bookhart also was originator of the widely-acclaimed Jackson Symphony "pops" concert and an originator of the now highly-successful Mississippi Arts Festival. During her year as president of the Symphony League she inaugurated the string instruction program, which today assures a continuing flow of musicians for the orchestra.

Listed among the nation's outstanding women in the Who's Who Among American Women since the first edition, she has also won listing among the Foremost Women in Communications and Outstanding Civic Leaders of America.

She is a member of the Gallery Guild of Jackson and a former member of the Pine Bluff, Incorporated, Junior Auxiliary.

Mrs. Bookhart was the recipient of one of five honorable mentions in a poll conducted by The Memphis Commercial-Appeal in December, 1969. That poll was conducted to name the ten top women of the Mid-South Area who helped to shape the '60s and laid the groundwork for the '70s in civic, social and cultural endeavors.

Always, in addition to her routine duties as women's editor of The Clarion-Ledger, Mrs. Bookhart has sought to promote the cultural advancement of Jackson and all Mississippi through her writings and work in other fields.

She served as co-chairman of the Symphony League Cook Book, one of the organization's major projects that has become an annual highlight of fund raising efforts.

Although not a member of the organization, Mrs. Bookhart won the Riverside Business and Professional Women's Club "Woman of Achievement" citation in 1970. And in 1971, she was named "Volunteer of the Year" by the Women's Auxiliary to Goodwill Industries of Mississippi, Inc.

The mother of two children and three grandchildren, Mrs. Bookhart is a life member of the Mississippi Congress of Parents and Teachers, and is third vice president of the National League of American Pen Women.

SMITHSONIAN HOSTS LECTURE
BY DISTINGUISHED SWEDISH
STATESMAN, GOV. ROLF EDBERG

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, on March 3 the distinguished Swedish statesman and humanist, Gov. Rolf Edberg, gave a most inspiring lecture on the subject of "Mankind's Relation to the Environment," at the Smithsonian Institution. Governor Edberg is the author of the book, "On the Shred of a Cloud" which was a major factor in causing the Swedish Government to propose a world-wide conference on the environment which will take place in Stockholm in June of this year. In his lecture, Governor Edberg described in eloquent terms the environmental crisis which man's uncontrolled technology has created. The Smithsonian Institution, whose Office of Seminars and Office of Environmental Sciences jointly sponsored the lecture, is to be complimented for providing a forum for this articulate spokesman for the sane use of our environment and for giving his compelling ideas a wider audience in this country. My colleagues will be interested to know that the text of the lecture and other writings by Governor Edberg will shortly be published in book form by the University of Alabama Press. I insert Governor Edberg's lecture at the Smithsonian, "Man in a Shrinking World," in the Record at the conclusion of my remarks:

MAN IN A SHRINKING WORLD

(Lecture given by Governor Rolf Edberg, at the Smithsonian Institution, March 3, 1972)

Ladies and Gentlemen: Let me first of all express my gratitude for the honor of being granted the privilege to address this audience at the Smithsonian Institution.

The title of my speech—Man in a Shrinking World—is a pretentious one. My own approach to the subject will, however, be very humble—I know too well that I am a layman in the real sense of that word.

A layman fascinated and frightened—as more and more of my contemporaries—by the glimpses which we believe we catch of Man in his cosmic framework.

There are turning points in history of human thinking when suddenly a conception can assume an immense power. Such a conception is evolution.

Even if a few visionaries earlier had imagined the continuity of existence, man had, while searching for himself, mostly groped in the dark along gulfs of fear and mystery, before, in the middle of last century, he got on the track of the driving forces of evolution. Evolutionism has cleared up the thickest mists surrounding our being. It is no longer possible to try to answer questions about man's nature, creations and destiny without regarding him as part of the course of evolution.

When Darwin tore the veils from the past, he showed us how it is supposed that biological evolution had developed on the planet Tellus. The great adventure of our time—the greatest since Darwin—has been the voyage of discovery to the interior of the living cells and the charting of the molecules which are supposed to control life-process itself. The DNA of the primordial cell seems to have issued the message that has created all species.

The message has become more varied and complicated as its path has grown longer. But some of the original message remains immortal and calls out through the ages.

The tree, whose branches wave in the wind, the bird in its crown, the man at its foot—they all are of the same material and within them resound variations on a theme whose tone-sequence was already composed in the primordial cell. Together they form a web, composed of many tiny units where nobody can lead an isolated life. What we can observe in nature are links and bonds between different organizations of living matter and ultimately between life and non-life. Everywhere dependencies and incitements. Everywhere new combinations which evolution produces out of old elements.

Behind biological evolution on our own small planet, we imagine a cosmic evolution of inconceivable dimensions.

The whirling clouds of dust and gases, out of which our planetary system was formed perhaps five billion years ago, must have been composed of particles from exploded stars, which once lit some other sky than ours. The whole cosmos reveals itself as a never-ceasing creation. We can see whole galaxies budding and fading like leaves on an earthly tree. The earth and everything on it must contain elements that were once parts of other planetary systems. We, the children of the earth, are made of such stuff as stars are made of.

Since the entire universe seems to be composed of the same elements, we are obliged to believe that matter is transformed into what we call life on billions and billions of dark points in the universe. We have to believe that life is simply part of the structure of the universe, that biological evolution is a fragment of the cosmic evolution.

If life is the realization of a cosmic principle we can imagine another cosmic principle, according to which evolution must lead to more and more complicated molecular organisms.

But the elementary particles have proved to be able to create not only seas and mountains, stars and brains but also consciousness. How matter can be transformed into thinking we do not understand, maybe we will never understand. But it is quite comprehensible when we ask if there is not a tendency to consciousness even in the smallest particles in the same way as there is a trend to create more and more complex substances.

On our own planet we believe that we are able to observe how consciousness has been developed from the hardly perceptible excitability of an amoeba to a level where man has become a being who not only knows but also knows that he knows.

The almost cogent conclusion is that, on several other planets with some form of life, evolution must have produced creatures of intelligence who are able to forge the metals of their planet, to think and to create a philosophy of life.

That evolution had to lead up to more complex forms, did not, however, mean that it had to lead just to our species. We are as species the result of coincidences in the same way as the individual.

Long has our journey been. On our devious path from the primordial sea to the present time the trees were only one station. But a station so filled with changes and events that it can for the human race be regarded as a beginning. From wood thou art.

We had to climb the trees in order to return as human beings. Constitution and senses of the early primate were adapted by the natural selection to a life in the trees. Feet and hands were developed into prehensile organs, suitable for climbing along trunks and for swinging from branch to branch. But there was also a question of calculating distance and possibilities. During the tree period the sense of sight became as

important for survival as the sense of smell is for the animal on the ground. The eyeing of distance and goal, the gripping hand hanging to close in the exact moment, this whole complicated act demanded in the end a co-ordination of the central nervous system. The tree existence began to develop the brain. At the same time the intensive concept of space was developed which is the ground for all civilization.

Development could, however, in the protected tree existence only advance to a certain limit. In order to develop the possibilities created by the tree existence, there had to be another change of environment.

One can imagine that the primate with the human seed was, almost in the sense of the Old Testament, exiled from the garden of pleasure by the drought of the pliocene-period and by the glacial periods passing to and fro over the northern hemisphere and also decimating the tropical forests. In a new existence in the open he had to take up the struggle with other beasts of prey which millions of years had adapted for hunting on the ground.

In order to survive in this new and unsafe environment with all its formidable risks, the emigrant had to develop the multifarious inheritance he had brought from the tree life. A tendency to stand erect had been developed already during the tree existence. Out on the savanna it had to be further developed. The primate with the human seed became the only vertical type in the animal kingdom—a mammal with the stature of a tree. The erect walk freed the fore extremities to produce tools and weapons. This formed the technical ground for human civilization.

The intellectual ground was formed by the cerebrum which was the answer of the primate to the horns and tusks of the other beasts. At a certain point brain must have gained an advantage of the mere strength in the selection of the fittest. But in an existence of permanent threat also boldness, combativeness, what we today call instinct of aggression, must have been highly rewarded in selection within the species.

The combination of intelligence and aggressiveness may ultimately explain the success of a species which seemed to have most of the odds against it after the expulsion from the pleasure-garden. But it was at the same time one of the most dangerous combinations that evolution ever has produced.

The tree life left, however, another inheritance too. The primate up in the branches lived in intimate harmony with the trees. The rustle of the wind in the leaves sank into him. This marked him for ever.

Even after descending to the ground he still was a part of the wood-life. Gradually the primate with the human possibilities was transformed into a human being. But the environment remained the same.

For 30,000 generations or more, from the time mankind first took form, man remained a free ranging hunter. For only 300 generations he has tilled the soil and lived in towns. Even 30 generations ago, our forbears in Western Europe were what we today call barbarians.

The wilds have been man's obvious habitat for all but the last one-hundredth part of his existence. It is from these points of references we must try to fix our present situation.

We cannot get away from our origins, however firmly we ensconce ourselves behind glass and concrete of our skyscrapers. Having retained the hunter's biological constitution, we carry deep within us, even if unconsciously, much of his reaction pattern and emotions. Some of our deepest biological needs are still based on nature. Perhaps it is the tension between these needs and the way of life we have developed which underlies our rootlessness and restlessness, our neuroses and our stress.

Throughout his primitive existence, man lived like other animals in a state of balance with his environment. He had a strong intuition for the interplay between the various parts of the nature. The landscape in which the hunter sought his prey was changed less by his efforts than by those of the beaver and the worm. Only during the last one-hundredth part of his existence has mankind interfered with nature's order.

From the stone-axe to the space rocket man has been an innovator of technical improvements. For his own needs he has in progressive scale altered his physical environment and modified the conditions of this planet. Misled by the belief that man can—indeed has a God-inspired mission to—dominate everything else in creation he has developed a technological way of life which steadily has removed him from the fundamental laws of nature.

Our own generation is now beginning to be shocked into the realization that this development has brought us face to face with a mortal threat to our environment and hence to man himself as a biological creature.

Our dilemma has two aspects, both equally serious. One aspect concerns the plundering of natural resources, which have slowly been built up through billions of years, the other concerns the poisoning of elements which are the primary support of life.

The first to be excessively exploited was the thin layer of top-soil, from whose salts and fluids we ourselves have been created as are worms and sponges. It started when man, less than ten thousand years ago, changed from hunter into a herdsman and farmer and began to sow grain-bearing grass and breed domesticated animals for food. When man began to clear the forests in order to extend the grazing grounds for his goats and the farmland for his grain, the soil was laid bare to wind and water erosion. The forces of soil dispersal were turned loose.

Mismanagement of the fertile earth made early cultures fade away. Already five centuries B.C., Plato ominously described how in his own country of Greece "the rich and soft soil had washed away and has left only the stripped skeleton of the land behind". It has been estimated that today only about two per cent of the country's original top-soil is left. The causes of the decline and fall of Greek culture are clearly written in the naked mounds of Attica.

In our own times, the plundering of the globe's resources has attained sensational dimensions. It is estimated that in two centuries one-third of America's soil has vanished in silty rivers and whirling storms. It is estimated that during the last generation one-seventh of the planet's surface has been transformed by man's own action into desert and wasteland. Our technological shortsightedness is also depriving future generations of numerous other important natural resources. In a couple of generations the oil and coal which bygone geological eras have stored in the earth's crust will have been consumed.

Equally serious is our misuse of water. Water is of especial significance among our natural resources. Water is the dominating substance of the planet. Water surrounds life and is embodied in life. A small drop of water can contain thousands of individual lives. Man himself is a travelling bottle filled to seven-eighths parts—with water matter which he has carried with him all the way from the primordial sea.

In man's technological development water has innumerable industrial and household applications. This has created heavy demands which have been met without any thought for the future. Europe is currently consuming three times as much water as is returned by hydrological circulation, certain parts of America many times that quantity. The consequence of this excessive exploitation is

that many lakes have vanished from the map in the course of this century.

Even more serious, however, is the depletion of the globes slowly developed ground water reservoirs—an underground world of lakes, rivers and rivulets of which we know far less than we do about the surface of the moon. The situation is already now desperate in many places. It is estimated that in ten years time, the world's population will require 265 trillion liters more water than is now being consumed—with the present overconsumption. Compare this with the prediction that by the end of the century the population of the globe will have doubled.

Besides plundering the resources of his planet, man has upset nature's own processes. To keep alive, the earth must secure the salts and minerals which serve the vital needs of humans, animals and plants. This organic circle has been interrupted over large parts of the globe. Each year we deprive the earth of hecatombs of mineral nutrients, which after serving the needs of our own economy are cast into the water.

This entire process runs counter to nature, and its effects will be fatal. The technician is no demigod, who can create out of nothing. What he puts in one pocket he must take from another pocket. When man's economy has replaced that of nature the result has been that elements necessary for the life process have been tapped from their natural environment and thrown in to environments, to which they do not belong.

This is on the point of affecting the whole biosphere. Within this sphere sea and rocks and air and life are integrated and exchange components with each other. The elements which are essential for life are engaged in a perpetual circulation between water and earth and atmosphere and welter of varying organisms.

If the pace and the path of the circulation is disturbed the balance-wheel of the life process won't work. If an element becomes too scanty in its natural milieu the foundation of life is threatened. If it becomes too abundant or is thrown into surroundings, to which it doesn't belong, its effect can be poisoning.

It is this delicate balance, shaped during billions of years, that the technical man upsets.

We know too well what happens all around. Human and industrial effluents, nutrient salts and toxic substances, which are poured into lakes and rivers, lead to unnatural fermentation, upset the biological balance and accelerate the stagnation which accompanies the geological ageing of lakes. A good number of the world's fresh water reservoirs are now so polluted that they could not be purified within the foreseeable future by any of the methods known so far.

In many places we are rapidly fertilizing lakes to death. Even the salt seawater has a sensitive balance—sensitive to harsh interference with its natural processes. Recent reports tell us that in the depths of the Baltic the oxygen is almost expended and is being replaced by sulphurous hydrogen, which has a deadly effect on all forms of life and transforms the deeps into barren wildernesses. The North Sea, used up to now by the countries along the shores as dumping ground, has become severely contaminated.

Scientists have found that the oceans are far more vulnerable than has hitherto been assumed and that perhaps they are the most immediately threatened parts of the biosphere. They fear that the chemical pollution of the seven seas might be disastrous for the oxygen production of the oceans, for the breathing of the small, merely invisible phytoplankton, which are responsible for seven-tenths of the oxygen production of our planet. Increasing amounts of radioactive waste are deposited in concrete or steel containers which often are submerged

in the oceans. Strontium 90 and cesium 137 need to be kept six hundred years in their containers before they are released in the environment. The most modest one can be about this is to say that we place an awful tutelage on future generations to guard our remaining threats to life. There is not even any guarantee that the containers will remain where we have dropped them; they may be carried by currents to distant coasts. And the U.S. atomic energy commission has established leaks on containers already after twenty years.

Just as we mismanage our water, so do we also make increasing use of the atmosphere as dumping ground. We have reached a point where the degree of pollution in the atmosphere and in the water has become the surest yardstick by which to measure what we call civilization.

Today practically all our towns are malodorous. Even on clear summer days our big cities are shrouded in a haze full of carbon monoxide and sulphur dioxide belched forth by our central heating systems, factory chimneys and cars. One effect of this haze is that the biologically active part of the ultra-violet rays has difficulty in penetrating it—sunlight is impoverished, dawn comes later, twilight earlier.

The impure air also has direct decaying effects. The air we breathe has often become the poison we breathe. In Tokio, where there may be 180 smog warnings a single year, the police in particularly exposed districts have to return to their stations at half-hour intervals to inhale pure oxygen. In New York a couple of years ago, a report was published saying that carbon monoxide contamination has reached such heights that it could represent a threat to the brain functions of man. In Germany the special adviser to the Reichskanzler recently warned that ten years from now old people might not be able to stay out of doors without gas-masks. From post mortems carried out doctors can tell us that while the lungs of the rare species which is called country people still have a fresh, red colouring, those of city dwellers have a grey tone.

We know very little about the cumulative effect on climate of the increasing amount of carbon monoxide which is thrown up in the atmosphere. But we must presume that the balance between incoming and outgoing radiation is very fragile and that only slight shifts in a system, which we like all other living beings on this planet are adapted to, can have catastrophic effects.

Pollution requires no passport to cross the national borders. It is spread by winds and currents, by migratory birds and wandering schools of fish, all over the world. Our air in Europe just now will be yours in a few hours, your coastal waters today will be ours some weeks hence. Politically it is extremely difficult to unite our shrinking world—but everything living does at least live in a unity of pollution.

An American meteorologist Morris Neiburger has warned that the day may come when pollution surpasses the self-clearing ability of the atmosphere and that the earth will then be enveloped in a smog which will cause human civilization slowly to wither away. The mere fact that such a theory can be conceived gives our technical civilization an ironic relief.

There stands man. It was man that technology was to serve, even if it didn't take anything else into consideration.

As we now walk around with strontium in our bones, DDT in our body tissues, lead in our kidneys and anxiety in our hearts, we are making the terrible discovery that the price of progress has been unreasonably high.

Even worse perhaps than the poisons which penetrate our bodies is the poison which is eating its way into our minds. A change is taking place in our relationship to our environment. The waves which lap the shore

may be contaminated; the rain which washes over the meadows, the wind which blows over fields may carry with them invisible poisons. We have not yet realized the full horror of the fact that we can no longer meet nature, which created us, without suspicion.

Was the primate who came down from the trees the greatest natural catastrophe which has befallen Tellus? We are continually persecuted by this question. In any case it cannot be doubted that our present course is taking us nearer and nearer an ecological collapse.

There are two factors which impede the radical change of direction which is so necessary.

Misled by his own technology, technical man is driven to an accelerated race in pursuit of material growth. If all countries acquired the material standard of living of the United States, a tidal wave of affluence would sweep around the world and soon make it uninhabitable. It is, however, the stated intention of the Soviet Union, China and Europe to attain the material standard of the United States. Japan, the most effective environmental destroyer of all, is trying to outdo the United States and will no doubt be successful. It is the ambition of the Americans themselves to treble their standard before the end of the century.

The greatest threat to the environment lies, however, in the final analysis in man's uncontrolled superiority. It is becoming crowded on the spaceship Tellus, living resources are limited. By his disproportionate abundance, man is pushing aside more and more creatures in the great interplay of life. Links which are broken—animals which are being exterminated, plants which are disappearing—can never be replaced. This may have just as serious consequences for the global interplay as the irresponsible manipulation of nature's various elements.

The balance of life rests in multiplicity. A creature which wins too great a triumph in the struggle for survival puts itself in danger. When there is no prey any longer, then there is no place for the hunter.

At the same time we are filling our environment with various stress factors. The world is being turned into a place from where silence and tranquillity have been banished and where man can no longer find the space, the seclusion, the distances which his deeply rooted biological instincts demand. All this has given the descendants of the hunter a terrible feeling of homelessness.

In a little book "At the Foot of the Tree", to be published later this year by Alabama University Press, I have made an attempt to put this situation into its cosmic context.

Perhaps our crises were quite simply unavoidable. Perhaps it was a result of cosmic logic.

It must lie in the nature of intelligence to research, to experiment, to test, to use the resources of its planet for its own species. Before mature insight into the whole situation is obtained—and insight is usually only won through dearly-bought experience—increased technological skill must almost automatically lead to a rearrangement in nature which upsets the original balance and in the long run even threatens life itself.

This is perhaps something which has taken place over and over again in the cosmos in the eternities which lie behind us and something which is taking place in this relative present in innumerable places in an endless universe.

It may be assumed that innumerable planetary civilisations have perished because the intelligent beings have not mastered the crisis in their own development. But there must also be many worlds where intelligence has crossed the critical threshold. Tremendous possibilities for future development must have become available in worlds where this has taken place.

If this is the planetary situation which we are confronted with after millions of years of development, then space, indeed, towers far above our destiny.

It is during the last generation that our civilisation has reached the critical point; and there is perhaps only one generation left for us to gain the control over our collective behaviour that can save our planet from being one of the worlds where evolution tested the possibilities of consciousness and failed.

If our species is to have a chance of surviving this challenge then we must change this chain of stormy conflicts, homelessness and anxiety into what Glenn Seaborg has called "a period of unprecedented maturity." We must gather our anxiety and our intelligence, our will and our efforts to form an emergency program.

I have tried in my book to give suggestions about the environmental imperatives that such an emergency program should include.

Its first commandment should be: prevent by abstaining. There is knowledge which we have acquired that it would be best not to exploit at all or at least only with the greatest caution, in some cases because we now know what the ecological results would be and in other cases because we cannot yet survey them.

The next commandment ought to be to check the uncontrolled race in pursuit of growth which stresses our minds, destroys our environment and in many cases means that we are plundering the inheritance of coming generations. Perhaps this pursuit of growth with its desire for things is the result of a mechanism which was developed during the periods when the primitive man lived a hard and threatened existence, continually on the edge of starvation. Carried over into the affluent society it works against its original function which was to serve survival. In our present predicament our desire for growth must be subordinated to the over-shadowing need for balance.

The third commandment must be to restore as far as possible the balance we have disturbed so much. We cannot continue to have a self-devouring economy on the buy-and-discard system. Substances which we need and use for our purpose must be recovered and used again and again; the recovery industry should become one of the major branches of industry tomorrow.

This is a minimum program for guaranteeing the continued existence of the race. However, it is probably not possible to carry out even such a minimum program without radical changes in our attitudes and institutions.

All attempts to stop the destruction of the environment and the plundering of the world's resources are doomed to failure if our species cannot be persuaded to check its own growth. It is not just a question of the world's material resources even if the pressure on them is obviously too great already; a complete human existence must be an existence without crowding—and space cannot be created.

We need to work out certain criteria for a standard of life which allows mankind to live, not just exist, during the cosmic seconds which are allotted to our race. These criteria should not only include freedom from starvation and deprivation but also preservation of the air, water, land and preservation of silence and space. Starting from this point an attempt should be made to define a population optimum and all our resources, technical and medicinal, laws and information, should be used in the difficult task of altering fixed habits.

The same thing must be done with our institutions. From the primitive bands of hunters via the first city states to the superpowers of our time man's attempt at social organization have been imperfect experiments. Our own pattern for the organi-

zation of a state is only an enlarged edition of the flock pattern that was formed in a hard and primitive existence.

Today, with increasingly populous continents drawn closer and closer together, the world has become too narrow for the patterns of the flock. Our national states can be regarded as fossils from earlier ages, their boundaries, once drawn by strength and accident to mark off what was unconditionally "mine" and conditionally "yours" have in a shrinking world become obsolete. From an ecological point of view national states are artificial constructions.

To solve the problem we now face, our "community" must be nothing less than mankind. Without a world government of some kind it might not be possible to secure peaceful co-existence within the species, nor to achieve a global plan for the proper utilization of the earth's resources so that man and his environment may be balanced.

Utopia or possibility? It all depends on our values and our visions.

Oscar Wilde once wrote:

"A map of the world that does not include Utopia is not worth even glancing at, for it leaves out the one country at which Humanity is always landing . . . And when Humanity lands there it looks out and seeing a better country sets sail."

A map that includes Utopia, our Utopia, places us in the cosmic perspective. In order to grasp our local situation we must be able to see ourselves from the outside, at a distance in both time and space.

It is possible that man, as a biological phenomenon, has reached his ultimate phase of evolution—provided he does not destroy, by carelessness or in despair, the genetic heritage that has been gathered within him over the eons. During the last millennia technological evolution has more and more overshadowed biological evolution. This has led to a difference in man's development compared with that of other creatures on earth . . . Technological evolution has left its mark on man and all his works—on his apperception which we call civilization, on the integration of minds which we call society.

But at the same time, it is technological development with its oneness and its wild acceleration that has led us to the edge of self-destruction. If man is to be given a future then the emphasis must obviously be placed on another line of development.

My speculations, as a layman, have led me to a point where there is a question waiting to be asked: Is it in the continued evolution of our consciousness that our future lies?

The planet has only so recently become a place for thinking Consciousness, evolved out of the amoeba's scarcely perceptible suggestions of nervous excitability, has only so recently begun to delve into himself and out into the cosmos from which it stems that we should be at the beginning of a line of development. From the material of the planet, through the medium of man, it should be possible to continually evolve more consciousness which will widen our self-knowledge and give us a deeper view of the great context to which we belong.

It would be presumptuous to speculate to what new worlds a continued voyage of discovery would take us if we set sail on such a course. Just as Columbus found another world than the one he was looking for, an evolving consciousness can take mankind to vast expanses far beyond our present ability to imagine. In the continued evolution of consciousness may lie an emotional and intellectual adventure which will make the ideals of the technological age appear extremely primitive and brutal. Man may on a new level, where consciousness and intuition meet, again come close to the nature, from which he during some thousands of years has removed himself.

Round about us we see trends that seem to point to the end of the world. But at the

same time it feels so completely unreal that this race, descendants of supernovas and endless eons, should now be preparing its own destruction, when it is within the bounds of man's own free will to choose the path of continued development.

At all earlier crossroads in human history men have come forward who have been able to articulate the unspoken and scarcely conscious desires, dreams, and needs of their contemporaries. Those who changed man's way of thinking changed human history.

What we need today is a new way of thinking, an aim which we can gather round globally.

I myself belong to a generation with merely wasted possibilities, a generation which has little else than its many failures as its legacy. I am listening eagerly for voices, which can only come from a new generation, preachers who can formulate the electrifying calls, men who can passionately exhort us to come to our senses.

My generation has no possibility of formulating this message. But I believe I can divine something of the meaning of the message. I believe I can visualize that the road to true Humanity goes through humility, that ours must be the humble insight that earth does not belong to us but that we belong to the earth.

VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW TELLS IT LIKE IT IS

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, virtually unnoticed by the national news media was Vice President SPIRO T. AGNEW's recent trip to Drake University to talk with students. Had things gone badly and had a handful of students stood up and chanted barnyard expletives at the Vice President, it no doubt would have been covered as a major news event. CBS would have done a 12-part series; the New York Times Magazine would now be preparing a cover story; the offending students would be writing their memoirs; and the Washington Post's Herblock would be working on a wall-sized mural to fully capture the Vice President's embarrassment.

But the trip did not go badly. It was highly successful from the standpoint of both the Vice President and the students.

The Republican National Committee's weekly publication Monday was on hand for the Vice President's talk and interviewed students for their reactions. For my colleagues, and any of the media curious to know what the students thought of Mr. AGNEW, I insert the Monday story into the RECORD:

VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW TELLS IT LIKE IT IS
AND DRAKE STUDENTS LOVE IT

DES MOINES.—Vice President Spiro T. Agnew's trip to Drake University last week—the first in a series of campus tours he plans to make to “listen and learn”—was a smashing success for both the Vice President and the students.

Following the Vice President's hour-long question and answer session, in which he discussed the dollar in Europe, the government of Greece, the ITT and the GOP, the Florida primary, equal rights for women, day care, the national debt, the President's China

trip, the 18-year-old vote, Vietnam, amnesty, wage-price controls and drugs and marijuana, Monday spoke with students and asked their reaction:

OPEN-MINDED AND COOL

Barbara Boose, a freshman interested in science said: “I'm glad he came. It gave me an opportunity to understand his position because I never knew that much about him. I thought he was open-minded and kept his cool.”

Jeffrey Dungan, a junior from Des Moines studying sociology, felt the Vice President's appearance was “good for the student body” and “possibly will enable us to develop a closer rapport between the Administration and students.” The Vice President's answers “helped enable the students to get a better idea of what the Administration is doing.” Dungan declared.

Charles Cockerell from Independence, Mo., a senior medical student, said: “I'm glad he came. I've always had negative feelings about Agnew. The press has not exactly done wonders for his image. Seeing him, however, has changed my mind. He's really a very intelligent man.”

ANSWERED QUESTIONS STRAIGHT FORWARDLY

Karen Krejci, a senior music major from Cedar Rapids, observed: “I was impressed that he really hit on the questions that were asked and did not run from them. He was a lot more open and a lot more honest than I have been led to believe . . . by the newspapers and current public opinion.”

Ron Watson, a pre-law student from Northbrook, Illinois, was “really impressed” by the Vice President's “intelligence.” Admitting that he had negative feelings (again, media-inspired) about the Vice President before seeing him, Watson said: “I'll probably wind up voting for him.”

Jean Golden, a sophomore English major, didn't care for the Vice President's political views “but I think he did an impressive job of making them clear and appealing.”

John Hale of Collins, Iowa, a sophomore studying social studies, said that considering the atmosphere the Vice President was in, “he really did a good job.” Hale said the trip to the Drake campus was “good for Des Moines and the whole campus.”

HANDBOOK FOR THE FUTURE

HON. WILLIAM H. HARSHA

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. HARSHA. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to introduce today into the RECORD an article that appeared recently in the Chillicothe Gazette.

Mr. Eldridge's article is an excellent one, recognizing one of the many services of the Department of Agriculture, the Agriculture Yearbook:

HANDBOOK FOR THE FUTURE

(By James A. Eldridge)

There is a persistent myth that all government publications are dull reading and that they are unattractively packaged. A notable exception to this rule has just reached the Reading Room. It is “People: A Good Life for More” published by the U. S. Government Printing Office for the Department of Agriculture and it sells for \$3.50.

As a matter of fact, the Agriculture Department has maintained a high standard in these yearbooks but “The Yearbook of Agriculture: 1971”, as this volume is subtitled, is a first-rate editorial and printing production.

The editors of “People” have addressed themselves directly to the public theme that concerns many citizens today: the quality of American life. As the editors point out, “The Agriculture Department's program for the future is geared to the policy of taking some pressure off the metropolitan centers and create growth centers around the smaller cities and towns of rural America. . . . Part of the answer is to make new uses of land, build new communities and rejuvenate old rural communities. . . . The first priority is to provide productive work opportunity to the people who choose the new trend. It can be done. For example, in 1970 about 50 per cent of the capital expenditures by manufacturing industries was devoted to modern plants in rural areas.”

If we are to rejuvenate the small towns and the rural areas we must also deal with the challenge of better housing, better communications, adequate sources of water and electric power, mass transportation and quality education. Each of these topics is covered in “People” by men and women who know what they are writing about.

The editors devote more than 100 pages to the future of farming in America and they break with the pessimists. As they point out, “By the year 2000 we will need as much as 50 per cent more agricultural production than we have today.”

If you think all of this sounds familiar it does. The city fathers of Chillicothe, the Ross County Commissioners, the Chamber of Commerce, the Restoration Foundation and many others are discussing, debating and dealing with the questions covered in “People”. It seems to this reporter this book is a gift from Uncle Sam. It ought to be widely read throughout Ross County by all who are concerned with what happens to this old town and famous county.

It may well have a second use as a textbook for social studies in high school or ecology courses at the college level.

We too face the urban crisis. A small city that has Columbus, Dayton and Cincinnati must ask itself where will we be in the year 2000 when the U. S. has added another 100 million people to the population.

The Department of Agriculture has performed a notable public service in bringing into focus the challenge to the quality of our life and providing some guidelines to elevate that quality.

TAR HEELS—GREAT BASKETBALL TEAM

HON. NICK GALIFIANAKIS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. GALIFIANAKIS. Mr. Speaker, as the Representative of North Carolina's Fourth Congressional District, I would like to share with my colleagues in this body the exuberant pride felt by Tar Heels from Manteo to Murphy at the resounding success of Coach Dean Smith and his great University of North Carolina basketball team.

Later this week, Coach Smith and his Tar Heels will complete another remarkably successful season at the very pinnacle of success—the NCAA Basketball Tournament in Los Angeles.

In the past 6 years, Coach Smith's teams have won 153 games and five major tournament championships, five Atlantic Coast Conference championships and a host of holiday tournaments and special tournaments. In 1967, 1968, and 1969,

they became the first team in history to win three consecutive NCAA eastern regional championships. Saturday afternoon they defeated the University of Pennsylvania to win that title for the fourth time in 6 years. During this period, seven Tar Heel players have been named to All-American teams and three have represented the United States in international competition.

It is interesting to note that Dean Smith's coaching record in the past 6 years is surpassed by that of only one other coach, and that the Tar Heels have consistently been rated by both national polls as the No. 2 team in America.

The Tar Heels are determined to prove to the rest of the Nation that because they have been considered No. 2, they have indeed been trying harder, and this week they are shooting for No. 1.

I would like to invite all my colleagues—and good sportsmanship compels me to include even the Florida, Kentucky, and California delegations—to join in the spirit of great expectation that pervades all of the Tar Heel State this week as Dean Smith and his Tar Heels stake their claim to the undisputed championship of all college basketball.

In behalf of all my constituents, and those of North Carolina's other 10 congressional districts, I ask my colleagues to share in my wholehearted congratulations to a great coach and a great basketball team, and wish them the best of luck in Thursday night's semifinals and Saturday's championship game.

MY RESPONSIBILITY TO FREEDOM

HON. JOHN J. FLYNT, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. FLYNT. Mr. Speaker, Miss Virginia Brooks Jackson, a constituent of the Sixth District of Georgia who is temporarily residing in the Panama Canal Zone, was recently selected as winner of the Voice of Democracy Contest there. Her speech, "My Responsibility to Freedom," is an excellent reminder of individual responsibilities in making freedom not simply a principle but a fundamental ingredient of American life.

Conscientious citizens will profit from her very intelligent treatment of this subject, and I insert her fine address at this point in the RECORD:

MY RESPONSIBILITY TO FREEDOM

(By Miss Virginia Brooks Jackson)

My Responsibility to Freedom is a meaningless phrase. One cannot be responsible to freedom. Freedom is a relative condition or state of atmosphere, not an absolute. One can indeed be responsible for the maintaining of freedom, and one's duties in maintaining freedom can be outlined.

There are two kinds of freedom: the kind that exists for an isolated being and consists in doing anything one wishes; and the kind of freedom that exists successfully within a society. Within a society freedom is limited by laws for practicality, thereby guaranteeing the most freedom for the majority of people. Which does one take as a definition of freedom as it exists in the United

States of America? Obviously we must choose the second.

Our American system of government is not perfect. But it surpasses all other known or imagined forms of government because of its system of checks and balances. It states that all men are created equal under the law. And one responsibility of a dedicated citizen consists in seeing that the system of law enforcement treats all fairly; that judges and other officials are incorruptible; that juries are representative so that trial by one's peers does not become a vacant expression.

Our founding fathers wrote a remarkable document called the Constitution and made it so flexible that it could respond to needed changes and still preserve the basic rights. With a responsible citizenry, one keeps a responsive government. A responsible citizen votes from an informed and educated basis. And this establishes education as a requirement. One must study history and its patterns of repeating itself. One must read widely. One must know local, national and world situations and have some idea of effective handling of these situations. One must recognize that under our system of government we can peacefully change the laws if they are wrong and add laws if they are needed "to ensure the common good."

One of our responsibilities is the recognition of true progress. True progress doesn't harm nature. Man must be seen as he is. To insure there will be right progress, we must exercise previously defined responsibilities and choose leaders aware of man's tendencies to destroy for his own immediate gain. Freedom will be impossible unless population is voluntarily curbed and natural resources are not plundered. Pollution of air, water, and our own minds must be voluntarily eliminated.

The allegory in the Bible states that Eve, the first woman, gave Adam, the first man, an apple. When he ate the apple, Adam suddenly acquired the knowledge of good and evil. Let us compare freedom with this apple, for freedom involves the knowledge of good and evil. It is the fruit from the twisted tree of history.

The apple is covered with a protective skin to ward off rain and passing insects. It is brilliantly colored so that it is easily visible to those who would enjoy it. The apple does not force itself upon anyone. It merely waits. It matures, and, when neglected, dies, dropping to the ground, possibly feeding only the worms. But the one who picks the fruit must cherish it. He must consume it before it is past ripeness, thus making it a part of himself. So, each of us, by our own action, must assure that this fruit of history survives.

LET US SHOW OUR UNITY AND DETERMINATION IN THIS WEEK OF CONCERN FOR OUR POW'S/MIA'S

HON. C. W. BILL YOUNG

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, it was during this week 8 years ago that the first American became "missing in action" in the Vietnamese conflict. Since that time, many, many more soldiers have fallen prey to this merciless enemy, an enemy which has blatantly violated every aspect of international treaties stating that POW's would be treated humanely according to the standards of the civilized world.

The mere fact that the North Vietnamese refuse to allow impartial inspec-

tion of their prison facilities can only lead one to believe that their camps are terribly substandard. Not only have the prisoners received terrible treatment at the hands of the Vietcong—this treatment has been brazenly televised worldwide for propaganda purposes—but their families, too, have been suffering mercilessly.

I doubt that we can begin to feel the agonizing grief which must grip a family who—for many years—has not received confirmed reports as to the condition or whereabouts of their loved ones. It is unbelievable to me that any country, no matter what their political philosophy, can allow this type of suffering to go on.

Because of the sad historical significance of this week, it is appropriate that it should be chosen as a "National Week of Concern for POW's and MIA's." As a cosponsor of the resolution designating the week of concern, I strongly feel that it offers our Nation a great opportunity to spotlight the plight of these men and their families in the center arena of world opinion. There is no other issue on which the American people are more united and more determined and we must take this time to show our unity and determination to the world. We must show Hanoi that America has not and will not forget these men who have fought so valiantly for the preservation of freedom, and that the civilized world will not condone the actions of this despotic enemy.

ARIZONA STATE RETAINS MOLD

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, just a few short months ago one of the truly great college coaches left his position at Arizona State University to accept a position with the California Angels.

Bobby Winkles' 13 years at ASU are legendary in Arizona, the Western Athletic Conference, and throughout baseball. His Sun Devil teams set records and won championships, but even more impressive was the way they played the game.

At Arizona State Bobby Winkles demanded discipline and dedication; he preached hustle. His teams gave him all this and more, they honored him with respect and that respect was shared by the citizens of Arizona.

Yesterday's Washington Post carried an excellent article about Coach Winkles, the baseball program he left Arizona State and the Sun Devil's new Coach, Jim Brock whose current team is 15-1. I include that article in the RECORD:

ARIZONA STATE RETAINS MOLD

(By Leonard Shapiro)

TEMPE, Ariz., March 18.—Jim Brock was in his office a few minutes past 8 a.m. Friday, less than nine hours after his Arizona State University baseball team had defeated the California Angels, 6-5, in a

wildly exciting and highly emotional exhibition game.

The contest marked the major-league managerial debut of Bobby Winkles, almost a legendary local figure who left Arizona State this winter after a remarkable career to become first-base coach for the California Angels. Angels manager Del Rice took Thursday night off and allowed Winkles to run the team.

"It was quite an emotional victory for us," Brock said of the 11-inning game. "But if there's one thing Bobby Winkles left behind, it's the philosophy that you take every victory, every loss, the same way. You can't ever think about the day before."

"We play again this afternoon, and Saturday, 29 games in the month of March alone, and we don't play on Sundays. Winkles always taught these kids there's no time to celebrate until it's all over."

Celebrations were numerous in the 13 years since Winkles took charge of what had previously been only a club sport. His teams won NCAA championships in 1965, 1967, and 1969, and compiled a 524-173 record. More than 70 of his players, including Sal Bando, Reggie Jackson and Rick Monday, moved into professional baseball.

Although Winkles is gone, this year's Sun Devils are molded in his image. They wear the double-knit uniforms and white shoes Winkles ordered before he left, and they play the game he taught, running at break-neck speed to their positions and streaking to first base after a walk, or back to the dug-out after a strikeout. Even pitchers run.

"This is his team. I'll never deny that," said Brock, 36, previously a very successful coach at nearby Mesa Community College. Brock's teams won unprecedented back-to-back national junior college championships the last two years.

"These kids hustle all over the place, they look great in the field, and they've got grand pride," said assistant coach Fred Nelson, who played for Winkles for three years. "We were always taught to hide our emotions pretty much, and they still play that way. You'll never see this team go out and mob a guy after he hits a home run. It's not our style."

Arizona State simply thrashes the opposition with hustle and, most important, talent. Maury Wills' son, Bump, has a .334 batting average and cannot start. Eleven of ASU's 23 players, including All-America shortstop Alan Bannister, the Angels' first choice in 1969, were major-league draftees out of high school.

Bannister, now a junior, set NCAA records with 170 total bases and 13 triples last year. He hit .414 this spring, third best on the club, and the Sun Devils won 15 of their first 16 games.

Bannister will not be able to sign a pro contract until next year, when he turns 21, though another season with Arizona State is virtually equivalent, Brock insists, to spending a full season in the minor league.

"Bannister turned down \$50- or \$60,000 out of high school," Brock said. "If he signs, the first year he'll probably spend in a rookie league, then maybe a year in A, and another in AA. Three years out of high school, and he's still probably not going to be in the bigs."

"Going to college is just a matter of a kid protecting his bet. The odds of any high school kid making it to the majors are not very good. If he goes to a school with our kind of program, he'll play 60 or 70 games, get his education and, if he plays in a good summer league, have 50 more games, almost the same as a full year of minor league baseball."

More than 3,000 players around the country have written Brock to ask consideration for one of seven full scholarships available next season. Major-league scouts will help Brock evaluate prospects before he takes a 10-day recruiting trip this summer to "tie up all the loose ends."

"We never had to convince anyone to come here," Winkles said later, a few miles away at Scottsdale, where the Angels played the Chicago Cubs later Friday.

"If a kid was in the marginal area, say if a team offered him \$20- or \$30,000 a year, I'd usually advise him to go to college. Anything over that he'd have to decide for himself. So much depended on the status of his family, rich or poor, things like that."

Winkles did advise many of his players to sign before their eligibility was used. Included were Jackson and Monday, who joined the Oakland A's after their sophomore seasons.

"I'm for the kid, always have been, always will be," said Winkles, a charming fellow with bright twinkling eyes and, at 43, still young enough to spend several years preparing for his life-long ambition—managing a major-league team.

"I'm very happy with the Angels, even though I miss the kids at Arizona State. I love them all. I still have paternal feelings for them. I was even a little bit happy they beat us."

AGAINST AMNESTY

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, the problem of draft evaders and how they should be treated by the Government is an issue which presents itself more and more frequently these days. There are those who would grant draft dodgers complete amnesty with no strings attached; there are those who would allow them to return to the country with the condition that they perform some alternate service such as the Peace Corps, VISTA and the like; and there are those who would prosecute draft evaders to the full extent of the present law.

Mr. Speaker, I fall into the third category. I feel very strongly that draft dodgers must take the consequences of their act and that it would be unfair and unjust to the men who did serve in our military services to grant amnesty to those who refused to serve.

My opinion is shared by Sean Fitzpatrick, a staff member of the Diamondback, the University of Maryland student newspaper, and he has written a thoughtful piece on the issue of amnesty which will continue to press more heavily upon us. I now insert the piece into the RECORD:

AMNESTY BAD DEAL FOR COUNTRY

(By Sean Fitzpatrick)

Probably the last thing to be decided after the Vietnam war is whether to grant amnesty to the deserters and draft evaders.

It would seem that amnesty for illegally evading the military service can be properly judged only when the results of that evasion are fully available and after the results and implications of giving amnesty have been balanced against the results of not giving amnesty.

Unfortunately, immediate amnesty is being considered, and even demanded, while American soldiers are still engaged in hostilities and Americans are still in prisoner-of-war camps.

The unseemly haste of some amnesty proponents (such as Amnesty Now) is an attempt to evade these decisions by oversimplifying to the "moral point that our government was wrong and these men were right."

It is not a matter of a single moral choice between doing what is right and doing what is wrong. The deserters and draft dodgers are not "guilty" of what a Jules Feiffer cartoon called "premature morality." They had to choose between failing their moral obligation to obey the law and their moral obligation to heed their conscience that what the law requires is wrong. It is a choice of the lesser of two evils.

Unfortunately, at this point I must justify the assertion that citizens have a moral duty to obey the law, for it is the main point of confusion, so allow me a too brief explication.

Men are social creatures and societies need laws to referee the collisions between free individuals: My liberty to assault my neighbor is restricted as is his liberty to assault me. Secure in the order produced by law and custom, we are freed to proceed about our personal affairs.

But for this to work everyone must obey the law. Otherwise, the law is merely advisory, a circumstance indistinguishable from anarchy, which is not long tolerated in human groups even if the remedy be tyranny.

Thus, the maintenance of the orderly society necessary for men depends upon adherence to the law.

Likewise, it is the duty of government to require, by coercion or its threat, that the laws be obeyed. The several individual responsibilities to uphold the law become collectively the responsibility of society to enforce it. This is the first, indispensable, function of government, which consequently cannot lightly tolerate deliberate lawbreaking. For, indeed, it is a principle of jurisprudence that a law which is not enforced loses validity.

At this point there is a great outcry that I am advocating mindless submission to the state. Not at all.

When one's conscience tells him that obeying the law would lead to a greater evil than not obeying the law, he must certainly break the law, but his conscience does not constitute a legal defense.

I am saying, however, that whim or personal inconvenience do not justify breaking a law, no matter how trivial or silly the particular law may be. (Someone else may find the murder laws unduly restrictive.) The results of obeying the law must be worse than the results of not obeying.

It is my intent to examine draft evasion and amnesty in view of the responsibilities which the individual has toward society and the responsibilities which government has toward society's members. I do so in the context of America's democratic form of government which is subject to moral persuasion.

There are several classes of offenders who might be covered by amnesty: Military deserters; draft resisters, who refused induction and went to jail; and draft evaders, who left the country or went underground.

The military has its own system for handling deserters and probably should not be interfered with. The deserter, whether draftee or enlistee, has broken a specific contract. However, if some form of amnesty is offered to deserters, it would be good to distinguish between those who deserted and those who deserted after receiving orders for Vietnam. The latter have, technically, deserted in the face of the enemy.

Draft resisters and draft evaders may be considered together although ultimately there are distinctions to be made. What are the consequences of their act?

First, they have to varying degrees set themselves outside (or above) the law. The more remote implications of this have been mentioned.

Second, the particular law which they have broken is an important one. No society, until all men be perfect, can allow individual whim to weaken its ability to defend itself. To do so would endanger its members and be unjust to those who did go to war. To argue that

Vietnam was a war of imperialism and not of defense is to argue simply that. The general will of the country was that it was a proper war (if you know what I mean by "proper war"): Congress supported it; the two Senators who voted against the Tonkin Gulf resolution were voted out of office; a poll of McCarthy voters, taken in New Hampshire after the 1968 primary, showed that 62% of those polled voted against Johnson because they thought his war policy was not hawkish enough.

Anyway, to allow the individual to decide whether it's his kind of war is the same as allowing him to decide which law he is going to obey.

Third, the men who evaded military service (whether legally or not) share some of the responsibility for the effect that had on the military, especially the army.

By the accounts of some of the proponents of amnesty, the exiles are the cream of American youth. Certainly opposition to service was stronger among the more favored of our youth, who also had the cultural and economic resources for legal fights, doctors' certificates and leaving the country. The poorer draftees lacked these means of avoiding service and would have been further inhibited by the value system of his class. We may assume that the assessment of many draft counseling services is correct: No one goes who wants not to go.

So the Army, its manpower needs increasing, is denied many of the more intelligent, better educated—and, even, more morally sensitive—young men, who make the best soldiers and officers.

Instead, it had to scrape the bottom of the barrel with officers like Lt. William Calley (fortunately even so an exception), and "McNamara's 100,000," men who couldn't pass the army's I.Q. test but were accepted with the idea of preparing them for civilian life with army training. Charlie company had a whole bunch of them.

The blame for sending them with only infantry training into a war which would confuse a sociology major and where they would have to act as "ambassadors and diplomats" (CPT Ernest Medina's words) to "win the hearts and minds of the people" (as Ronald Ridenhour put it) must be the army's. The blame for putting the army in that position lies elsewhere. The sociology majors were in Canada.

Would it have made that much difference at My Lai? It's hard to say. Just one lieutenant, almost any besides Calley, might have made the difference. It is a fact that most of the better educated and better trained members of Charlie company were among the 40% casualties which the company suffered in the three weeks prior to the My Lai massacre.

Fourth, by refusing to go, a draft evader requires someone to go in his stead. "Why me?" is a question anyone can ask, no matter how socially ill-favored he might be. It makes a difference whether the answer is "Because it's your turn" or "Because someone ran and left you holding the fort and the bag."

Those are some of the consequences to be considered before evading military service.

Next we consider the anticipated benefits of amnesty.

In the past, amnesty has been granted by a victorious nation which could afford such beneficence or by a ravaged one which could not afford not to grant amnesty. The U.S. after WWII, when 10% of draft violators were pardoned, is an example of the first sort: an example of the second is South Vietnam. There, the Chieu Hoi program offers complete amnesty, political indoctrination and a grub stake to any Viet Cong or North Vietnamese Army soldier who defects to the Saigon government.

The U.S. today, however, is not in either of these positions. We will leave Vietnam neither as victors who can afford magnanimity nor in such bad shape that we need all the help we can get.

At this point we can make a distinction between the draft evader in exile and the draft resister who went to jail. It was made well by Mrs. Mildred Youland of Pensacola, Florida, who, according to Newsweek magazine, "has not seen her son John for over three years and (who) finds it very painful to talk about him, but even so she is not sure she would favor amnesty. 'If there is any chance at all,' she says, 'that any of these boys want to return and they show the willingness to be good citizens, they should be given a chance. There should be some test of loyalty, though. Physical punishment does not do that much good; it's their frame of mind that is so important...'"

The distinction is one of attitude, between, "I don't owe my country anything" and "If I can't do this I do owe my country enough to stay within the law."

It is a slim difference, but it becomes huge when you consider the implications of amnesty for those who did serve. It seems to me to be eminently unjust to change the rules in the middle of the game. At best the vets would seem like fools; at worst they would seem to be moral idiots and war criminals. After all, if the draft evaders were right in deciding that it was wrong to go to Vietnam, then the GIs were wrong in deciding it was right.

What would be the results of not granting amnesty?

Only that those who left the country to avoid military service would be out of the country and would face a prison sentence if they returned, but even that seems easy in comparison with what they have escaped. And one can assume that those who were smart enough to avoid the "mistake" of Vietnam were smart enough to know what they were doing by going into exile. Either that or they were just skipping out until the heat was off.

As an aside, I'd like to point out that leaving the country when the things get unbearable is an old American tradition. This country was first settled in large part by men fleeing intolerance, poverty, the army and the law. It's a good tradition, and no effort should be expended trying to "bring the exiles to justice" by extradition or after they have formally changed their citizenship. Ultimately, a free society is one that lets you leave.

Finally, will it hurt the country not to grant amnesty to the exiles and deserters? I don't think so.

The country doesn't owe them anything. It does owe itself not to set what Selective Service Director Curtis Tarr called Monday "a precedent for permitting the evasion of Selective Service that might some day be an unwelcome tradition." It does owe its veterans the courtesy of not making them fools for doing what they were told was their duty.

Amnesty is still possible, but it must be offered truly as an amnesty, a gift of forgiveness to transgressors.

AMENDMENTS TO OCCUPATIONAL HEALTH AND SAFETY ACT OF 1970

HON. WILMER MIZELL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. MIZELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise at this time to join with the distinguished gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. THONE) in introducing an amendment to the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970, to require the Secretary of Labor to recognize the difference in hazards to employees between the heavy construc-

tion industry and the light residential construction industry.

The legislation we are introducing is intended to make more realistic and equitable the safeguards we have established to protect the workingman, by making those safeguards more adaptable to different circumstances.

It is a weakness of the original legislation that these differing circumstances, particularly as they relate to the construction industry, are not adequately recognized, and it is the purpose of this amendment to strengthen the legislation in this regard.

The generally less hazardous working conditions and the smaller number of workers employed in light residential construction projects naturally call for less stringent safety requirements than those established for much more dangerous work, and it is the simple and plain intent of this legislation to instruct the Secretary of Labor to take into account those major differences in promulgating work safety standards.

This Congress is committed to promoting occupational health and safety for the American worker, because we recognize that adequate and effective safeguards are good for both business and labor.

I hope my colleagues will maintain that commitment by joining Mr. THONE and me in seeking to secure the most reasonable and realistic safeguards possible for workers in every industry. The amendment we offer will further strengthen that commitment, and I urge the Members of this House to support its passage.

AMENDMENTS TO THE FEDERAL WATER POLLUTION CONTROL ACT

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, support for a number of floor amendments to the Federal Water Pollution Control Act has been expressed by the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency.

In a resolution passed March 13, 1972, our official State pollution control agency urged Congress to adopt amendments on marine sanitation devices and on a number of the other items in the Dingell-Reuss clean water package.

I urge the House to consider the very important recommendations listed below:

RESOLUTION OF THE MINNESOTA POLLUTION CONTROL AGENCY TO THE PRESIDENT, SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, PASSED MONDAY, MARCH 13, 1972

Be it resolved by the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency that any major legislation to amend the Federal Water Quality Act should contain the following provisions:

(1) A provision that gives the federal government the right to veto state permits issued to individuals who discharge effluent in intrastate waters;

(2) A provision that allows individual states to set stronger pollution control standards than the minimum standards set by the

federal government, especially in the areas of pollution from marine sanitation devices and pollution emanating from radioactive sources including atomic power plants;

(3) A provision that sets 1985 as the deadline for achieving no-discharge of pollutants to our nations waters. This should be more than a goal to be studied, it should be national policy;

(4) A provision that gives any citizen or group standing to sue to abate any pollution or to challenge any arbitrary and unfounded action of a pollution control agency;

(5) A provision requiring that the spirit and letter of the National Environmental Policy Act be followed and that all of the information required in environmental impact statements be obtained before the granting of any permit to discharge effluent into our waters.

NEWS BULLETIN OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION BICENTENNIAL COMMISSION

HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting into the RECORD the March 20 edition of the Bicentennial Bulletin. The bulletin is compiled and written by the staff of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission communication committee. The bulletin follows:

MARCH 20, 1972.

The ARBC Executive Committee is scheduled to meet next in Washington on Tuesday, March 21, and the Communications Committee will hold a meeting following on Wednesday, March 22, also in Washington.

Following the recent press conference announcing NBC's plans to produce 10 specials entitled "The American Experience" sponsored by American Airlines and running through 1976, the show's announcer and spokesman, Chet Huntley, was quoted by the New York Times (3/6) on his reason for coming out of retirement and back to network television. "I wanted to get something going on behalf of the Bicentennial," Huntley concluded.

A project to involve Texas colleges and universities in a coordinated program to observe the Bicentennial has been set in motion with the appointment of a central planning staff and a statewide 17-member executive committee. Dr. Edgar L. Roy, Jr., former president of St. Edward's University in Austin, has been named director of planning for the Texas College and University Bicentennial Program.

Plans for a World Food Expo in Iowa for the Bicentennial were given an initial, tentative go-ahead by the Iowa House recently in a 57-32 vote to create a state board to plan for such an exposition in connection with the American Bicentennial Celebration. The bill calls for an eleven-member Authority to accept grants, acquire land and construct buildings. Separate legislation is needed for appropriations.

Mr. Gene Sleeve, Department of Defense Deputy Director for Community Relations and DOD Bicentennial Project Officer, briefed major Air Force Command directors of information, world-wide, on national and DOD Bicentennial planning and developments. The two-day meeting, March 13-14, at Randolph Air Force Base, Texas, featured visuals on specific DOD planning which will affect Air Force commands during the Bicentennial observance. Mr. Sleeve also reports that Department of Army information officers were also briefed recently, in a similar session. The Defense Department has issued its Bi-

centennial Memorandum Number Two in a numbered series of instructions to Defense commands and agencies designed to keep all components abreast of planning.

In a Saint Patrick's Day message from the American Irish Foundation John P. Cosgrove, Foundation president, has announced that they have prepared capuled biographies of a group of Irish who were close to George Washington during the Revolution. The announcement points out that the password of the Continental Army in Boston on March 17, 1776 was a well-chosen "Saint Patrick." Mr. Cosgrove also said, "The Foundation hopes to stimulate additional research along these lines so that obscure heroes may be suitably recognized during the 1976 Bicentennial of the United States." For additional information write American Irish Foundation, 943 National Press Building, Washington, D.C. 20004.

The Florida State Interamerican Center Authority last week unanimously approved the latest plan for development of a multi-million dollar commercial, educational and cultural complex on the Graves Tract in North Dade (Interama). The authority stated in a resolution endorsing the specific projects that the whole project would be completed on or before January, 1976, in time to use Interama as a site for Florida's Bicentennial celebration. Specific projects endorsed include the Garden of the Sun, the Tower of the Sun, sites for national, institutional and commercial pavilions, an Interamerican trade show building and a regional interamerican park to be located along the shore of Biscayne Bay.

A Bicentennial symphony, titled "In the Name of These States," composed by nineteen year old Paul Hofreiter, premiered on March 18th by the Delaware Valley Philharmonic Orchestra, Maestro Joseph Primavera conducting, Levittown-Fairless Hills, Pa. In his own words, "The ideal was to join the people of this country, both spiritually and emotionally, into 'one perfect union.'" The work, Symphony #2, Opus 33, is requiring 300 voices to perform. The Delaware Valley Philharmonic Orchestra of Bucks County is not new to premiering Bicentennial or other works. They were first with a "Bicentennial Ball and Season." Paul Hofreiter played a role also, he arranged the orchestrated Ann Hawkes Hutton's *Bicentennial Suite* which was premiered last season.

The Philadelphia Bicentennial Corporation will present its plan for an international exposition on March 21 at the Department of Commerce. In attendance will be representatives from the ARBC, the Department of Commerce, Office of Management and Budget and the State Department. A news conference has been scheduled immediately following the Philadelphia presentation.

Following are further comments on Bicentennial Parks:

"Gov. Russell W. Peterson said yesterday he hopes to get federal funds to buy and develop land in the Iron Hill area as a park to tie in with the Bicentennial celebration. Peterson said the land near Cooch's Bridge, south of Newark, would be developed as a permanent tourist attraction. He said he supports efforts of the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission to get federal support for bicentennial celebration parks. 'This fits in well with the plans we have been considering' for the Iron Hill area, Peterson said."—Wilmington (Del.) Journal, February 25.

"The idea is a good one, particularly because it would not force the states into any rigid pattern. Each would select its own architects to play variations on the central theme. The expected result would be fundamental similarity, but without conformity. The proposal would provide means whereby the several states could, if they chose, have a part in the nation's concerted celebration of 200 years of independence."—Edi-

torial entitled "Anniversary Parks" Shenandoah (Pa.) Herald, March 4.

"The fact is that our national parks are too few and too far apart . . . So it is that the announcement that the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission plans to set up 50 parks honoring the occasion is cause for rejoicing . . . It's a lasting way to celebrate a Bicentennial."—Editorial entitled "The Park Proposal" Bethlehem (Pa.) Globe-Times, February 26.

"I have the pleasure to inform you that, at its meeting on March 3, 1972, the Hawaii Bicentennial Commission unanimously approved in principle the concept of the Bicentennial Parks project and Hawaii's full participation in this program. We look forward to working with you on these Parks project in the years ahead. The concept is exciting indeed."—Henry S. Richmond, Liaison Officer, Hawaii Bicentennial Commission in letter to ARBC, March 7.

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 10, 1972]

A STRING OF URBAN PARKS

Our National Parks with their untouched nature and outdoor recreation for millions are among the country's proudest assets and the envy of the world. But we are woefully short of urban parks, the kind of place at the end of a short subway, bus or car ride where families can find recreation, diversion and inspiration on a nice summer evening or holiday. One of the few such cultural, recreation and amusement parks in the United States—and surely the best designed—is the Seattle Center, right in the center of Seattle. It is a happy remnant of the 1962 Century 21 exposition and any visitor from another city who has found time to see the exhibits, enjoy a concert or performance, eat in one of the restaurants or just stroll, would want to have such a park close to home.

Well, that's what the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission would have the nation give itself for its 200th anniversary in 1976. It proposes a chain of such parks, to be sponsored by the states and financed by the federal government, which would also donate the 100 to 500 acres of land, most of it in or close to our major population centers. Each park would cost from \$15 million to \$25 million and the commission estimates that the total program might run to \$1.2 billion.

As the commission sees it, each of these Bicentennial Parks would reflect the unique natural and architectural characteristics of its region. Each would have a central pavilion for historic displays and regional craft bazaars and workshops as well as an outdoor amphitheater for symphony concerts and theater, dance, folk music and jazz performances. These amphitheaters would have standardized stages so that national and international touring groups could simply plug in their sets and perform without costly adjustments and rehearsals. In addition, the commission suggests, the parks would include a wide range of outdoor activities, children's playgrounds, picnic areas, marinas, restaurants and food kiosks and perhaps a botanical garden and ecology center devoted to increasing our environmental awareness.

While each state would select its own architects, planners and designers, the commission hopes to inspire and assure design excellence by issuing detailed guidelines and establishing a national design review board to coordinate the design of all parks. Such coordination would give manufacturers a large enough market to introduce innovative new designs for the structures and furnishings.

To complete these parks by the spring of 1976, the commission estimates, site selection and preliminary planning should start right now. This is a good idea and we hope the commission and the administration will lose no time proposing it to Congress.

ASIAN EXPRESS MISGIVINGS OVER
PEKING TRIP

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's visit to Communist China has resulted in natural misgivings and fears on the part of our Asian allies, and most particularly among the Free Chinese in Taiwan.

These people understand that the domination of Taiwan by the Communist regime in Peking is one of the priority items on Mao Tse-tung's agenda, and they are apprehensive about whether the President will affirm the commitment of the United States to their own security.

President Nixon, in his state of the world message, reaffirmed that commitment to Taiwan. Nevertheless, to many free Chinese his trip appears to be a serious mistake.

Recently Anne Crutcher, the woman's editor of the Washington Daily News, traveled to Taipei, Manila, and Tokyo. In an important article she notes that:

To the millions of Chinese living outside the People's Republic . . . President Nixon's trip to Peking looks more like a blunder and prelude to betrayal than a master-stroke of diplomacy.

Mrs. Crutcher reports that:

The government officials, university professors, journalists and students I talked to were virtually unanimous in believing the move would tighten India's ties with the Soviet Union, and rouse second thoughts in Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore.

In Taiwan, Mrs. Crutcher spoke to political leaders who urged that President Nixon visit the Republic of China after his trip to Peking in order to allay the anxieties of the people. Morale, however, she found to be high.

She reports that:

There is also a mood in which concern is blended with philosophical calm. The United Nations defeat was a harder blow than the President's decision to go to Peking and it appears to have heightened patriotic morale among the people of Taiwan.

While we all hope that the President's Peking visit proves to be successful, it is important that we understand the valid concerns felt by our traditional allies.

Mrs. Crutcher's reports of this concern, and I wish to share with my colleagues her article as it appeared in the Washington Daily News of February 17, 1972, and insert it into the RECORD at this time.

DIFFERENT VIEW OF NIXON TRIP

(By Anne Crutcher)

To the millions of Chinese living outside the People's Republic presided over by Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai, President Nixon's trip to Peking looks more like a blunder and the prelude to betrayal than a master-stroke of diplomacy. While the official view in Taipei is one of judicious confidence in the President's assurances that the United States will stand by commitments

to the Republic of China, there is a good deal of private cynicism, both in Taiwan and in Chinese enclaves from Manila and Hong Kong to San Francisco.

Most non-Communist Chinese see the President's trip as an election-year maneuver which may win the Administration a measure of immediate popularity at home but which, in the long run, threatens both their security and that of the United States position in Asia. It can only strengthen the Peking regime, both at home and in international prestige.

The oriental concern for "face" being what it is, much is made of the fact that overtures for the visit began on our side. Reports from Hong Kong are that Red Chinese radio broadcasts currently intersperse routine denunciations of American imperialism with gloatings over the idea that President Nixon asked to come to Peking and is coming "to surrender."

Red Chinese willingness to receive him is attributed to the need for bolstering the central authority at a time when factional strife has left it tottering. After the suppression of Lin Biao and the Red Guards in the wake of the cultural revolution, individual military commanders, sometimes recalling the warlords of the 1920's are said to have become the real power in many parts of mainland China.

Their conflicts with each other, as well as their unruliness in relation to the central government have become a critical problem for Peking. Some China-watchers say the Kissinger mission came at a time of so much internal stress that the regime needed the prestige boost of the President's visit to survive.

Whether or not the situation was that acute, leaders of overseas Chinese communities agree that the American visit cannot help but strengthen Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai. Estimates of consequences vary, but most are unfavorable to United States interests.

The government officials, university professors, journalists, and students I talked to were virtually unanimous in believing the move would tighten India's ties with the Soviet Union and rouse second thoughts in Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore. As for the hope that President Nixon can lay the groundwork for international understandings that could help bring peace in Vietnam, the consensus is that Peking may not be as eager for American withdrawal from that part of southeast Asia as its propaganda posture would suggest. The theory is that Peking cannot but fear that America's loss in Vietnam would be Russia's gain, with the power vacuum left by our departure filled from Moscow.

In Taiwan, there is some feeling, semi-officially expressed by Professor Wang-Yun-wu, senior political advisor to President Chiang Kai-shek that President Nixon could allay some anti-Red Chinese anxieties by following his Peking trip with a visit to the Republic of China. There is also a mood in which concern is blended with philosophical calm. The United Nations defeat was a harder blow than the President's decision to go to Peking and it appears to have heightened patriotic morale among the people of Taiwan.

In San Francisco, too, where there has been comment to the effect that the main result of the trip is likely to be greater celebrity for Henry Kissinger, the long perspective of Chinese culture sets the tone of reactions. "We have a different view of time," Consul-General C. C. Tuan reminded me, "when you look back over as long a history as ours, you have confidence in the long-range prospects."

Meanwhile, in San Francisco's Chinatown as in other centers of Chinese life, firecrackers had begun to pop for the celebration of

yesterday's Lunar New Year, and preparations were under way for the dragon parade to be held this weekend in affirmation of good luck and the continuing allegiance of today's Chinese people to at least some of the ways of their ancestors.

BUSING—CHANGES SUPERINTENDENT FROM EDUCATOR TO FIREMAN

HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. COLLINS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, this past week the Judiciary Committee gave a full and fair hearing on busing to a group of Dallas leaders. Dallas is the eighth largest school system in this country.

The Judiciary Committee continued hearings through Wednesday afternoon to give these men a 2½-hour special hearing. We, in Dallas, appreciate this consideration because busing is a roadblock to the future of our progressive educational system.

When the testimony is typed I want to share it with you in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. Our superintendent, Nolan Estes, was formerly Associate Commissioner in the Department of Education of Health, Education, and Welfare. He understands HEW. He is innovative. He helped write the 1964 Civil Rights Act. He is a scholar and a top administrator. He has tried to make busing work.

Felix R. McKnight always hits the key issue in his editorial. Busing is key in Dallas. Before Estes came up to the Washington hearing, McKnight highlighted the trip. Here is a thoughtful analysis in the March 12 Dallas Times Herald by McKnight:

On next Wednesday Nolan Estes will fly to Washington to tell a House subcommittee that he is reluctantly switching from educator to fireman.

And the rangy superintendent of the Dallas Independent School District will be his own living proof as he reads a reasoned statement on why the District opposes forced busing of students.

No longer can Estes devote his many talents to the development of a better educational system for the nation's eighth largest district. He doesn't have time—he is running from fire to fire dousing tragic flames of tension created by court-ordered busing designed to achieve a heavier racial mix.

He could be at his desk working on blueprints for the educational future of 180,000 students of all colors, rather than testifying before Rep. Emanuel Celler's committee on a proposed constitutional amendment to limit forced busing.

He could be huddling with his administrative staff, broadening the exciting concept of the unique \$21 million Skyline school that will offer innovative vocational opportunities for all races.

Except—Estes and his staff must grab their coats, rush to the same Skyline and their schools to smooth out disruptive happenings in these busing days.

Nolan Estes has no intention of going to Washington for the purpose of getting into the emotional offshoots of busing. He will not be there to speak solely of violence, or threatened violence in Dallas schools.

He will speak, in his brief 15 minutes, to the critical wounding of the educational program; to fractured opportunities for young students of both races.

He will tell the Congressmen of accelerated absenteeism that is cheating the student of educational opportunity and the school district of state funds based on attendance.

He must tell the sad story of the quickening rise in expulsions, brought about by students in strange environments who flaunt disciplinary codes and jolt teachers from relaxed teaching postures to the binding rigidity of fear.

He must refer to the increasing number of actual physical attacks and threats between students and teachers.

In short, Nolan Estes must enumerate the positive results of a negative situation. It is that nagging result of the court-ordered mixing that troubles him as he goes to Washington to argue for reason and modification of a system that just isn't working.

He is no racist. He is a very concerned educator.

The Dallas Independent School District has faithfully complied with court orders. It has implemented systems of compliance at a high dollar cost and within prescribed time schedules. All of this has been done—and not without penalties that accompany dislocation and disruption.

It is to be hoped that the Congressional committee will listen intently to a Southwestern educator who will be telling them the concerns that also give daily worry to parents.

One of the presidential candidates concisely summarized the dilemma in a statement to a national magazine:

"Forced busing just hasn't brought about quality education, it hasn't solved our racial problems. Quality education is the issue, not busing. Quality education means more schools and classrooms, not more buses. It means more and better teaching, not more bus drivers..."

George Wallace speaking? No, Hubert Humphrey.

F-111 TESTS TO 2½ TIMES ITS REQUIRED LIFE CYCLE

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, in further reflection of my deep interest in America's greatest deep penetration fighter-bomber, I ask for unanimous consent to insert in the RECORD a United Press International news item of March 14, 1972.

Although only a life of 10 years is required from a standpoint of wing fatigue for the F-111, recent tests have established that a real life of more than 25 years of operational service is to be expected.

The story from UPI is as follows:

WASHINGTON.—The Defense Department said today its fighter-bomber versions of the swing-wing F-111 have withstood wing fatigue tests equivalent to more than 25 years of operational service.

A Department spokesman said that 10 years is the required service life. Hairline faults in wing castings in the early stages of the F-111's development led to intensive efforts to correct the trouble.

The spokesman said today that after the 25-year milestone had been reached, the wing was subjected to further fatigue tests with load applications equivalent to six times the force of gravity to ascertain the breaking point.

The wing, which moved two and a half feet at the tips with each application, did not break until it had been subjected to the load more than 10,000 times, he said.

He added that a four to one safety factor is employed in fatigue testing of F-111 components. This meant that to reach the equivalent of 25 years of operational service, the plane wing has to withstand all the maneuver loadings that would be incurred in 100 years of service operation.

Fighter-bomber versions of the aircraft are assigned to service in the United States and Europe. Australia is to take delivery of 24 starting next year.

THE GREEK REVOLUTION AND AMERICAN PHILANTHROPY: 1827

HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, as the time approaches for the annual celebration of Greek Independence Day, I know that my colleagues will be interested in the following article. Entitled "The Greek Revolution and American Philanthropy: 1827," it details the tremendous amount of humanitarian aid provided by Americans to the Greek people during their struggle for independence. I commend this excellent paper to the attention of my colleagues:

THE GREEK REVOLUTION AND AMERICAN PHILANTHROPY: 1827*

(By John N. Sfondouris)

In March, 1821, the heroic Greeks, known as *Yeshirs* in the Turkish politics, had revolted against the prolonged Turkish tyranny.¹ The revolutionary activity of the Greeks reached New York City on May 20, 1821, brought by the brigantines "Manhattan" and "Importer," and described by American philhellenes among the Greek insurgents.² The Greek struggle for civil and religious liberty³ was publicized by newspaper and magazine editors throughout the United States and Canada.⁴

To relief the non-combatants of Greece, the Great Executive Committee (GEC) met at the New York City Hotel on January 6, 1827. With Stephen Allen as chairman and Isaac Carew as secretary, the GEC was attended by more than 50 prominent New Yorkers, such as Lyndie Catlin, George Griswold, James I. Jones, Preserved Fish, Peter Sharpe, Hiram Ketchum, F. Vandemburgh, and Frederick Sheldon. The Committee discussed the depressed conditions in Greece as reported by Samuel G. Howe, George Jarvis, and by other American philhellenes.⁵

Without delay, the New York Greek Executive Committee issued its first report to the American people. In this report dated January 10, 1827, the GEC described revolutionary Greece with these words:

You are... aware of the information received some weeks since in this country, from the most authentic sources, that the barbarous foe of the Greece has left her no agriculture, no commerce, no arts. That while her able-bodied men are keeping at bay an enemy, the fruits of whose final success will be brutal violence and indiscriminate massacre: her women, and children, and old men are feeding on acorns in the mountains, and unless promptly relieved by their Christian brethren of other nations, will be driven to experience the horrors of famine.⁶

In the same report, the GEC urged Ameri-

cans to help the naked and hungry Greeks with clothes and provisions:

... the inhabitants of Greece appeal to all Christian nations, not for arms, nor munitions of war, but for a grant of the bare necessities of life. They who make this appeal are Christians, who have been subjected to the most arbitrary and capricious tyranny for [four] centuries, because they would not abandon their own religious faith, and adopt that of their masters. They are contending for civil and religious liberty. The exertions they have made, the sufferings and sacrifices to which they have submitted in a war, nearly as long already as our own revolutionary struggle, prove them the object for which they contend; and, above all, they are hungry and naked.⁷

The appeals by the GEC had an immediate and sensible effect. The GEC despatched six vessels laden with flour, bread, shoes, clothes, hats, provisions, sundries, and medicines. Because of the official American neutral policy in the European affairs, the Committee selected three private individuals to distribute clothes and provisions to the suffering women, children, old men, war orphans, and non-combatants in Greece. For this philanthropic mission, the GEC appointed Colonel Jonathan P. Miller (Vermont) as the Principal Agent with John R. Stuyvesant (New York) and Henry A. V. Post (New York) as Miller's Assistant Agents in Greece.⁸

While distributing provisions to the Greeks in Morea and Aegean islands, Colonel Miller, the veteran of the Greek Revolution, noted in his *Journal* (June 21, 1827), the horrible Turkish barbarity committed against the innocent Greek children:

There arrived at this place [Poros] last evening six females, who had just escaped from the Arabs. Early this morning they were brought to my quarters. On going out, O, God of mercy! what a sight was presented to my view!! A girl of eleven or twelve years of age stood before me, with her nose cut off close to her face, and her lips all cut off, so that the gums and jaws were left entirely naked. All this had been done more than a year ago, and the poor creature was yet alive. Her refusal to yield to the embraces of an Arab was the cause of this horrid and shocking barbarity.⁹

With his mission accomplished for the martyrs of Christ,¹⁰ Colonel Miller returned to the New York City on May 27, 1828. By July 14, 1828, the GEC headed by George Griswold decided to publish Miller's *Journal*, an exposition of the poverty and distress caused by a merciless Turkish foe.¹¹

Colonel Jonathan P. Miller, while summarizing the American donations in provisions and while reviewing the Greek history and culture, praised the Hellenes for their bravery, determination, and devotion to be liberated from the Turkish slavery:

The people of Greece have shown their determination to be freed from Turkish bondage, by rising against their oppressors, and they have contended for seven years against a cruel and vindictive foe, and at fearful odds. Their bravery and devotion to the cause of their country has not been surpassed in ancient or modern times. Many good and brave men have fallen in the struggle, and many bad men have risen to posts of honor and command. There are, however, redeeming spirits among the survivors, and determination among the suffering inhabitants never more to submit to the Turks, which will cause Greece to be regenerated, and to become an independent nation.¹²

Through systematic newspaper publicity and organized public meetings,¹³ the Greek cause for liberty and independence was welcomed with open arms in the entire Union. The so-called "Greek fever" had numerous roots, particularly Christian Orthodoxy. The Christian Greeks were imitating America's revolutionary blow for civil and religious liberty; they were Christians battling against

Footnotes at end of article.

Moslem infidels; and they were the classical creditors of the Western civilization.¹⁴ Above all, the pro-Greek enthusiasm was motivated by American charity, humanitarianism, sympathy, magnanimity, generosity, compassion, philanthropy, benevolence, mercy, and pity for the afflicted, naked, starved, distressed, and destitute Greeks.¹⁵

By December 20, 1827, more than \$139,500 were raised by the New York Greek Executive Committee,¹⁶ a sum equivalent to about \$1.4 million in current purchasing power. By state contribution, New York contributed the largest amount with \$90,066.59, followed by Connecticut with \$3,264.71, and by New Jersey with \$3,067.66. Donations from the other states in the Union ranged from \$333.28 to \$5.00 in money and provisions. Canadian citizens, statesmen, and scholars donated \$192.24 for the heroic Greeks who fought the enemy of God and man.¹⁷

Through their generous philanthropic assistance, Americans helped the Greeks who lived in holes and caves; clothed their naked bodies; shod their bare feet; dressed their wounds; and fed their hungry stomachs. Above all, American philhellenes, assisted by the U.S. naval squadron in the Mediterranean Sea, prevented the collapse of the Greek Revolution through material and moral support.

RECORD OF AMERICAN PHILANTHROPY: A SUMMARY

Cargo	
Ship "Chancellor" (New York) --	\$17,500.00
Brig "Six Brothers" (New York) --	16,614.00
Brig "Jane" (New York and Albany) -----	8,900.00
Brig "Tontine" (Philadelphia) --	13,856.40
Brig "Levant" (Philadelphia) ---	8,547.18
Brig "Statesman" (Boston) -----	11,555.00
Total -----	76,973.08

Donation in money by state

New York -----	\$7,856.67
Connecticut -----	3,264.71
New Jersey -----	3,067.66
Massachusetts -----	333.28
Ohio -----	286.38
Georgia -----	180.00
Vermont -----	136.70
Maryland -----	20.00
Virginia -----	20.00
South Carolina -----	5.00
From other states -----	739.60
Canada -----	192.24
Total -----	16,102.24

Collections in Churches, Schools, and Other Institutions -----	\$3,291.34
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Donations in goods collected in New York City

Shoes -----	\$274.25
Hats -----	215.00
Provisions (beef, ham, pork, etc.) --	183.25
Clothes -----	172.50
Flour -----	168.75
Medicines -----	151.75
Sundries -----	72.50
Bread -----	5.00
Total -----	1,043.00

FOOTNOTES

*Materials for this article were obtained by Harry R. Skallerup, Science Librarian, United States Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland.

¹ Anonymous, "The Jews of Constantinople and Its Environs," *American Monthly Magazine*, 2 (October 1, 1833), p. 96.

² Charilaos G. Lagoudakis, "New York State and The War of Greek Independence: 1821 to 1830," *Orthodox Observer*, XXXVII (April, 1971), p. 9.

³ Jonathan P. Miller, *The Condition of Greece in 1827 and 1828* (New York: J. and J. Harper, 1828), pp. 199-265.

⁴ Miller, pp. 282-290.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 267.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 71-72.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 195.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 197.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 291-300.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 290, 300.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 272-290.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

CLEAN WATER

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the Michigan Student Environmental Confederation's newspaper, *Michigan Earth Beat*, of March 16, 1972, carried an item under the heading, "Clean Water—Action Needed Now!" which demonstrates that the youth of America have not lost their interest in a clean environment. So that my colleagues may have an opportunity to be aware of the views of our youth, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the news item appear at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

CLEAN WATER—ACTION NEEDED NOW

The U.S. House of Representatives will be voting in their weak version of the Muskie Clean Water Bill, which passed the Senate last fall by 86-0. Though far from perfect, it is the most comprehensive piece of federal legislation ever to deal with water pollution problems.

After the Senate bill passed, a massive attack on the bill in the House Committee was launched by the Nixon Administration, industry and several state governments. This attack succeeded in emasculating the stronger Senate provisions. Congressmen John Dingell (D-Mich.), and Henry Reuss (D-Wisc.), and John Saylor (R-Penn.), with the support of major citizen, labor, environmental and professional groups, are leading an effort by concerned members of the House in an effort to attach strengthening amendments to the bill on the House floor.

Write your congressman today and ask him to support the following amendments:

(1) Zero discharge goals and effluent requirements of the Senate bill for 1981 and 1985 do not take effect in the House version. The House merely orders a study (in section 315) by the National Academy of Sciences to determine the feasibility of implementing these 1981/1985 requirements.

(2) The power of the federal Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to review, and, when appropriate, to veto individual discharge permits for industries issues by the states (who may be unduly influenced by local and powerful industry groups) was removed in the House bill.

(3) Protection for workers must be instituted by requiring national effluent standards to prevent industries from "shopping" for less strict state pollution requirements, and by establishing an equitable system of economic assistance to those workers and communities affected by plant closures due to environmental regulations.

(4) Citizen suits against polluters or against the EPA Administrator have been seriously restricted. Any person may sue under the Senate Bill; only parties suffering direct damage will be granted standing to sue under the House bill.

(5) The National Environmental Policy

Act of 1969 may be weakened in two ways. "The Baker Amendment," introduced by Senator Howard Baker (R-Tenn.) in both current Senate and House versions, seriously limits the public's procedural rights and consideration of water quality problems by agencies granting federal licenses and permits. The Administration has proposed language to restrict the necessity of a "102 statement" (describes the environmental impact of any federal project); if not contained in the Committee bill, it will be offered as an amendment on the floor.

(6) The Administration has made proposals which would, in effect, repeal the Refuse Act of 1899 and an anti-pollution tool. This Act has given concerned citizens an opportunity to participate in halting pollution.

(7) Under the Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act state fish and game agencies and the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Interior Dept. may comment on all discharge permits to insure fish and wildlife resources protection. The Senate and House bill would eliminate this comment procedure.

PASS THE WORD

In our community, contact the local editor of your newspapers and/or reporters. Follow up with letters to the editor. Notify other individuals and groups who might help.

It is not enough to have the House pass a water pollution bill. Time is too short; the problems too widespread. The House must pass a strong water pollution bill. The clean water package must be supported if the rights of citizens and workers are to be protected and if the long-term goals of zero discharge are to be realized.

YOUTH FOR UNDERSTANDING

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, I would like to join many of my colleagues in paying tribute to the outstanding Student Exchange Service known as Youth for Understanding.

This program was inaugurated in 1951 under the auspices of the Ann Arbor, Mich., Council of Churches. I am pleased to add that the president of the council at that time, the Reverend Henry Kuizenga, is the pastor at the Beverly Hills Community Presbyterian Church, and presently resides in my congressional district. He is still instrumental in the promotion of YFU activities.

YFU is now the largest and fastest-growing organization of its kind, and I note that over 600 California students are privileged participants this year.

The program enables a student to spend either 6 months or a year as a member of an overseas family with a totally different life-style from his own. As a part of such a family living experience, the mutual appreciation of foreign cultures and values, so fundamental to international peace and understanding, is reinforced. In the process, trust among tomorrow's leaders is fostered, often despite considerable basic ideological differences.

Organizations such as YFU transcend racial, religious, geographical, and economic biases. They expose students to man's inherent communality, and in so doing seek to bridge the social and cultural chasms that hinder effective diplo-

macy. We must make every effort to relate to people of diverse cultures and backgrounds. Youth for Understanding is a significant vehicle for such accord, and as such deserves every American's continued praise and support.

NIXON POLICY ON U.S.S.R. JEWRY, ISRAEL CLARIFIED

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, last week the editors of 89 American Jewish newspapers gathered at the White House for a special briefing on American foreign policy. The meeting covered the American position in regard to Israel, the plight of Soviet Jewry and other related topics of special significance to Jews.

As a result of this conference, Philip Slomovitz has written two penetrating articles that point out that final settlement of the Middle East dispute is contingent upon an agreement with Egypt and that the U.S. still stands firm behind its commitment to Israel.

Mr. Slomovitz, as editor of the Detroit Jewish News of Southfield, Mich., has gained a well-earned reputation as one of the leading American journalists in Jewish affairs. These two articles serve to further illustrate the extent of his expertise and the depth of his insight into this crucial area of American foreign affairs.

Mr. Speaker, I insert these articles in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for the benefit of all my colleagues:

NIXON EMISSARIES ASSURE CONCERN FOR
U.S.S.R. JEWRY, PLEDGE ISRAEL SECURITY
THROUGH JEWISH EDITORS

(By Philip Slomovitz)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—With 89 American Jewish periodicals serving as vehicles for an understanding of issues in which their readers are primarily interested, the White House on Monday defined positions on major issues, such as the plight of Russian Jewry, the security of Israel, housing and the needs of the impoverished.

President Nixon's closest associates, including several important members of his official family who are Jews, passed on the important views at a specially arranged briefing for Jewish editors. Represented in the participating gathering were editors of nearly all the weekly English-Jewish newspapers; the editor of the only surviving Yiddish daily in this country, the Forward; editors of Hebrew and Yiddish periodicals, of monthly publications, quarterlies, youth periodicals, even some house organs.

With Herbert Klein, the chief public relations personality in the White House, presiding at the several sessions, the participants heard the views of Joseph Sisco, major intermediary between Israel and the Arab states; Richard Davies, deputy assistant secretary of state for foreign affairs; Leonard Garment, Prof. Ronald Berman, Herbert Stein, John Erlichman and other White House and other State Department spokesmen.

On two questions there were positive declarations on policies to which there are commitments by the Nixon administration: in relation to Soviet Jewry and Israel.

Mr. Sisco made it clear that the U.S. had never supported complete withdrawal by Israel from occupied territories. He analyzed

the Security Council November 1967 resolution to point out that linked with the statement on withdrawal were the conditional points on negotiations for secure borders. He described American aims to assure "a contractual binding peace" and he stated "the interests of the United States are parallel to Israel's but they are not synonymous."

While exposing "Soviet opportunism," Mr. Sisco expressed the view that it is not in the Soviets' best interests that there should be an outbreak of war.

There was emphasis in Mr. Sisco's speech on the assistance given to Israel by the U.S. His contention was that more assistance will have been given from 1969 through 1972 than in the years 1948 to 1969, both in military and economic aid.

Reiterating that the situation in Cairo has become much more complicated, quoting Sadat's frequent threats to Israel and his attacks on the U.S., Mr. Sisco nevertheless said that "no doors have been closed," that "if there is a give on key points the issues can be resolved."

Why hasn't the United States counteracted the "outrageously prejudicial positions taken against Israel at the Security Council?" Mr. Sisco was asked. He welcomed the question as a very valid one and explained that the U.S. delegation tries but fails to secure sufficient support in the Council, in Israel's defense, that the majority could not be overruled and that it is considered "in the best interests" of existing situations not to resort to the veto.

Although Russia jointly with Egypt has broken the ceasefire agreement shortly after it was instituted, Mr. Sisco believes that the Soviet position on the cease fire parallels the American because the Soviet Union "sees a danger of a confrontation with the United States in the event the cease fire is terminated."

Military aid for Israel continues, Mr. Sisco said, although announcements are always withheld—for the same reason that Russia never announces its plans to give military aid to Egypt and the Arab states. But aid to assure Israel's security was reaffirmed as an established American policy.

Mr. Sisco rejected the possibility of an Israel-Jordan peace agreement, stating that peace can only begin with a Cairo agreement.

An impressive statement on American policy in behalf of Soviet Jewry was made by Richard Davies, who reviewed the activities in support of Russian Jewry's appeals for emigration, their quest for cultural rights within the USSR and the extent of reunion of USSR Jews with relatives in this country.

Mr. Davies touched upon all aspects of the situation—the preference of Soviet Jews for settlement in Israel, the areas whence they have emigrated, the fact that visas have been issued to Jews from Soviet Georgia and the Baltic states but not those from the Leningrad areas, Moscow and the Ukraine.

Mr. Davies emphasized that Russian Jews have many allies, that the United States exerts great effort to assist the emigrants and to strive for attainment of their just rights.

He maintained that the Soviets are not indifferent to the American attitude, and he recalled the exchange of communications between President Nixon and Detroit Max M. Fisher in which the American position in support of just rights for Russian Jewry was affirmed.

Mr. Davies said that "public opinion as expressed in the declarations in support of Russian Jewry's demands in Western countries have been an effective means of getting results."

The effectiveness of Voice of America and the need to continue Radio Liberty whose status is endangered by Senator William Fulbright's opposition were emphasized, and an appeal was made for assistance in securing

Congressional action in support of these broadcasts which are said to bring desired results in broadcasting news and information to Russian Jews.

While only 50 Russian families have been united with relatives in this country—the first such family settled in Detroit—U.S. assistance in settling more Russian Jews will continue, dependent upon application from American Jews who request reunions thereby validating visas. But most Russian Jews prefer to settle in Israel, Mr. Davies emphasized.

Participants in the briefing advocated Jewish press representation in the correspondents' ranks when President Nixon goes to Russia in May. Jack Siegel, executive vice president of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, and Joseph Polakoff, JTA Washington correspondent, indicated that application for such a berth already is being made with the White House.

The agenda for the Nixon visit in Russia is not being publicized in advance, and the question of his raising the Jewish issue at the Kremlin was left in that category. But there was emphasis that "Soviet Jewry's needs will not be ignored."

Herbert Stein, chairman of the President's Economic Council, a native Detroit, gave an important analysis of the manner in which the Nixon administration deals with the poverty program. The problem of increased poverty among New York's Jews, especially the elderly, was raised, and an assurance of consideration was given to the over-all problem.

A report that attracted special interest was the outline given by Stanley Baruch, director of housing development, on the \$50,000,000 loan that has been extended for housing in Israel. Mr. Baruch said the current loan advanced for assistance in solving the Israeli housing problem is being speeded, because of plans for a new loan in the amount of \$100,000,000.

The current \$50,000,000 Israel housing loan will finance the construction of 11,000 homes for middle- and lower middle-income families. The loan agreement was recently signed by Israel Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir and Dr. John A. Hannah (former president of Michigan State University) administrator of Agency for Industrial Development.

The loan was made to Tefahot Israel Mortgage Bank. Selling price of the houses thus financed will not exceed the equivalent of \$16,000.

Mr. Baruch pointed out that Mr. Sisco, Robert Finch, Dr. Hannah and other government leaders were deeply interested in the advancement of the loan and are very sympathetic to Israel needs. "Robert Finch is a deeply devoted friend of Israel," Mr. Baruch said. He added that Mr. Nixon is kept informed on the plans for assistance to Israel and "nothing will be permitted to stand in the way of its consummation."

The sessions were marked by frankness and direct questions involving the Nixon policies. There were intimate evaluations of the President, especially in the opening address of William Safire, one of the President's speech writers, who explained how the President himself finalizes texts and makes them his own. Mr. Safire, a noted etimologist, whose "The New Language of Politics" will be published soon, spoke of President Nixon as "a man of will." He described the manner in which those who dislike him fail to understand that "he is a considerate man . . . he explains matters in the simplest, clearest, every-day terms . . . more than his predecessors he has a distinctive style which might be emulated by future Presidents."

Mr. Safire made reference to the large number of Jews in the Nixon official family—Henry Kissinger, Leonard Garment, Herbert Stein, Prof. Ronald Berman, Arthur Burns.

The expected visit with the editors by President Nixon did not materialize: he was occupied framing a statement on his position on school busing.

Max M. Fisher was referred to by nearly all of the speakers as one who has been helpful in framing policies relating to aid to Israel and the housing loan, in being an able adviser. Mr. Fisher was in the background during the briefings, but he had his own party for the press—a cocktail reception at the Madison Hotel as a wind-up to the briefings. That's where he fraternized with friends from all over the country who came for the White House briefings.

The visiting editors were White House guests at a luncheon at which the guests had a choice of a regular buffet or a boxed kosher lunch, and about 20 per cent expressed gratitude for the kashrut provisions.

HUSSEIN PLAN: REALITY OR DUD?—SISCO SEES PEACE POSSIBILITY ONLY THROUGH CAIRO ACCORD

(By Philip Slomovitz)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Joseph Sisco, who has played the major role in negotiations for agreements between Israel and Egypt, expressed a firm view, at the press briefing for Jewish editors at the White House, Monday afternoon, that the only hope for peace in the Middle East is through an agreement with Cairo.

Asked about the anticipated Hussein statement and the reports of secret agreements purportedly leading to acceptance of Israel's retaining sovereignty over all of Jerusalem and a "nominal" return of West Bank territory to Jordan, Sisco gave the emphatic opinion that all hopes for peace must come from agreements with the Egyptian leaders.

He went into details in giving an analysis of the situation, emphasizing that "peace pointed out that if West Bankers are asked for their views, some would wish to align themselves with Hussein, in a Hashemite kingdom, others, those of Palestinian stock, would ask for a Palestinian independent state, while a third element still prefers to continue the terrorism.

Sisco was specific. "Possibility of peace with Jordan is distant," he said, "because such steps must be taken with Cairo."

The first reports which were said to stem from "reliable sources" cited occasions when King Hussein was said to have met, in September 1969 and February 1971, with Abba Eban, Yigal Allon, Moshe Dayan and even with Golda Meir. Supposedly, an accord, reached "unofficially," provided for a return of West Bank control to Jordan, but the only military semblance it was to have would be the presence not of military but of Jordanian police. Israeli paramilitary forces supposedly were to remain on the West Bank. Jerusalem, under the reported agreement, would be under Israeli rule but Jordanian flags would fly from Moslem holy places.

But there remains the conditional point in the report from "reliable sources"—that the speculated agreement between Hussein and Israel would be predicated upon an accord, even if interim, on the reopening of the Suez Canal.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

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

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

How long?

SPONSORSHIP OF LEGISLATION IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 16, 1972

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON. Mr. Speaker, we can expect a colorful show during this election year. It can be a year of education for all of us—those holding office and the public alike—or it can be a year of unproductive and confusing charges and countercharges for hopefuls and incumbent public servants. While it is an activity-packed and exciting time, it is also a time to be wary because in this day and age too many candidates for public office seem to concentrate on image making instead of substance. No one here denies that how a Member of Congress presents his case is essential to explaining it to his constituents. Our whole job is one of listening and leading—communicating with our constituencies on a full-time basis. But if there is an element of showmanship in politics, there is no reason to make it vaudeville. There is no reason to follow the tactics of the late P. T. Barnum saying that "a sucker is born every minute" making the campaign on a three-ring circus of irresponsible and irrelevant charges. When false issues are raised, the public is done a disservice.

The public must be alert to certain "done nothing" candidates substituting irresponsibility for accountability and distortion for honesty. I am, of course, speaking of those would-be elected officials who insist on making political campaigns a matter of mud, threats, and smears. We have all witnessed their campaign techniques of looking for trouble, finding it everywhere, diagnosing it incorrectly, and applying the wrong remedies.

One of the favorite of these false devices of would-be office holders is the dishonest tactic of the smear and the big lie. "Make a charge," they say, "and no matter how irresponsible or wrong, doubt in the public mind will stick." "Tell a falsehood," they urge, "the bigger the better. And the less true, the less substantiated, the more difficult it is to rebut."

A favorite nonissue of this type often raised by inexperienced "done nothing" candidates is the one that insists that the incumbent legislator has not had his name on a single piece of legislation and that, therefore, he is not doing his job. This issue, when applied to an incumbent U.S. Congressman is, of course, nonsense. Anyone who has had the privilege of serving in the U.S. Congress knows that legislation is designated by number and explained according to its subject matter. Any schoolboy knows that most of the work of the Congress is hard and anonymous. The fact of the matter is that only very senior Members of Congress—and very few of them—have any chance of having their names associated with any bill. Most often, it is those who serve as committee chairmen who by virtue of pure position have their name on a bill when it comes before the House. When it

passes, it becomes a public law with a number. Any association as to authorship, we all know, is made by the press and not by the rules of the House.

We all know that in the field of legislation a man must specialize, do his homework, and become an expert in his field. A jack of all legislative trades is a master of none. There are freshmen Members of Congress who have felt that introducing a flood of legislation is the way to express their views on a wide range of public issues, and I have seen these men spread themselves too thin and become increasingly ineffective with their colleagues. I also know that it is easy to make a promise, but it is hard to deliver.

How false the issue of legislative name identification is! Try to recall specific names on important bills. Was last year's military authorization bill known as the Hébert act? Were any of last year's appropriation bills named the Mahon act after that honorable committee chairman? With all due respect to our President, Richard M. Nixon who served in this Congress for 6 years, where is the Nixon bill? What of our other notable political leaders. Have we a Kennedy bill, a Johnson bill, or maybe a McCormack bill, a Dirksen bill, a Ford bill?

Of course the great majority of all our work is in cooperation with others. It is tedious and anonymous work but essential in hammering out reasonable legislation which can and should be passed. We all cosponsor important pieces of legislation without bragging of authorship. The Congress is a cooperative body. We have to learn to work together. Our common goal is that of common interest. The Nation must come first.

Mr. Speaker, it is easy for a candidate to make a promise or raise a charge but as an incumbent I must stand by my record. It is a record which is solid and I am proud of it. But, for the sake of public education, I believe the voters ought to be made aware that the tired and hollow issue of legislative name calling is hypocritical and unrealistic. I have asked the Library of Congress to research the subject of cosponsorship of bills in the House of Representatives for the benefit of those candidates running for office who are ignorant of the procedures of the House. I am placing this Library of Congress report in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD as a public service as an adjunct to these remarks. However, in closing, I would like to quote from the letter of transmittal which accompanied the report from the Library of Congress. The Library researcher stated:

There is no procedure by which legislation is referred to after the Member who introduced it, e.g., the Ford bill or the Boggs bill. That sometimes occurs for several possible reasons: (1) a Member has long been associated with a particular piece of legislation, (2) the mass media publicize a measure as the Ford bill or the Boggs bill, or (3) the title of a measure is so long and complex that journalists refer to it after the Member who introduced it.

There are meaningful issues which can be raised in this campaign and, as the incumbent, it is my duty and my privilege to stand on my record. It is the responsibility of the opposition to cross-examine. An honest, straight-forward debate will be of public benefit. As far

as I am concerned, the more the public knows about the facts of how the Congress operates, the importance of seniority, the realities of legislative specialization and expertise, the better off we will all be. I commend the research paper of the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress to all of you as a point of reference for the sake of clearing the air on this issue:

**CO-SPONSORSHIP OF BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS IN
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

A major departure from the custom of the United States House of Representatives was approved in 1967 when the House approved a resolution, H. Res. 42, introduced by William Colmer of Mississippi, to allow more than one Member's name to appear on a bill, resolution, or memorial. The resolution, which was in the form of an amendment to paragraph 4 of rule XXII of the Rules of the House, was favorably reported from the House Judiciary Committee on April 16, 1967. As introduced and reported to the House, it would have allowed up to ten Members to introduce a bill or resolution jointly. As amended on the floor and approved by the House on April 25, the resolution provided that up to 25 Members could put their names on the same bill, resolution, or memorial.

There was virtually no opposition to H. Res. 42 when it was debated on the floor of the House. Mr. Colmer emphasized that there could be substantial savings in the costs of printing the required number of bills once joint sponsorship was permitted. He noted that 2,800 copies of each bill (and 1,900 copies of each resolution) introduced were automatically printed, and that when identical bills were introduced by other Members, 250 copies of each identical measure were also printed. He cited as an example the printing of a housing bill, 36 pages long, that had recently been introduced in identical form by more than 90 Members of the House, at a cost of \$8,292. Under joint sponsorship with a total of nine prints, assuming ten sponsors of each, the printing costs would have come to \$2,897, a saving of \$5,395.

Discussion among several Members of the House about how the co-sponsorship of bills would work in practice served to illustrate the legislative intent behind the resolution. In response to questions from Majority Leader Carl Albert of Oklahoma, Mr. Colmer made it clear that bills would not be held for additional sponsors as they are in the Senate; that measures would be numbered and referred to committees in the same manner as they were under the rules at that time; and that the order of names on the bill would probably be determined by the principal sponsor of the bill. Mr. Colmer also stated his objection to removing the limitation on the number of co-sponsors allowed on a given piece of legislation as is the case in the Senate, for the reason that there might be so many co-sponsors as to "approve" the bill before it ever came to a vote on the floor. Paul Jones of Missouri pointed out that the resolution was permissive rather than mandatory, and that Members who still wanted to introduce separate and identical bills would be free to do so. Finally, H. Allen Smith of California, who covered much of the same ground as Mr. Colmer, noted that if the language of a bill were changed, it would be up to the principal sponsor, "out of friendship and courtesy," to advise the other sponsors of the new language and ask whether they wanted their names to remain on the bill. The resolution was approved by a voice vote.

Resolutions to allow joint sponsorship of legislation in the House had been introduced in each Congress since 1957. Although the House Rules did not specifically prohibit joint sponsorship, a select committee studying the matter reported in 1909 (see Volume VII of Cannon's Precedents, § 1029) that:

"The House . . . in the conduct of its business is not controlled, nor is the business conducted, merely in accordance with the express rules of the House. There are many situations not specifically covered by the written rules which are nevertheless regulated definitely by the procedure which has come down from time immemorial and which procedure is essential to the orderly conduct of the business of the House."

And further:

"A casual examination of Rule XXII does not disclose any inhibition against the attachment of more than a single name to a bill or resolution. Examined in the light of the evolution of the rules and practice relating to the presentation of bills, however, and bearing in mind the purpose sought to be accomplished by the changes made from time to time resulting finally in the introduction of all bills without the formality of recognition, it seems clear to the committee that the underlying principle of individual recognition still prevails and that the presentation of a bill involves such recognition . . .

"The information obtained indicated that while the practice [of single sponsorship] has not been so prevalent and long continued as to justify the assertion that it has become a custom and part of the unwritten regulations controlling the procedure and business of the House, it has undoubtedly been sufficiently indulged to vindicate those who, in the absence of a controlling ruling or some action by the House, contend for the practice.

" . . . The committee is unanimously of the opinion that under the true and proper construction of the rule the attaching of the name of more than one member to a bill or resolution is unauthorized."

Under the precedents of the House, it was clear that some action had to be taken if Members were to be allowed to sponsor legislation jointly.

The first measure introduced jointly under the rules change was H.R. 9316, sponsored by Spark Matsunaga and Patsy Mink of Hawaii, to reclassify certain positions in the Postal Field Service. It was put in on April 26. A rough survey of bills introduced with more than one sponsor during three different months of 1967 (May, August, and November) and 1968 (March, April and June) gives some idea of how many bills actually have been introduced in this way. In 1967 the average number of measures introduced jointly per month was 37, or 2.9% of the total number of public and private bills introduced in the House during that year. In 1968 the average number of such bills introduced per month was 40, but because there were many fewer bills introduced overall during 1968 than 1967, the percentage rose from 2.9 to 6.3%. And in at least two cases, a concerted effort to obtain co-sponsors was made because several prints of the same bill were necessary to accommodate all the co-sponsors. On one there were a total of 109 sponsors, and on the other, 62. In both instances, the name of the principal sponsor appeared on each print of the bill, followed by 24 (or, on the last print, fewer) co-sponsors. At the same time, it should be noted that many Members continued to put in separate bills identical to others already introduced.

It would appear from the sampling noted above that the device of co-sponsorship will be used by certain Members in particular instances. It might be particularly useful when Members from one State or region want to join together in sponsoring a measure that would benefit them all, or when certain Members of one party want to display a sense of common purpose by co-sponsoring the same proposal. At this point, however, it is much too early to judge just how prevalent the practice of joint introduction of bills and resolutions will become in the House of Representatives.

**CONGRESSMAN FRANK ANNUNZIO
SUPPORTS H.R. 8395, THE REHABILITATION
ACT OF 1972**

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, I want to express my wholehearted support for H.R. 8395, the Rehabilitation Act of 1972. Recently, I introduced legislation similar to H.R. 8395 and appeared before the Select Subcommittee on Education to testify in behalf of early enactment of this much-needed measure.

H.R. 8395, the most significant amendment to the Vocational Rehabilitation Act in the more than 50 years of its history, is one of the most important bills we will consider in this Congress. The Vocational Rehabilitation Act has been an immensely successful program for the past half century, and the passage of this bill today will assure its continued effectiveness in the future.

I commend the Committee on Education and Labor for the high quality of the bill it has reported to us. It contains many creative and worthwhile provisions that can serve only to strengthen the Federal-State vocational rehabilitation program. In the 50 years of its existence, the program has brought valuable, even lifesaving, services to nearly 3 million handicapped persons. In fiscal year 1971, nearly 300,000 persons completed rehabilitation services and were returned to the labor market. Despite these large numbers of handicapped individuals served by the program, however, there are still many thousands who are not as yet able to profit from the rehabilitation services that could mean the difference for them between despair and hope.

For many years, as director of the Illinois Department of Labor, I worked diligently to improve programs for employing the physically handicapped. In my capacity as the top administrator of the labor department, I urged the commissioner of the Illinois Employment Service—which was under my jurisdiction—to participate in all worthwhile programs aimed at increasing employment of the physically handicapped. In order to insure the success of these programs, we worked closely with the disabled veterans organizations and created many new incentives to encourage employers throughout the entire State of Illinois to hire the physically handicapped. Having had this experience with the employers in the State of Illinois and with the outstanding Illinois veterans organizations, I want to say that I have a profound understanding of what it means to the dignity of handicapped people to have access to adequate rehabilitative assistance in order to enable them to lead useful and productive lives.

The bill before us today has provisions for new programs to help fill some of the gaps, enabling vital rehabilitation services to be brought to those who have been unable to receive them as the program presently exists.

One provision of H.R. 8395 that is particularly close to my own heart is

the provision establishing a special program for the severely handicapped. It is these severely handicapped who, because of the severity of their handicaps and the limitations of the program itself, have been unable to benefit from the many services that have been so helpful over the years to other less severely handicapped persons. The provisions of H.R. 8395 will guarantee that there will be specific and sustained attention paid to the special needs and problems of the severely handicapped as they undergo rehabilitation.

Another important provision of the bill will provide special services to those suffering from serious kidney disease. In recent years we have begun to realize the desperate problems involved with kidney disease and the untold suffering of those afflicted with this disease. Rehabilitation of persons with kidney disease can be a complex and expensive process, and the enactment of H.R. 8395 will help to provide some of the assistance that is needed to bring rehabilitation services to increased numbers of those suffering from this disease.

Another disability group with special rehabilitation problems that will receive special services through the provisions of H.R. 8395 is the group of persons suffering from paralyzing spinal cord injuries. The bill will establish and maintain a national center to treat persons suffering from such spinal cord injuries. This center will contain a variety of services necessary to rehabilitate the spinal cord injured and to bring to them a degree of independence.

A National Information Center created by H.R. 8395 will help to coordinate information concerning Federal programs for the handicapped and make knowledge concerning such programs more easily accessible to handicapped persons, their families and friends, and to any others who are interested in such programs.

Other sections of the bill authorize a National Center for Deaf-Blind Youth and Adults and comprehensive rehabilitation centers for underachieving deaf youth and adults. The legislation establishes a National Commission on Transportation and Housing for the Handicapped to study and make recommendations concerning the problems the handicapped face as they live and travel in this country. Another new program authorized by H.R. 8395 is that which provides new sources of financing for multipurpose rehabilitation facilities through mortgage insurance. In addition the bill provides annual interest grants to assist rehabilitation agencies in reducing the cost of borrowing from other sources for the construction of rehabilitation facilities.

These are some of the new programs that will be established with the passage of H.R. 8395. Other provisions amend existing programs under the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, so that these existing programs will be better able to meet the changing needs of rehabilitation for handicapped persons. The greatness of the vocational rehabilitation program over the past half century has been based to a large extent

on its ability to change, to adjust to changing needs. This bill provides many of the answers to the problems facing handicapped persons in this country today as they work to change their futures for the better. I urge this body to move rapidly and unanimously to pass the bill so that more handicapped persons can be rehabilitated to productive lives.

OLDER AMERICANS ACT

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. REID. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing, along with my distinguished colleagues on the Education and Labor Committee, Mr. QUITE, Mr. HANSEN of Idaho, Mr. KEMP, Mr. ERLÉNBOEN, and Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin, a bill to revise and extend the Older Americans Act of 1965, as amended. This bill embodies the administration's proposals. Similar proposals are pending before the Select Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor. Out of these various proposals should flow legislation which will be a major step forward in improving the lives and increasing the independence of the Nation's 20 million elderly. Consideration of the original act in 1965, and of the amendments enacted in 1967 and 1969 have been characterized by bipartisan cooperation, and cooperation between the legislative and executive branches. We hope today with these proposed amendments to the Older Americans Act to contribute to this spirit of cooperation.

Year 1971 was a great progress in the Nation's effort to meet the challenge of aging. The long anticipated White House Conference on Aging was held in November, with representatives from throughout the Nation taking part. The recommendations produced by that conference have already had an impact on both the executive and legislative branches. Further, it was at the White House conference that the President called for a five-fold increase in the budget of the Administration on Aging, and Congress immediately responded to that request by providing substantial increases in appropriations for the Older Americans Act.

Year 1972 will also be an important year for older Americans. H.R. 1, which has passed the House, should be reported from the Senate Finance Committee and considered on the Senate floor. The bill has numerous provisions which would benefit the elderly, including an increase in social security benefits, an automatic cost-of-living increase, and a minimum income base for the aged, blind, and disabled.

The Federal Government has many opportunities to fulfill its commitments to the aged: The Older Americans Act of 1965, as amended, will expire June 30, and must be extended if the activities authorized by the act are to be continued. It is my privilege to introduce this bill, which would not only extend, but ex-

pand, revise, and improve the Older Americans Act.

America's 20 million elderly are frequently discussed as if they were a typical older person, as if the problems of some were the problems of all. The Nation's citizens over 65 are, of course, not homogeneous. In a sense—because they have lived longer than the rest of us—their life histories are the most individualized. In attempting to classify the older population, these kinds of distinctions appear:

Half are below the age of 74, half above.

A few are well off; one-quarter are poor.

Some are quite healthy, but about 5 percent are so impaired that they require institutional care.

Many live independently; some live with children or other relatives.

Some have college degrees; many did not complete elementary school.

A few still work full time; some had been out of work for a long time when they finally decided to retire.

Faced with this diverse population, the bill I am introducing is structured to meet the varying needs of the Nation's elderly. This proposal to extend the Older Americans Act is focused on the development of a system of comprehensive services for the elderly, in order to assist older persons to live independent, meaningful, and dignified lives. Funds would be allotted to states to support the development of State and local capacity to plan and coordinate programs for the elderly. This bill includes authorization for a nutritional program for the elderly, along the lines already approved by the Congress in S. 1163.

While the bill would provide a substantial commitment of resources to deal with the problem of hunger among the older persons, it would also encourage the development of other services to create a comprehensive nutrition and social service program. These social services could include health, recreation, education, transportation, homemaker services, housing assistance and information and referral services, if the State and local planning agencies determined these services were needed as part of an areas comprehensive service plan.

The strategy expressed in the bill would foster the development of area plans. These plans would define the needs of older persons for services and set forth arrangements made with service providers to establish a program of coordinated services to meet the needs identified in the plan. Funds for services would be provided to initiate services that were not available in the local area under present programs. Only in this way can an effective program of services to meet the needs of older persons be assured.

In his initial budget request the President more than doubled the budget for the Administration on Aging, to \$100 million. He has now added an additional \$100 million, for a total of \$200 million. This means quite clearly that we can now be sure of a substantial beginning of the realization of the nutrition legislation that has already passed Congress.

In sum, I believe that there is much in this bill that would mean a major step forward in the delivery of services to older people, and urge its prompt and thorough consideration.

A CAREFUL LOOK AT GROWTH AS SUICIDE

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, David A. Anderson, writing in the Wall Street Journal, points up the human tendency to ultimate commonsense when the big issues are involved. His comments which appear on the editorial pages of March 17 follow:

A CAREFUL LOOK AT GROWTH AS SUICIDE (By David C. Anderson)

"Limits to Growth" is a recently published environmental study currently attracting much passionate attention. Its major conclusion, certainly, would seem to warrant the heavy response: A rapid halt to population and economic growth is the only way to forestall the collapse of human society within a century's time.

The study (Universe Books, 205 pages, \$6.50 hardcover, \$2.75 paperback) was sponsored by Potomac Associates, a nonprofit Washington research firm, and conducted by a group of analysts headed by Professor Dennis L. Meadows of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The book is also part of a project undertaken by the Club of Rome, an international group of businessmen, scientists and others, and financed by the Volkswagen Foundation.

The club betrays a certain smugness. "The majority of the world's people are concerned with matters that affect only family or friends over a short period of time," the study says beneath a graph purporting to reflect the range of human perspectives. "Others look farther ahead in time or over a larger area—a city or nation. Only a very few people have a global perspective that extends far into the future."

And many readers seem willing to grant their claim to special vision. New York Times columnist Anthony Lewis, for example, wrote of the study:

"Merely to state such problems is to make one thing evident: The complete irrelevance of most of today's political concerns to the most important problem facing the world in the long run. And not very long at that. There are men in government who understand that... but the leaders they advise are too busy trying to win this year's election to be interrupted with such disturbing thoughts."

CAUTIOUS APPRAISAL NEEDED

Perhaps the study merits its claim to special insight, or perhaps it doesn't. The weight of its implication, though, requires that it be appraised in a more cautious light than many now seem prepared to give it, especially since Potomac Associates has chosen to give "Limits to Growth" something of a hype. Advance proofs were sent to selected journalists, and the book was introduced with a day-long symposium and press conference at the Smithsonian Institution.

"Limits to Growth" actually does not differ in any substantial way from a book called "World Dynamics" by management expert Jay Forrester (Wright-Allen Press). "World Dynamics" was published last year and discussed at length on this page for the moral and social problems it implied.

Mr. Forrester, it turns, out, is an associate of Mr. Meadows and is also known to the Club of Rome. In an interview Mr. Meadows acknowledged that "Limits to Growth" is something of a rewrite job and explained that two instalments of the study scheduled for publication later this year will advance the project more substantially.

In any event, the Forrester-Meadows research amounts to this:

Various trends affect life on earth; population growth, pollution generation, depletion of natural resources, food production and industrial output. Each of these may be expressed in mathematical terms, as may the relationships between them. A computer may be used to calculate the behavior of the trends as they relate to each other.

Now it is important to note that some of the trends—population growth and pollution generation, for example—tend to be exponential rather than arithmetic: They increase by multiplying rather than by adding increments. Exponential growth starts slowly but soon may reach a staggering rate.

Thus the computer forecasts dramatic events for the world if current trends continue. Some time before the end of the next century, the computer printouts show, the world system will reach a point where population can no longer be supported by existing resources. Population decline is the result.

If one adjusts any one of the trend formulas to reflect possible attempts to delay the catastrophe—a new discovery of minerals, a technical advance or a sharp increase in agricultural output, for example—it still occurs, since other destructive or wasteful trends in the world system are intensified.

Only in one case is the catastrophe averted; if population growth and the growth of industrial capital are halted in the near future, the world enters a state of equilibrium and long-term stability.

Both "Limits to Growth" and "World Dynamics" carefully hedge their reporting of these findings: the mathematical formulas, of course, oversimplify reality, they acknowledge, and Mr. Meadows in his interview explained that the major purpose of the study is to establish the problem of growth—heretofore accepted as beneficial without question—as a new area of study.

Yet predictably enough, many lay readers of the study have chosen to ignore the cautionary context and seize upon the implied conclusion that growth is suicidal.

"If man wants an extended future, in short if he wants to avoid the pattern of boom and collapse, he will have to give up the philosophy of growth," said Mr. Lewis in one of the three columns he wrote on the study. "To pretend that growth can go on forever is like arguing that the earth is flat. Only the consequences are more serious," he wrote in another.

THE SKEPTICS' VIEW

And to one who has considered "World Dynamics" once and finds "Limits to Growth" more repetitious than striking, this apocalyptic response becomes as much a source of interest as the substance of the two studies. With it in mind, one approaches those who are skeptical.

Some of these, of course, are as passionate in their defensiveness as the apocalypses are in the Jeremiahs which only adds to the confusion. Economist Henry Wallich dismisses "Limits to Growth" as "a piece of irresponsible nonsense," though he then goes on to make more substantial points.

And Columbia professors Peter Passell and Leonard Ross, authors of a forthcoming book arguing for growth, suggest that those who oppose growth are members of the upper-middle class who resent the rising affluence of the lower classes as a threat to their status. Rising affluence is a chief result of economic growth.

Anthony Weiner of the Hudson Institute,

though, provides a response that permits some more profound thoughts both on "Limits to Growth" itself and on the apocalypticism it has generated.

Mr. Weiner emphasizes that the subject of growth is very much worthy of study, and that the Forrester-Meadows research amounts to a valuable contribution. In fact, he reveals, the Hudson Institute plans to develop its own growth scenarios, not directly refuting "Limits to Growth" but showing that non-catastrophic futures are as plausible.

Mr. Weiner acknowledges the standard responses of other skeptics: The world model as explained in "Limits to Growth" does not seem to account well for the economic fact that as resources become scarce their price goes up and people are motivated to find substitutes or to do without.

Nor does it properly reflect the continuing trend of technological innovation. Though the study does try to adjust some of its figures for new discoveries, Mr. Weiner contends, it does not account for the conceivably tremendous impact of technology, a factor that may be hard to guess at with any accuracy at all, but which should not therefore be ignored.

More important, though, are two other ideas. First, some economic growth need not waste resources or generate a lot of pollution. For example, increases in computer capacity or communications capacity might result in dramatic increases in economic growth with only negligible pollution or resource drain.

Second, human beings are capable of making value judgments that alter their behavior. This human factor is hard to quantify and is bound to be ignored by a computer study. But it has crucial relevance to the problem.

For it means that though the computer can only prescribe an absolute halt to growth as a remedy to the catastrophe it foresees, another approach is possible: selective growth that permits human survival and the continued functioning of economic life as it now is known, but leads eventually to less waste and pollution and perhaps ultimately to an equilibrium state.

Such an equilibrium state, though, Mr. Weiner believes and the Hudson Institute hopes to demonstrate, could involve much higher levels of affluence, population and technology than the world knows at present, much higher than would remain if humanity somehow made some drastic attempt to halt growth now.

Is a shift to such selective growth feasible? Mr. Weiner suggests it may already be under way. "We've never done business as usual for very long," he says. "Growth has never proceeded in simple-minded exponential fashion. And it's no help at all to say we have to stop growing. What we have to do is to ask how much of our growth is worthwhile to our happiness. It's already becoming clear that much of it hasn't been worth it." To be concrete, one may cite as evidence of the trend the rapid emergence of the environment as a major issue and the plunging U.S. birth rate.

To be fair, of course, one must await the actual scenarios and mathematics of the Hudson Institute before judging if their contentions are as plausible as those of the Forrester-Meadows group. But in the meantime, at least, one may reflect on the subtler point implied by Mr. Weiner's particular form of skepticism.

Growth may be suicidal, but the human race, collectively, is not, however, foolishly and destructively it may behave at times. And there is a certain snobbishness to the idea that only certain visionaries, computer equipped or not, can understand what threatens us and so presumably, can claim a right to dictate remedies.

For one thing, the future is apparent in the present to a certain extent; one doesn't have to be a visionary to watch the garbage

piling up in the street. For another, if certain kinds of industrial technology can waste our environment, other kinds of electronic technology may cause us to be aware of our problems.

In fact, if the issue is as big as "Limits to Growth" would have us believe then the likelihood is great that a significant enough number of men will understand. For this reason the Times' Mr. Lewis rather crucially distorts the situation when he writes that most of today's political problems are irrelevant to the long-range danger.

For the man who is worried about winning the election this year or next year or the year after that will more and more have to worry about winning the votes of men who are more and more worried about the garbage piling up in the street, or the increasing scarcity of basic resources, or whatever.

Could such a homely wisdom actually be proof against the apocalypse? Many will remain unpersuaded, for it is true that the human awareness necessary to prove Mr. Meadows' computer wrong and Mr. Weiner right would necessarily result in some great and strange adjustments in our thought and our behavior.

But that only reflects the final, most easily overlooked point: The strange, these days may be much more normal and predictable than the familiar.

Let those who doubt remember the first round of postwar apocalypticism, which had to do with nuclear diplomacy. The stockpiling of thermonuclear weapons, the advances in delivery systems, the widening divergence of national ideologies—all of these, we were told, made of the earth a hideously dangerous place; civilization-destroying war seemed not only possible but inevitable one day, by design, accident or the combination of both. or change to reduce it. Politicians were too

For surely men could not see the danger or change to reduce it. Politicians were too shortsighted; arms manufacturers too greedy; people in general too concerned with everyday affairs to worry about the huge and horribly complicated problems, the drift toward holocaust.

IN THE END . . .

But in the end the strange won out. Though its costs were terrible enough, Vietnam was acknowledged as a mistake and a fiasco before it could escalate into the apocalypse. The staggering price of preparedness forced the Americans and the Russians to come together in Vienna in serious pursuit of arms limitations; President Nixon made his improbable trip to China in an effort to reduce the hideous danger over the long term.

It is true that visionaries of one sort or another called for these changes long before they occurred, but it is equally important that they were forced, in the end, by millions of people who began to feel that Vietnam was wrong, preparedness expensive and detente desirable, and often for personally compelling reasons.

A once hawkish President Nixon did not de-escalate the Vietnam war and seek arms limitation and detente because of the words of visionaries he had once passionately debated, but because of the votes of Americans worried about their draftable sons and rising taxes, and markedly unenthusiastic about superpower diplomacy. And though the visionaries may still talk, their case for nuclear apocalypse is no longer so persuasive.

Such a look to the earlier apocalypticism is not conclusive of all that much, perhaps, but it does leave one with a comforting hint; there seems to be a human tendency to ultimate common sense when the big issues of security and survival come into play; such a tendency, whatever one's mathematics, looks real enough to trust for a while yet, and real enough, perhaps, to make all the difference.

ONE DAY I AM GOING TO KICK

HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. HALPERN. Mr. Speaker, little progress has been made over the past several years in the desperate fight against narcotics abuse. In fact, our addict population—the largest in the world—now exceeds 400,000.

We have never committed ourselves to fighting an all-out campaign for addict rehabilitation on the local level, even though there is much evidence that there are thousands of nonprofit treatment centers which have experienced success both in preventing and curing addiction—centers which exist from day to day in a precarious financial situation.

An excellent example of a pioneering local program designed to fight drug abuse is the Alpha School in Brooklyn, which has been in operation since March 1971. The New York Sunday News recently carried an article which gives a detailed report on what this school means to adolescents addicted to drugs and the impact that it has had on their attitude toward the narcotic syndrome.

I insert this timely and poignant article in the RECORD, so that my colleagues might have the benefit of these views and, hopefully, see the need to take the necessary steps to control the ever-spreading plague of drug addiction:

ONE DAY I AM GOING TO KICK

(By May Okon)

A dozen years ago, East New York, which occupies about nine square miles in the northeast corner of Brooklyn, was a lower middle-class, predominantly Jewish-Italian ghetto. By 1966, the population (about 165,000) had shifted from 85 percent white to 80 percent black and Puerto Rican. The change took place, ironically, when slum buildings of adjacent Brownsville and other Brooklyn ghettos were torn down to make way for public housing projects. Unprepared for the influx of thousands of displaced families, East New York smoldered with tensions created by inadequate housing, a scarcity of jobs which made almost half the community dependent on welfare, and a lack of recreational facilities that led to youth gangs fighting for their own bit of "turf." In the summer of 1966, the community exploded into riots that reduced some sections to rubble.

Today, East New York is one of the city's most troubled neighborhoods, and not the least of its troubles is an epidemic of drug abuse that is all the more heartbreaking because it is rife among the young, particularly in the area's four high schools. Inevitably, many of the drug-addicted youngsters drop out of school and turn to crime—the girls frequently to prostitution—to support their habits.

Ring the bell, identify yourself over the intercom, and the buzzer unlocks the plain, handlettered blue door at 60 Hinsdale St., East New York, a few blocks from the border of Brownsville, where not too long ago the Amboy Dukes and Murder, Inc. reigned. The two-story building, a former milk factory, is now the home of Alpha School, which since March 15, 1971, has been trying a new approach in the rehabilitation of adolescent drug addicts. Alpha is at once a secondary school and a therapeutic community, and it is the first institution in the city devoted

to the needs of teenagers who want to continue their education while learning to live without drugs.

The heart of Alpha's program is the encounter group, an uninhibited confessional in which each member is forced to examine the honesty of his behavior and attitudes under the hammering appraisal of the others in the group. At a recent session a 15-year-old boy tried to explain the pleasure he got from shooting dope and was immediately set upon by a girl who shouted, "But you lived rotten when you were on drugs!" Other voices yelled in turn:

"You got sick!"

"You were dirty all the time!"

"You didn't care if you lived or died!"

"You stole from your mother!"

The boy tried to answer each accusation, but finally he admitted resentfully, "I was evil when I was high—when you're high you don't care about anything . . . you don't care if you live or die."

When another boy, about 12, said that he had once tried to OD (overdose) because he was "mad at my mother," the others pounded away at him, trying to get him to admit that he had almost ODed not because of his mother but because he was trying to get a bigger high. Profanity was used casually by both girls and boys during the session—there is a ban on it elsewhere in the house—but the group leader ignored it, putting in a word only when the discussion seemed to be generating more heat than honesty. When the session was over, one of the girls stayed behind and talked about her experience in the encounter group.

"It helps you find out what's really inside you," she said, "and it helps you live with it. At first you break down, you cry and you tell only part of the story. Then you tell more, and even if you've told it a thousand times, it suddenly gets real and you relive it. At first I couldn't tell how I used to steal money from my mother's pocketbook, sell things from the house and snatch pocketbooks. I couldn't tell how I used to sell my body to get money to get high, or how two men raped me. It scared me to go to encounter because of what they might say about me. The shouting scared me . . . at first I hated all of them. But now I can tell almost everything that's inside me, and I know that whatever they say about me is for my own good."

Annie is a tall, attractive 18-year-old black girl who has been at Alpha School since last March. When she was asked, "How did you get on drugs?" she told this story:

I first started using drugs when I was 13½. I wasn't doing well in classes and I was having trouble at home. When I got to Erasmus Hall High School, the kids I hung around with were smoking reefer and I always wanted to see what it was like, so I started that. The fellow I was going with sold reefer and I used to get smokes from him. Then I found out about pills, ups and downs, and one day I cut out of school and bought pills for a quarter apiece. I used reefer and pills—amphetamines and barbiturates—for about a year. Then I started taking acid. There were kids in school who sold it to you.

After I was taking acid for a while, we moved to the Bronx and I started sniffing dope. I was doing well in school—I had gotten my first term report card and I had about an 85, 90 average. Everything seemed to be fine. Then my girl friend said to me, "We're sniffing dope, and it's really outasight. Why don't you try some?" I had \$2 in my pocket so I told her to buy me a bag. What happened was that I was afraid to do it in school because I didn't want my other friends to know that I was sniffing, so I took it home. I sniffed the bag up one night and then I got scared because I started feeling a little drowsy and I thought I was dying. So I called another girl friend and told her about

it and she said she gets high all the time. So I had somebody to get high with and we got high every single day.

When I first got high I was sick. I threw up for an hour or so and then I went to sleep for about three hours. Finally I felt real drowsy and really nice like there was nothing that could bother me. I was aware of only what I wanted to be aware of. Then after that we used to get high all the time. At first we used to get high and go to school and nod in classes. The teachers noticed, but nobody said anything except one teacher who approached me and asked if I wanted to go into a drug program. I said I didn't use any drugs and she said, "Oh, I must have made a mistake—you're probably just tired."

Then I just didn't want to go to school. The school cafeteria was divided into sections, according to what drugs you used. At a couple of tables were the people who drank, at other tables everybody was sniffing. I didn't consider what I was doing being bad because I wasn't at the table where they were getting off—mainlining heroin.

About that time I got pregnant. We moved back to Brooklyn because my mother got ill and she went back with my father. He was constantly telling me that I was no good. I had gotten pregnant and that was the worst thing in the world to him. I was only 16. I started going to a school where I couldn't get drugs as easily as before because I didn't know anybody there. Everybody told me I should have an abortion, so I went to the hospital for it and in the month I was there the boy I was going with only came to see me once. I was really messed up, and as soon as I got out of the hospital I started sniffing all over again. Then I started skin popping and mainlining heroin and in a few months I was strung out. I got drugs by writing checks on my mother's checking account and pawning my father's rings and his coin collection. I could have gotten a job but I didn't want to go to work. I liked it the way it was—I stayed up until 5 or 6 in the morning and slept all day.

I have an older brother, 27, an older sister, 32, and a younger brother, 14. They knew I was on drugs but they never confronted me directly. They'd say, "You know, it's terrible when kids get strung out on drugs, they start stealing from home," but they never said, "Annie, why don't you get it together?"

I was strung out bad. I had a \$24-a-day habit. I started to lose weight—I went down to 105 pounds and I looked terrible. My mother took me to court to try to get me into a state drug program, but they said they were taking only hard-core addicts and I didn't have a strong enough habit. So my mother gave up on the courts. Then my sister, who is a court officer, started putting pressure on me and she got these legal people to tell me that if I didn't go into a program they were going to press charges against me for stealing from my mother and I'd be faced with federal charges for forgery and grand larceny. I was afraid of that more than of going to the Bernstein Institute (drug program at Beth Israel Medical Center in Manhattan).

I figured I'd go to Bernstein and stay for the 21 days and then I'd come out and get high again. The first seven days I was in Bernstein were beautiful because I was on methadone. The first thing everybody hips you to in Bernstein is to tell the man you have a bigger habit than you do so that they give you enough methadone for you to be high the whole time you're in there. But after the first seven days they take you off it and you get no highs at all. All everybody talked about was how when they got out they were going to get high, how many bags they were going to throw into the cooker. They had people sending them money so they could have a nice party when they left. I had arranged for my mother to send me \$10 and

my sister to send me \$10, and the first thing I did when I got out was get high.

I was staying with my sister and going to a day-care drug center. I was doing all right for about a month—I didn't get high once. I just drank a little wine every once in a while. Then I started meeting people at the day-care program and one girl began hanging around me. I was kind of naive and didn't know that she was gay. She started bringing me dope and I started getting high all over again. We started going together.

Then my sister and my mother and everybody just about gave up hope for me and they took me back to court because I had messed up at the program. The director knew that I was coming in high, and he had threatened me. He said I was messing up his program and threatened to beat me up physically because I was going to make him lose his job.

The judge said I was a nice girl and he didn't want to send me upstate (to a prison) or into a state program. He said, "I'm going to give you another chance," and he sent me to Daytop. I stayed there one day, and that evening I went across the street, copped some dope, got high and came home late. A few days later I was back in court in front of the same judge. He said he was going to send me to a state program for a minimum of seven months, a maximum of three years. But the Legal Aid didn't want that for me. They referred me to Alpha School, and I came here.

When I first started getting high, I didn't think I was ever going to be strung out. I thought as long as you didn't get strung out you could stop any time you wanted. That's how everybody feels. You feel that as long as you're sniffing you can't get a habit, but you can get a sniffing habit—your nose runs and you get cramps when you stop. I didn't realize it was a habit.

Then, when I really got strung out, there was one time when I could have kicked it, but I was scared because the pains started getting bad and I was cold . . . and I was afraid that my parents would know definitely then. Anyway, I had never met anybody who had been strung out, kicked and was clean for the rest of his or her life. Everybody I knew who had been strung out and went to Bernstein—maybe as many as 15 times—the first thing they did when they left was get high.

I'd say to myself, one day I'm going to kick but I don't want to right now. A lot of times I'd say I'm not going to get high but I'd go to a friend's house who was dealing and I'd say, damn it, if I didn't come here I wouldn't start all over again . . . but I'd go there.

When I first got to Alpha I didn't want to be here. I was 17 and I knew when I was 18 the family court had no more jurisdiction over me. So I said I'd stay around until my 18th birthday. Then when my birthday came there was a fellow here that I really dug and I didn't want to leave. I didn't want to go home and I didn't want to be with all the friends I had on the outside. Something clicked with me and I said, this is how I want to be the rest of my life—I decided I was never going to use drugs for the rest of my life, no matter what.

Among the first impressions a visitor gets at Alpha is that the students are inordinately clean. David Margulis, the 38-year-old director of the school, nodded when it was mentioned.

"They come in filthy, smelly, stinking, with absolutely no respect for their bodies," he said. "Cleanliness is the first point you can make easily, it is the first thing the boy or girl can feel good about. These kids don't know anything about feeling good when they walk in, and it's a good place to start. After a while, they become fanatics about cleanliness."

"You should see them getting free here, free of their suicidal tendencies, free of their ignorance, free of their uncontrollable urges—and it's all a result of discipline. But not mindless discipline . . . it's sensitive, sane discipline. Not discipline for the sake of discipline, not walking down corridors in lines, not wearing a suit jacket and tie. Always discipline for a good, sound, human reason."

Margulis is a former English teacher from nearby Thomas Jefferson High School. He became interested in the drug problem when it surfaced at Jefferson early in 1969, and was one of a dozen teachers who took a six-month training course offered by the city's Addiction Services Agency, qualifying them to participate in encounter groups. "But," he said, "when we began meeting with some of the kids, they couldn't or wouldn't identify with us."

"I began to feel that the only way drugs would ever be turned around would be by preparing peers who wouldn't be afraid to stand up and say, 'Drugs stink! You're killing yourselves . . . you're destroying yourselves!' This led me to the brainstorm proposal that a group of teachers qualified by ASA could cover major academic subjects in a community drug program away from the school, doing for adolescents what Phoenix House and Daytop Village do for adults. After getting Board of Education approval, funding was the problem. We finally got a \$400,000 first-year-allocation from ASA and the State's Narcotics Control Commission."

There are at present 48 students at Alpha, ranging in age from 12 to 19; 28 live in, 11 who live out come to classes and take part in the other activities, and nine are in the orientation program which precedes moving in. Almost all were heroin addicts and most had records of juvenile delinquency. Seventy-five percent were involved with courts, which offered them the alternative of jail or the therapeutic community; the others are school dropouts or referrals from hospitals and neighborhood organizations.

Students at Alpha move through a grading system of five levels. On admission, they are automatically on the first level. On the first and second levels, students are not permitted to leave the premises. Students reach level three when in the staff's opinion they can resist drugs, and then they are allowed to leave the building and move about outside on their own. Besides classes in English, biology, math, social studies, art and reading, which lead to a high school equivalency certificate, students are required to attend encounter groups three afternoons a week, do kitchen, laundry and cleaning chores and fulfill other responsibilities to help keep the house functioning.

There are 21 staff members, including six teachers, six group leaders, others involved in the therapeutic programs (all former addicts who have participated in drug programs at Phoenix House, Synanon and other such communities) and office and maintenance workers.

"I wish you could get to know Nilsa Rivera, who is in charge of our therapeutic program," said Margulis. "She grew up in East New York and once was part of a tough girl gang here. She got off drugs at Phoenix House, and now, at 28, she is one of the most totally integrated human beings I know. When I asked her to join our program, she was very excited about coming home to help these kids whose problems she knows so well."

Besides the ban on profanity, there are several other definite rules at Alpha: no use of drugs or chemicals, including alcohol, and no physical violence. Anyone who raises a hand in anger leaves. There is also a ban on kids falling in love, which most of them seem to do in their first two weeks at the school. Such attachments are quickly quashed with the explanation, "Right now, you can't handle this."

Respect for others is a cardinal rule, but there is an air of easy comradeship between students and staff. Any boy or girl can take a problem to a group leader and get one-to-one attention. If members of the staff act as surrogate parents, it's just as well: the weekly parents' meetings are sparsely attended. Some of the parents look upon their children's drug addiction with the shame once associated with mental illness.

"I don't understand why parents don't form vigilante groups to kill dealers and pushers," said Margulis, "because drugs are so suicidal for the black and Puerto Rican communities."

Margulis, trying to explain Alpha to people unfamiliar with drug programs, makes what he admits is a superficial comparison between Alpha and Weight Watchers; both involve sharing of a problem, peer identification, demanding that you take responsibility for yourself and that you stop indulging yourself. "Not everyone is going to lose weight on Weight Watchers," he said, "but for those who are ready to start controlling their uncontrolled urges and can get help from other people, it's going to help."

Therapeutic communities are not going to help every drug addict, but when it works it's a beautiful thing."

DAVY

Davy is a white boy who had his long hair shaved off completely shortly after he came to Alpha 10 months ago. Here's his story:

I'm 16. I started smoking marijuana when I was about 13. I never really got along with people. The times I was best off was when I was by myself. Then I started taking pills—opium and other stuff. I'm not sure why I ever started. I could always get along in school, but I never really dug school too much—I dug learning things but not around people. I was always lonely and got messed up behind that. I used to read a lot. I was always dreaming I was somewhere else and doing something else, that I was someone else. I didn't like anything about myself. When I did come down from a dream it was like the whole world fell apart. When I was about 15, I figured the best thing was to get out of school in a hurry. I went bumming around the state and I met up with this bunch of freaks in the woods around Buffalo. They turned me on to acid and dope and I started tripping a lot. I was going to move to a community—my whole life I was looking for something perfect. I was going to become a farmer or something.

But it didn't work out and I went home. My mother knew I was smoking and she found some of my pills—but I could cover it up real nice. I used to feel bad that my parents were messed up about me. Maybe it was my way of getting back at them. I always wanted something from my parents that I never got . . . some attention . . . I never got that. I still want some kind of parents' love.

I started getting into drugs more and more. I have a pretty good mind, but for some reasons I didn't finish things. Whenever I did get into anything, I just gave up after a while. I was just feeling sorry for myself and there was nothing really to feel sorry for.

When my mother found out I was using acid last May, my parents got in touch with some friends who knew about Alpha, and I came here out of curiosity. I was going to stay a couple of weeks . . . but I began to see some things clearly. I didn't want to go back to certain people. I didn't want to use drugs any more. I started changing. It's only been the past month or so that I've really been looking at myself and feeling good about myself and being happy about things I can do. I started seeing that everybody had the same kind of problems I had, and that everybody here levels with everybody else and that makes it easy for you to level with them.

I've been working with carpentry. I'm

finding a lot of things I like to do lately. I write. I used to think I was a pretty good poet. I still have this thing that I don't like to get hurt. But when you've been here for a while it's easy to get along with everybody, and you don't feel they're going to laugh at you.

Ask Margulis what the weakest part of the program is and he'll tell you: "Not knowing what things might tip a kid who's ready to go into staying, not being able to get through to a kid that if he leaves he's going back to the old crap, and that there's real hope for him here."

"We have about a 40 percent dropout rate, although it's hard to say exactly when a kid is a dropout—when he or she has been here a day, a week, a month? We're beginning to do research on ourselves to try to find out what causes a kid to leave, what kind of kids leave. Most boys or girls who came here at the age of 13 or 14 have left. Those who've used drugs for a short time (less than six months) are apt to leave. Those who have been on heroin for two or three years stay. Most of the kids who've had contact with many agencies—courts, welfare, truant officers—and Alpha is their first time in a drug program, stay. Maybe when we have more experience . . ."

JOHN

John is a dynamic black boy with a neat Afro who came to Alpha last May. This is his story:

I'm 14. I started using heroin when I was 13. My cousin brought some around and I wanted to try it. I got dizzy and I threw up—I got real sick. You always throw up the first time because your stomach's not used to drugs. I began by sniffing it, but after about two months I got in deeper and began skin popping. When I first stuck the needle in, it hurt, but I got a better high. My parents didn't know about it till I started mainlining . . . then I got an even better high. I used to turn on with my uncle, too. He used to turn me on and I used to turn him on. Me and my cousin used to let him cop for us. One time we got off up in a hallway and my grandmother caught us. She caught my cousin with the spike in his arm. She almost had a fit. A next-door neighbor took the spike out of my cousin's arm. The dope was so heavy he almost went out. My grandmother told my mother and my mother told the cops, but they didn't do anything. To get the money for dope, I used to work but I used to steal, too—break into stores, snatch pocketbooks. When I did it on my own, I didn't get caught as much as I did when I did it with other guys—I made less noise (he grinned).

I mainlined for a couple of months, then I got into two bags a day. I played hooky from school and stole money from my mother to get high. There are seven kids in my family and I'm the oldest. They didn't know I was shooting drugs till my mother told them. They started crying and I felt bad that they knew it. They'd go out on the street and say, my brother is a junkie. I just kept on doing it till I got caught stealing. I went into the house of a next-door neighbor who had just gotten paid and he was drunk with another guy. His pants were hanging up and I took them and went to the roof. I took his wallet with all the money—\$100—and threw the pants in the backyard. My cousin and I each copped five bags—my uncle told us where to get it. I shot two bags, my cousin shot two bags. I went home at 5 in the morning and climbed in the window. I took the money I had left and put it in the closet and locked the door. Then I went to sleep. In the morning the next-door neighbor came to my house and told my mother that his house was broken into. He knew that I used to steal a lot and he figured I did it. My mother and my sister searched the house and my sister had a key to the closet and found the money.

My mother started hitting me and so did her boy friend—him and me didn't get along because he tried to take over my family. My father never liked him. We all lived together. My father got high and drunk sometimes and my mother's boy friend picked on him. I love my father a lot, more than I love my mother. I help my father every time they pick on him. One time I caught my mother's boy friend in my father's pocket. He kicked my ass, but I got a few punches off. My mother got the broom and she started hitting me, too. I felt bad that they were gangling up on me and my father. Now my mother and father are separated and I'm glad.

When my sister found the money the next-door neighbor called the cops and they came and busted in the door. They put the handcuffs on me, took me down to the precinct, put me in the paddy wagon and took me up to Youth House in the Bronx. The court found out I was using drugs and asked me if I wanted to go on a program upstate for three years or Alpha School for six months. I took the six months.

When I first came here I thought of it as a prison. I saw the bars on the windows and I couldn't get out and I couldn't get dope. But after two or three weeks I started feeling good. I used to fool around a lot, run around screaming and making noise. It made me feel good. Now I don't have to do that to feel good. Now I just swing from things (he grinned).

I haven't decided what I want to be when I grow up. I had trouble with reading . . . schools out there don't teach you much because they spend all the time calming the kids down. Now I like reading and I'm doing better at it. The kids here help each other. Sometimes the kid who's helping you doesn't know one of the words and you both take it to the teacher. My six months here is over, but I want to stay.

(NOTE.—Since this was written, John walked out of Alpha one day and hasn't come back.)

Margulis is a gentle, softspoken man by nature. "The hardest thing to take," he concluded, "is watching a kid walk out the door, especially a kid we all believe in."

IN SUPPORT FOR FUNDS FOR HELICOPTER GUNSHIPS

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, for many years I have been interested in helicopter production in the United States and its usefulness to our armed services. This is a natural interest to a Congressman from Connecticut, a State which has always played a leading and successful role in the production of helicopters. Consequently, I follow with great interest trends and decisions of the Armed Forces and the Congress concerning present and proposed plans for helicopter usage and procurement.

Presently I am somewhat concerned that Congress might fail to support the U.S. Army's request for funds to procure a helicopter gunship.

The Army has an urgent need for a full-time organic weapon which complements the basic AX or other Air Force close-air support systems. This type of Army weapon has unique capabilities, proven repeatedly in Vietnam, to operate

in direct consort with ground commanders in the marginal weather.

I agree that the Army needs this system and am pleased that the Army is reevaluating system costs. The Army should have the helicopter which best meets its mission requirements at a reasonable price. I commend the Army in pursuing this analysis in view of current budgeting pressures. It seems only fitting that the Congress allow this difficult reassessment to continue before we take any further congressional action.

The U.S. Army's request for funds to procure a helicopter gunship should be supported.

GARY JOB CORPS CENTER, AS SEEN BY LOCAL LEADERS

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, in proving a point, too often we bring forth an impressive ream of facts and figures that tell the story—but leave out the human element.

Today, I would like to hold up a mirror to the Gary Job Corps Center and let it reflect back the human reactions from the leaders of San Marcos; past Mayor Ellis Serur, present Mayor Herbert Yarbrough, and Chief of San Marcos Police Department Rodney Nelson. These men have seen the effect the Job Corps on San Marcos over the years and because of their positions in the community have been involved with the center regarding local matters.

These leaders reflect the impact the Gary Center has had on San Marcos since it was first announced by President Lyndon B. Johnson 7 years ago. Through Mr. Serur, Mayor Yarbrough, and Chief of Police Nelson, we see how the people of San Marcos, originally apprehensive over an increase of 3,000 men to the community, found that the problems were few and the advantages many.

The following article from the San Marcos Record shows best the feelings of these people about Gary Job Corps Center over the years. The record speaks well by itself:

IMPACT OF GARY ON SAN MARCOS

(By Chancy Lewis)

When seven years ago President Lyndon B. Johnson announced his plans for making San Marcos the site of one of the Texas units of the newly formed Job Corps program, many San Marcos individuals received the news with some apprehension. Mostly they feared the possible bad effects of having an extra 3,000 young men added to the community.

But since its opening in 1965, the Gary Job Corps Center has had an impact that many city officials have acclaimed as definitely good.

"We owe a lot of our city's growth to the Job Corps Center has had an impact that Ellis Serur.

Serur, in reviewing his first impressions of the corps program, said that he was not

one of the program's critics, but rather was very enthused that a center would be located here. Serur said that he has seen where practically every business in San Marcos has benefited from the revenue the center has brought.

Serur also reassured that from the beginnings, the corpsmen and center personnel have had generally good relations with the rest of the community. In fact, he said they have developed as "a responsible unit of our city in a big way."

Serur added that during his administration, the corps worked with the city willingly every time they were asked.

As though to back up this statement, present City Mayor Herbert Yarbrough, said that Gary has always made available their facilities and personnel for civic functions.

Although the economic advantage the Gary Center has presented to San Marcos cannot be denied, Yarbrough said, "The money, in my estimation, is one part of it. The base in general has contributed a great deal to the overall community."

PROBLEMS SPAWNED

When asked if they saw any out-of-proportion problems arising from the program at all, both assured that they felt most problems which occasionally come along, stem from the individuals and not from the program as a whole.

Serur commented on this area of consideration by saying that in Gary's beginning, some corpsmen had not been screened during recruiting well enough. As a result some undesirables did arrive in San Marcos. However, Serur said, when Gary officials realized this problem they worked to improve screening procedures and that now that conflict is held to a bare minimum.

Backing this up, Yarbrough pointed out that only individual problems are harmful to the community. He did say, though, that the center sometimes causes limited anxiety among some citizen segments, but this he attributed to their imagining that the center might close down.

On this last point, Yarbrough said that although San Marcos has already lived through Gary's closing twice he feels that because of the value of the Job Corps program in this area, any danger of closing now would be remote.

"There's nothing I can see but good that has come from the overall operations," Yarbrough said.

While both Serur and Yarbrough have administratively looked at those few problems Gary has caused in San Marcos, the man who is closest to them holds an opinion equally as important.

THE LAWMAN'S VIEW

Chief of the San Marcos Police Department Rodney Nelson comes closely in contact to Gary's biggest problems contributed crime. But even Nelson says that the problems are no more than could normally be expected and may even be better than average.

Nelson estimates that about 30 percent of the crime in San Marcos can be attributed to corpsmen from the Gary center. Of this percentage, Nelson said, the majority is in the area of misdemeanor crimes, especially the offense of minor in possession of alcohol.

"I feel that this is fairly normal percentage for a group that large with their background," Nelson said.

The background Nelson pointed to is that of almost all Gary corpsmen. These young men, for the most part, were raised in underprivileged environments without the benefit of an adequate education. This is the group which sociologists have traditionally accredited with greater potential for law infringement.

Nelson said that the liaison between San Marcos law officials and Gary administrators is excellent. Upon arresting a corpsman, Nelson said that he is processed then released into Gary official custody. All bonds are posted by Gary and the assurance of court appearance is guaranteed.

Nelson expressed his feelings that the problem really is not too bad. He said that anytime 3,000 young men get together, problems will come inevitably.

"For the number they have out there, the problem isn't so bad," Nelson assured.

ALCOHOL SPARKS TROUBLE

For actual statistics showing the crime rate of corpsmen in San Marcos, Gary Job Corps Center's Community Law Enforcement Liaison Carroll T. Cole said that actually only about one tenth of one percent of the corpsmen get into trouble in San Marcos.

Cole pointed out that about 1,000 corpsmen visit town each week. When compared this ratio is very good, Cole said.

Like Nelson, Cole emphasized that of the corpsmen arrested, better than 99 percent were charged with liquor connected offenses.

For factual examples of this, Gary figures show that in 1970, 140 corpsmen arrests were made. Then in 1971, the figure almost doubled to 261.

In spite of this seeming double, Cole pointed out that the number of charges for felony offenses has remained about the same throughout. Cole said that his personal speculation was that the doubling began with modifications in the Texas liquor laws which took effect in '71.

Of all who have voiced opinions as to the damage indirectly caused by the Gary center and its corpsmen, those in positions such as Serur, Yarbrough and Nelson have expressed sentiments that the benefits of having the Gary Job Corps Center in San Marcos make the inconveniences worthwhile. All have separated these benefits into two areas—economically and civically.

ECONOMIC IMPACT

Economically the Gary center drops a large portion of its close to \$8-million staff payroll and its over \$1-million in corpsman allowances in San Marcos businesses and stores. Gary staff families have also moved into San Marcos, buying homes and land to not only indicate their faith in Gary's permanency but also to boost the city's real estate potentials.

As an offshoot to the economic benefits of Gary, San Marcos receives a great deal of publicity nationally as the home of an outstanding center. This, according to a spokesman for the San Marcos Chamber of Commerce, is a very large asset given by the Job corps.

CIVIC IMPACT

Civically, the people who work at the Gary Center are there because of their achievements in vocational, educational and administrative areas. Their abilities and talents are often employed by civic and religious organizations.

The corpsmen have also contributed as they voluntarily work with San Marcos citizens in civic projects such as the remodeling of the Southside Community Center, and the biological clean-up of San Marcos last Spring.

In the overall look, it appears that San Marcos has benefited more than lost from its association with the Gary Job Corps Center.

It also would appear that most people are of the same opinion as that expressed by Mayor Yarbrough, "The main point of emphasis is that when a person sees the welfare roles growing, and then he sees a very positive program such as the Job Corps . . . he can see that this is taxpayers' money well spent."

ENFORCEMENT OF THE ANTI-DUMPING ACT

HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, on March 2, the Honorable Eugene T. Rossides, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury—Enforcement, Tariff and Trade Affairs, and Operations—addressed the All Directors' Congress of the American Footwear Industries Association.

In his address, Secretary Rossides details the steps that have been taken to rejuvenate the Treasury Department's program for enforcement of the Antidumping Act. Because of my deep interest in the suit involving dumping of large power transformers—a suit which has resulted in a finding of dumping against five of the six countries involved—I closely followed each step of those proceedings. For this reason, I know that the Department of the Treasury has taken great strides to speed up the processing of these cases.

Prior to the actions described by Secretary Rossides, our antidumping statute was largely ignored. When suits were processed, the final decision in them was delayed for years. As a result, the adverse effects of the dumping had increased to such a proportion that effective remedy was precluded.

I would like to commend Secretary Rossides and his staff for the excellent progress they have made. I am enclosing a copy of the address for the benefit of my colleagues.

THE ANTIDUMPING ACT, 1921—3 YEARS OF REJUVENATION INTRODUCTION

In his Report to the Congress of February 9, 1972, on U.S. Foreign Policy for the 1970's, President Nixon stated:

"The year 1971 marked a turning point in the world economy. We undertook a series of far-reaching measures which revitalized our foreign economic policy and set the stage for fundamental and long term reforms in the international economic system."

What the President was referring to, of course, was his New Economic Policy which established a milestone in the financial and trade fields.

The Policy served notice on our principal trading partners that:

"No longer will the American people permit their government to engage in international actions in which the true long-run interests of the U.S. are not just as clearly recognized as those of the nations with which we deal."

Although this last quotation was extracted from a speech made by Secretary Connally in Munich last May—several months before the New Economic Policy was announced—it nevertheless is as true now as it was at the time it was delivered.

Nowhere can this be better illustrated than by the actions taken by this Administration over the last three years to rejuvenate the Antidumping Act.

ANTIDUMPING ACT—ITS OBJECTIVE

The Antidumping Act, 1921, as amended, is intended to nullify the impact on domestic industry of international price discrimination which injures United States pro-

ducers. From an affirmative standpoint, the statute fosters international trade on a fair and equitable basis.

In the view of the Treasury, the aim of the Act is clear—to defend American industry against unfair international pricing practices. It is not designed as a prop for American industry to assist it in meeting fair and open competition from abroad.

In the context of the Antidumping Act, an "unfair" sale or, if you will, international price discrimination, occurs when a foreign company sells a product for less in the United States than in its home market, thereby causing injury to U.S. industry.

IMPACT OF ANTIDUMPING ACT AS OF JANUARY 1969

There may be disagreement as to the interpretation of some of the finer points of the Antidumping Act and its administration in the past. There appears, however, to have been general agreement at the time this Administration took office that the Act had a relatively minor impact not only on international trade matters generally, but more importantly, in defending American industry from injurious international price discrimination.

The reason for this was rather obvious. Important antidumping investigations were taking two years and even longer to complete. Investigations that take that long tend to be devoid of economic significance to the domestic industry. Many American concerns suffering from unfair international trade practices were compelled to bear their lot patiently until the Treasury had completed an exhaustive investigation ferreting out all of the underlying facts.

Moreover, import trade suffers too when the spectre of a dumping investigation hovers for an overlong period even if the investigation ends with a determination that the goods have not been sold below fair value. Delays can cause unfair and inequitable treatment to everyone concerned regardless of the ultimate outcome of the investigation.

Accordingly, acceleration of our dumping investigations, without sacrificing reasonable thoroughness, introduced a specific element of fairness of its own, which benefited all.

STEPS TAKEN BY TREASURY TO REJUVENATE ADMINISTRATION OF ANTIDUMPING ACT Procedural and Manpower Changes Treasury Management Survey

In April, 1969, we initiated a Treasury management survey of the administration of the Antidumping Act to determine why it was taking so long to decide these cases and what could be done to improve the situation. It seemed to us that it had to be possible to reduce the investigation period without derogating from the essential fairness of the Treasury's investigation procedures.

This study revealed that there was inadequate staff assigned to the processing of antidumping cases; that the limited staff was inadequately supervised; and that the investigation process was handicapped by cumbersome procedures inherited from the distant past. These factors, taken together, were delaying inordinately decisions on cases of vital concern to American industry.

Decisions Following Management Survey Increase in Manpower

The Commissioner of Customs was directed to increase the manpower assigned to this area. Treasury stressed to him and his senior staff the importance it attached to this field and that antidumping work was now to be upgraded so that Customs officers assigned to antidumping would realize that it offered broad, future opportunities for promotion in the career service.

By November, 1970, the headquarters professionals had been increased from 5 to 21. The additional personnel were transferred to which the Bureau of Customs had agreed to give a lower priority pending Treasury's request for supplemental funds.

The President submitted to the Congress his request for supplemental funds for this program. Treasury's Appropriations Committees in the House and Senate (together with the members of the Senate Finance and House Ways and Means Committees) gave full bipartisan support to the request. In December, 1970, the Congress enacted the President's antidumping supplemental appropriation bill which provided funds for 41 professionals for antidumping and related matters. This gave us the means to continue the advancement already made and to institute additional procedural and policy reforms. The 41 positions were filled by the middle of 1971, and the new personnel have now been trained to administer the Antidumping Act effectively. We are also in the process of increasing and improving the training of our manpower abroad so that Customs representatives responsible for carrying out antidumping investigations overseas will be thoroughly knowledgeable in the intricacies of the law and its administration.

Establishment of Office of Tariff and Trade Affairs

At the Treasury level, I confined the responsibilities of my deputy for Customs to administration of the Treasury laws concerned with unfair international trade practices and other related tariff matters. Three professional staff officers were assigned to him and he was made the Director of a newly established Office of Tariff and Trade Affairs. The Secretary has recently approved the expansion of this office with still more personnel.

We have thus institutionalized the changes that had been made and established a more permanent mechanism for adequate Treasury supervision in this area. We now have the basis for insuring that the Treasury Department will have an ongoing operation for proper supervision and administration of the international price administration statutes.

Timetable for Collection and Collation of Information

Another decision made was to establish firm timetables for each step in the collection and collation of information by Customs. In the past, it has taken as long as six months to decide whether a "complaint" was sufficiently meritorious to justify the formal initiation of an antidumping investigation. Such decisions are now being made in approximately one month.

Questionnaires to foreign exporters and letters replying to typical inquiries have been standardized. Firm time periods are being established for replying to such questionnaires. Much of the clerical work involved in the processing of letters and questionnaires is being simplified by the use of modern tape typewriters and calculators with memory capabilities.

Conferences with attorneys are being restricted to set periods when the antidumping case handler is fully prepared to discuss particular aspects of an investigation with interested attorneys. The day when attorneys could drop in on case handlers without prior appointment is a practice of the past.

Most important of all, the case handlers and Customs representatives abroad have been given a renewed sense of the urgency and the importance of their work and impressed by the need for completing their investigations as rapidly as possible.

Results in Processing Cases

Treasury has now reached its first goal of completing antidumping cases on the average within one year from the date the case is presented. Our next objective is to reduce the time required for the handling of normal cases still further, to approximately 270 days. I have announced this new timetable to the Bureau of Customs which is already initiating steps to see that it is carried out.

I would like to add one word of caution. Because of the Treasury's continued emphasis on the essentiality of fairness in rendering decisions in antidumping cases, it may occasionally be necessary to allow a somewhat longer time for particularly complicated cases. The normal cases, on the other hand, will be completed in accordance with the schedule that I have outlined.

This achievement in speeding up our investigations is due in large part to the foresightedness of a number of officials. It stems in the first instance from the desire of the President to redress the United States' adverse competitive situation. Its accomplishment is owing in large part to Secretary of the Treasury Kennedy, and later Secretary Connally, without whose active support the result outlined above would have been impossible. Moreover, the improved procedures could not have become a reality if it had not been for the bipartisan cooperation of the Congress which approved the additional appropriations for supplementing Treasury's manpower requirements in this field.

No matter how effective a policy may be, its implementation, in the final analysis, depends on the dedicated men and women in the career service who devoted long hours and hard work to our common objective.

Policy Changes

The efforts to improve the administration of the Antidumping Act were accompanied by a thorough review of policy. This review, which is continuing, has already resulted in significant changes.

Price assurance policy

In May, 1970, Treasury formally announced a change in the policy with respect to price assurances in antidumping investigations. We took this action after concluding that the previous policy of readily accepting price assurances was actually encouraging sales at less than fair value in the United States. Under that policy, foreign firms seeking to sell their merchandise in the U.S. market had no need to give even a passing consideration to the antidumping implications of the step they were about to take. There was no reason why they should do so under the old rules. Let us discuss for a moment what happened under the earlier price assurance policy.

A foreign concern would price its merchandise in the U.S. market at whatever level it considered necessary to compete effectively. Since its product was normally unknown to the American consumer, it would generally price its merchandise below the level of its American competitors in order to attract customers. If the foreign competition started to make itself felt and resulted in an antidumping complaint being filed with the Treasury Department, the foreign firm still had no cause for undue concern. Treasury's antidumping investigations would, under the former procedures, often take over two years, and even longer to complete.

Moreover, if the Treasury Department tentatively concluded that the merchandise was being sold at dumping margins, price assurances could be offered and would almost invariably be accepted by the Department. By this time, with the firm's product well known to American consumers, the foreign concern could afford to raise its prices to the level of its American competitors without fear of a drastic drop in sales.

Better yet from the standpoint of the for-

ign manufacturers, when the Treasury Department accepted price assurances, it would issue a formal determination of No Sales at Less Than Fair Value. To say the least, this determination was misleading, since there had in fact been sales at dumping margins.

Under the new policy, price assurances are accepted only when the dumping margins are minimal in relation to the volume of sales involved. Moreover, in those cases where price assurances are accepted, the case is no longer terminated with a determination of No Sales at Less Than Fair Value as it was under the old price assurance policy. We felt that such a determination after the acceptance of price assurances was a misnomer. Accordingly, the Treasury Department revised its regulations in cases where price assurances are accepted so as to provide for discontinuance of investigations. This procedure, I feel, realistically expresses exactly what takes place in a price assurance case.

Under the new policy, if price assurances are rejected, the case is then referred to the Tariff Commission for, as you know, before a finding of dumping may be issued and dumping duties assessed, it is necessary under the Antidumping Act that there be a determination of sales at less than fair value by the Treasury Department and a determination of injury by the Tariff Commission.

The objective of the new policy is to induce foreign concerns to take the Antidumping Act into account before they engage in sales to the United States.

The 25 percent rule

The Antidumping Act provides that in normal situations fair value shall be determined by comparing the ex factory home market price of the merchandise under investigation with the ex factory price at which the merchandise is sold in the United States. If the price in the United States is less than the home market price, then there are "sales at less than fair value" within the meaning of the statute.

The Act also states that in situations where the quantity of merchandise sold in the home market is so small in relation to the quantity sold for exportation to countries other than the United States as to form an inadequate basis for comparison, then third country price should be used as the basis for comparison.

The Antidumping Regulations originally provided that generally for purposes of determining what constituted an "inadequate basis of comparison" for fair value purposes, home market sales would be considered to be inadequate if less than 25 percent of the non-U.S. sales of the merchandise were sold in the home market.

The selection of home market or third country price for fair value comparison can easily be crucial to the results of antidumping investigations, for frequently home market price tends to be higher than third country price. This is particularly true where merchandise is sold in a protected home market and, when sold in third countries, is exposed to the vagaries of world competition.

It has been Treasury's experience that cases arise where sales in the home market are adequate as a basis for fair value comparison, even though less than 25 percent of the non-U.S. sales are sold in the home market.

Accordingly, on May 22, 1970, the Treasury Department revised its Antidumping Regulations to eliminate the 25 percent rule. All that is required under the Regulations, as now revised, is that the sales in the home market be adequate for purpose of fair value comparison.

GENERAL REVISION OF ANTIDUMPING REGULATIONS

The Antidumping Regulations have been in effect in substantially their present form since July 1, 1968, when they were amended to conform with the provisions of the International Anti-Dumping Code. We felt that with all the changes in the administration of

the law that had taken place, it was now time to take another broad look at the Regulations and the administration of the law. Accordingly, the Treasury Department announced last year that it was reviewing its Regulations and invited suggestions from the public as to how they might best be improved. I am happy to state that the Treasury Department will be announcing within the next few days proposed changes in the present Antidumping Regulations.

Since the Notice of Proposed Rule Making has not yet been published, I do not feel that it would be proper for me to say at this time what the specific proposals are designed to accomplish. I can assure you, however, that all the individual changes in the Regulations are aimed at one broad objective—strict administration of the Antidumping Act so as to make it an even more effective instrument in defending the United States against unfair international trade practices, consistent however with fairness to all parties concerned.

RESULTS TO DATE

As a result of the Administration's rejuvenation of the Antidumping Act, the American public's interest in this law has increased noticeably. Complaints filed during the past three years have been 50 percent greater than during 1966-1968. And the number of final decisions published by the Treasury over the same time periods has increased by 80 percent.

These figures are particularly noteworthy when account is taken of the fact that accomplishments such as these over a three-year time span are, of necessity, gradual. They cannot be achieved overnight or even in one year. Thus, our record during calendar year 1971 must overcome the start-up inertia which is inevitable before a new approach and policy can be put into motion.

In closing, I want to emphasize that the Administration strongly supports a freer trade policy. Our rejuvenation of the Antidumping Act, so as to defend American industry from unfair international trade practices, is part and parcel of this policy. Despite what some of our foreign trading partners may have said on this subject, the increase in the Treasury and Customs staff for the purpose of administering the Antidumping Act more effectively is fully consistent with a liberal trade policy.

The President has made it clear that he intends to meet the challenge of the future by stimulating our economy to ensure our continued efficient and competitive position in the world. This means that inflation and unemployment in the United States will be reduced while investment in new plants and equipment by the private sector are stimulated.

While building this stronger economy at home, we must remain outward looking and international in our initiatives overseas. This Administration is committed to such a course.

As Secretary Connally said when he addressed the Economic Club last fall:

"We do not intend to become provincial. We shall not resort to protectionism. We shall carry our burdens on the international scene. But to do so it is essential to attain an equilibrium in our overall financial balance with the rest of the world. We seek no advantage of others. We propose to suffer no disadvantage. We seek a balance which will be to the benefit of all the nations."

"At stake are not narrow or selfish economic goals; beyond a fair balance of opportunity, we seek none. The basic issue is much broader. It is nothing less than rebuilding the economic foundation for promoting economic development, military security, and the free flow of commerce."

"To fall in our effort would be to fall not only as an Administration, nor even as a Nation. At stake is nothing less than the foundation for the freedom and security of this generation, and those that follow."

THE PRICE OF BEEF AND THE
STATE OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the recently announced Presidential proclamation establishing meat import quotas at a level about 7 percent higher than the 1971 restraint level was issued on the basis that this action would further the economic interests of the United States as well as the economic well-being of the domestic livestock industry.

It was explained in a U.S. Department of Agriculture news release of March 9, 1972, that the import quotas on foreign meat were increased because of consumer concern regarding the level of meat prices. The increasing price of meat at retail stores has brought pressures for price controls. Since there are presently no price ceilings on agricultural products and the Secretary of Agriculture vigorously opposes any price controls on agricultural products including meat, it would appear that the reason for the increase in meat import quotas allowed is to bring supply more in line with demand for beef and other meat products, thereby in theory, reducing meat prices.

Considering the available land resources of this Nation and the millions of citizens unemployed and on welfare, it would seem that instead of increasing foreign imports, making this country more dependent on other countries for our meat supply, the farm policies of this Government should include a halt to the practice of paying farmers not to produce as well as the lifting of other restrictions placed on the freedom of the farmers so that they might operate their farms using American labor and with a minimum of Government interference. In the economic interests of the United States as well as the economic well-being of the domestic livestock industry, we should encourage an increase in the number of small farms and in the production of foods, meats, and forestry products.

I asked Dr. Dan P. Van Gorder, a patriotic scholar, who is exceptionally knowledgeable in agricultural matters, understands the problems of farmers, and possesses a high degree of down-to-earth commonsense, to give me the benefit of his views on the President's recent action to increase allowable meat imports. In a letter to me in which he comments on this farm problem, Dr. Van Gorder concludes:

To produce the basic farm products and indispensable commodities of the forest which we now import annually would necessitate the return of between 25,000,000 and 28,000,000 persons from crowded, idle-motivated urban life to the land. What a magnificent opportunity lies at the doors of Congress, not only to end once and for all the bankrupting charade of welfarism, but at the same time to render this nation self-sufficient in food, fiber and forestry products in a war-torn and hate-filled world!

I insert at this point in the Record the text of Dr. Van Gorder's letter which I

urge our colleagues to seriously consider as a basic for a solution not only to our inadequate farm production and to unstable food prices but to the welfare muddle as well.

The text follows:

MARCH 17, 1972.

HON. JOHN R. RARICK,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The U.S. Department of Agriculture news release of March 9, 1972, about beef imports is a typical and pertinent example of how public concern and fears over price and supply trends of a major food item are needlessly aroused mainly for the sake of the propaganda value it generates for continued bureaucratic domination over American farmers. Pursuit of the truth in these matters usually finds channels blocked dead-end with Keynesian camouflage. For example:

1. According to polls I had taken among supermarket customers in California, Indiana, South Carolina, North Dakota and New Hampshire in 1969, fewer than one per cent of those interviewed had ever heard that the United States leads the world in beef imports.

2. Government reports and our entire informational media have never mentioned the fact that for the five years, 1966 to 1970, our beef imports exceeded a total of more than 4 million tons.

3. Over 1.3 billion pounds of this total entered the United States as live cattle, from Canada and Mexico, but was NOT included in beef imports but listed as domestic beef production. Why this deception?

4. Even as early as 1933, evasion by responsible government officials was practiced to conceal from the people the truth about our beef industry. During the ten years before farm control was enacted, our farms failed by more than 600,000 tons to produce enough beef to meet meager exports and satisfy domestic demands. Yet, Chester Davis, administrator of the Agricultural Adjustment Act, wrote in his 1935 annual report: "It was indicated that the elimination of from 6,000,000 to 7,000,000 cows and heifers would be necessary to bring the cattle situation back into balance." Note the words "cows" and "heifers." Birth control is by no means a new idea!

There is, however, an important key to the entire over-production ruse in the March 9 news release: "... the Secretary of State is negotiating with the governments of the principal supplying countries." The demand almost screams from these 14 words—"Why the Secretary of State?"

My particular copy of the United States Constitution states in Section 8 of Article 1 among the powers (and duties) of Congress—*To regulate commerce with foreign nations.*

If the farm control concept is considered objectively and frankly from its origin it will be found inextricably linked with international diplomacy. And, like many other deceptions, it is foisted on the public in the name of world peace. As early as 1933 Secretary of State Hull and his assistant Francis B. Sayre were voicing over and over their favorite cliché—*Tariffs forge the thunderbolts of war.*

Today American farm products enter world trade channels with less tariff protection than do similar commodities of any other major nations. Why does not some Casper Milquetoast rise to ask—Where is the peace?

What a dangerously high price we have paid and are continuing to pay for this calculated duplicity! For example:

1. Millions of American workers have been thrown out of factory and mill jobs and most of them onto relief by mounting imports of shoes, pottery, glass products, steel, automobiles and other manufactures. And on this point it is important to remember that a steadily employed domestic worker is the only

customer of the American farm worth considering.

2. It would take 2,000,000 acres of sugar beets or their equivalent of sugarcane to produce the sugar we now import annually from foreign farms. And here it is pertinent to note that the American housewife pays 13 cents a pound for her sugar while the English consumer pays 8 cents, the Swedish 7 cents, and the Mexican 5 cents.

3. To produce the wool we now import raw and in textiles would require approximately 90,000,000 sheep. We have fewer than 19,000,000 on our farms as of January 1, 1972. To feed these animals would require 70,000,000 acres of pasture, 7 million acres of hay, and 1,000,000 acres of corn.

4. We lead the world in the importation of forestry products—lumber, paper base stocks, paper, etc.

5. To graze the cattle we now import live and as dressed beef would take millions of acres of hill and rolling land out of cultivated and other erosion-inviting crops and turn these endangered fields into permanent pastureage.

6. Our cotton imports, raw and in textiles, represent approximately 2,000,000 acres of cotton, not to reckon the thousands of textile jobs lost and mills closed.

These are but the major examples of the hazardous price we are paying for continuing the hoax of federal farm control. To produce the basic farm products and indispensable commodities of the forest which we now import annually would necessitate the return of between 25,000,000 and 28,000,000 persons from crowded, idle-motivated urban life to the land. What a magnificent opportunity lies at the doors of Congress, not only to end once and for all the bankrupting charade of welfarism, but at the same time to render this nation self-sufficient in food, fiber and forestry products in a war-torn and hate-filled world!

These are but a few of the facts the Department of Agriculture does not and will not consider or discuss in its tweedledee-tweedledee evasions about beef prices and supplies. Again, beef is but one of the several items of farm production now used as a football by those who plan to push this God-favored Republic into a One-World government via the threat of famine and bankruptcy.

It is needless to add that Congress holds the power as well as the responsibility to bring sanity, honesty, safety and strength out of this Keynesian chaos. Instead of wasting more billions of tax dollars cleaning up slums and building model cities to sap further our debilitated rural vigor, why not invest the common sense needed to promote a nation-saving back-to-the-land program?

Sincerely,

DAN P. VAN GORDER.

DISCRIMINATION AND FEDERAL
CERTIFICATION

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, some years ago, in holding that a union could not discriminate against blacks because it was certified by a Federal agency under Federal law, Mr. Chief Justice Fred Vincent remarked that "When the Government's thumb is on the scale" there must be justice.

It seems to me that this same rationale should carry over to utility companies licensed by the Federal Power Commission under Federal law. The Commission does

not think so, however, and I include in the RECORD at this point a commentary from the editorial page of the Washington Post dated March 11, 1972:

A QUESTION OF ZEAL

Testifying the other day before the House Civil Rights Oversight Subcommittee, Chairman John N. Nassis of the Federal Power Commission expressed reluctance to withhold the privilege of a license from a regulated utility company engaged in discriminatory employment practices. "In my judgment," he said, "the regulation of employment practices should not, as a matter of policy, be delegated to an economic regulatory agency. . . . The commission does not have authority to enforce the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1964."

Without presuming to challenge Mr. Nassis' legal judgment, which has the support of the FPC's general counsel, we invite attention to two contrary judgments. David Norman, the assistant attorney general in charge of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, informed the FPC that "In our opinion, under relevant statutes, the commission has ample authority to issue regulations barring discrimination by natural gas companies regulated by the commission and by electric companies holding hydroelectric licenses." And three years ago the FPC's own deputy general counsel recommended that the commission "issue a policy statement that it will be commission policy not to issue (a) hydroelectric licenses, particularly in relicensing cases, or (b) certificates of public convenience and necessity to firms having discriminatory employment practices or to facilities to be built or operated by contractors or subcontractors who discriminate."

It seems to us that what is involved here is one of those forced options in which the weight and authority of the federal government is necessarily thrown on one side or the other, on the side of discriminatory employment practices or against them. When the government licenses a utility engaging in discriminatory employment practices, it supports, or at the very least condones, those practices. It seems to us that that puts the United States in an intolerable position.

The weight of every government agency ought to be to the fullest extent possible on the side of civil rights and in favor of enforcement of acts of Congress as a matter of simple morality. The FPC cannot be indifferent to employment practices which violate laws of the United States. Racial discrimination in employment is a rank form of injustice. The United States ought not to countenance, or be a party to, any manifestation of it. Here at last, where choice is inescapable, a touch of zeal would be more becoming than a yawn of apathy.

IMMIGRATION INEQUITIES

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, March 16, 1972

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to join my colleagues in commending the chairman of the Subcommittee on Immigration and Nationality, my good friend the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. Rodino), for his leadership in bringing this legislation to the floor. As usual, the gentleman and the members of his distinguished subcommittee have done an excellent job in bringing forth legislation which would remove some in-

equities caused by revision of the immigration laws in 1965. I am particularly pleased that the subcommittee saw fit to incorporate in H.R. 9615 a provision which I first introduced on October 10, 1969, and which was reintroduced in subsequent sessions and was introduced in this session as H.R. 438. This provision eases the visa backlog for the fifth preference category, that is brothers and sisters of U.S. citizens. This backlog had worked particularly against Italians and Poles who had brothers and sisters here and wished to join them. Mr. Speaker, as we all know, the revision of the immigration laws in 1965 was aimed at eliminating the cruel national quota system; it was not meant to place unfair restrictions on anyone, such as the fifth category applicants or would be immigrants from Northern Europe who had problems with the labor certification provisions of the new act. I believe that these problems are now taken care of and I once again commend the gentleman from New Jersey and his subcommittee for the fine work they have done.

SAN JOSE'S EXPERIENCE WITH CHIEF EXECUTIVE REVIEW AND COMMENT

HON. CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, the city of San Jose, which I represent along with my colleague, the Honorable Don Edwards, is privileged to have a most intelligent and articulate mayor, Mr. Norman Y. Mineta.

Recently Mr. Mineta delivered a speech on the planned variation program at a Tucson, Ariz., meeting of city and housing and urban development officials.

I believe this speech is worthy of notice by all readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and I, therefore, submit it for the attention of my colleagues. The charts referred to in the speech have been omitted to eliminate printing difficulty but are explained in the text.

The speech follows:

TALK BY MAYOR MINETA

To talk about San Jose Planned Variation experience with Chief Executive Review and Comment we need to talk of a KEY urban concern—how do we employ limited resources in the most effective way to solve urban problems and to realize opportunities? To explore this concern I will cover several areas: our citizens' feelings, the credibility gap between citizens and elected representatives, the lack of coordinated city policy guiding representatives, relations to Federal programs, and San Jose's Intergovernmental Affairs Program. The latter was developed to handle CERC for San Jose.

CITIZENS FEEL THE PROBLEMS

Families living in our urban areas today experience one problem—the Urban Problem. They know their cities are congested, sprawling and polluted. They know they have unemployment, crime, poverty, racial strife, high property taxes and incomplete public services. They know they have opportunities to preserve streams, lakes, hills and other open areas; opportunities to develop rich and ur-

ban centers to their cities where culture housing, trade and entertainment can flourish; opportunities to join with other people to improve their communities and their way of life. And they know that they are frustrated in realizing their opportunities.

Much of the frustration in improving our cities is caused by the complicated, involved and fragmented programs and approaches that we have developed to help urban areas. People can't understand what's happening. They're not sure where to start. Since they can't know what's happening, they lack trust and faith in what's happening.

We need to eliminate the confusion and put our houses back in order. A vast array of problems and opportunities exists. An equally complicated array of local, state and federal programs also exists. Today we are really not organized to plan adequately for the full range of human needs at the local level, i.e., at the level of cities and counties. We have become familiar with City Planning, Capital Improvement Programming and City Budgeting. But City Planning and Capital Improvement Programming focus on physical aspects of the City and the annual budget has a very short term view (one year).

What is needed is a new mechanism for planning to integrate, to mesh the existing service delivery systems with each other and to coordinate their impact on problem areas. This is the task of CERC. Causes of problems, objectives, programs and projects need to be related and integrated in new ways. The challenge we face is to plan better. Reorganization is not necessarily the answer. Actually, we could reorganize forever without helping our problem solving abilities. We need to be able to work with existing organizations in better ways. Normal, existing programs can be made more effective if each operating agency asks: "How can my program support the programs of other agencies." With this view in mind, health, welfare, education, manpower, transportation, physical improvement and other programs can be designed for mutual support and community improvement.

ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES WANT INFORMATION, CHOICES, RESULTS

Elected local representatives (City Councilmen, County Supervisors) are in a far better position to delegate resources than are either the officials of the many autonomous local special agencies or the fractionated and non-local state and federal agencies seeking to solve local urban problems. Local political leaders have an overview that other officials lack. All public services flow in some way through the local municipal and county governmental structure or to the residents of municipalities and counties. Cities and counties don't administer all the programs serving their residents. The administration of programs does not have to be vested solely in cities or counties, although there are many areas where administrative control should be rethought. What local city and county officials do need is policy to guide the provision of services to residents.

Today local officials have the desire to improve their communities but they usually lack the basic information that tells them what the state of their communities is and what they have to do to achieve real improvements. The public lacks this information too. Thus, the same lack of information frequently produces a credibility gap. Neither citizen nor politician knows what's going on or what to do, and both have feelings that things could be much better.

The public and the politician want to know what is needed, what resources are available or obtainable to satisfy needs, and when these resources can be committed. They are not particularly interested in how to run individual programs.

In an improved service delivery system the public would be able to clearly state what it wants. Program alternatives could then be

proposed along with an analysis of the "trade offs" involved, i.e. a statement of the new good things that can be achieved and a statement of the good things that can't be achieved since resources are proposed to go elsewhere. These statements would be based on an analysis of total community needs, resources and program priorities. Once a choice is made, the new program would be monitored and evaluated and the community could determine if the new advantages are worthwhile. If not, the program can be altered or a new program can be initiated and carried out.

Let's look at an example. Assume that the people in a part of the City plagued with traffic problems come to the City Council and say that improving circulation is their main goal. A report is prepared for Council and citizen review stating the recommended way of solving the congestion problem—widening three streets with a federally assisted TOPICS program. The report also notes that the City has an active program in the area to purchase needed park and recreation space through the federally assisted Legacy of Parks Program. The report outlines the cost of widening the streets, compares it to the cost of providing adequate recreation space and to the availability of financial resources. The report concludes that there is not enough money to improve both the circulation and the recreation situations.

The people and the Council decide to widen the streets. After one street is widened, the monitoring and evaluation process reports the degree of circulation improvement. The citizens are satisfied that they can now move more quickly on the streets but now they are more unhappy about their continuing recreation deficiencies. Priorities are changed and recreation space is purchased instead of widening the second street. Through this kind of continuing process where needs and specific objectives are stated, programs to meet needs in terms of realistic options and program costs are proposed, program priorities are set and choices made, and program results, community needs and resources are monitored and evaluated, the community and the Council can make decisions based on a knowledge of what they are buying and what they are bypassing. Thus, the results of the chosen program can be compared to anticipated results and to other needs. In the example above, if all the effort were spent on planning and perfecting the chosen street improvement program, the community would still be unhappy. *The key to the new mechanism for planning is to be concerned with the mix of programs that is desired given the limited resources available.* This key concern needs to be applied to the full range of urban programs from streets and parks, to criminal justice, to job training. Reviewing and commenting on programs in order to achieve the desired mix of programs is what CERC is all about.

WHO REPRESENTS US AND HOW

So far we've been talking about citizens and families in the City. The City itself can be considered a family living in the larger community of governments and agencies that provide services to the City but that are not administered by the City. Any city has many representatives on committees, commissions, agencies and boards for other governmental entities. A familiar and valid concern is whether or not the representation is adequate on these bodies. A different concern, and one frequently overlooked, is whether or not there is any city policy to guide the actions of these representatives on other bodies. Usually there is no such policy. Instead ad hoc decisions are made in a disjointed manner.

The Mayor and Council should be a central policy-making resource allocating entity for the city. The Mayor and Council should determine areas of priority and then establish city policy to guide city action and inter-

est in those areas. The city's representatives on community and metropolitan agencies need to be involved in the creation of city policy, for, after all, these should be the city's experts in their area of service.

There should be a continuing review and comment of the planning and program development being done by non-city agencies that affects the city. This is a CERC activity and involves the same kind of community management and planning process outlined above for city administered programs.

A key point to stress again is that policy planning for service delivery systems at the city level does not imply or require that the city run and administer all the delivery systems for which policy is being determined. The city has a valid concern for health, welfare, education, job development and other programs even though the city may not administer these programs. Policy direction for city representatives to these non-city agencies will help assure the city of obtaining the kinds of programs and services it desires.

HOW IS ALL THIS RELATED TO FEDERAL AGENCIES

Local revenue collected by cities today is all pre-spent. That is, it is committed to provide minimum services. The only "flexible" dollars coming to cities are Federal dollars. During the last three years in San Jose from 1969 to 1971, total city revenue increased from approximately \$70 million to approximately \$110 million, an increase of about 60%. In the same time, Federal grants to the City went from approximately \$5 million to approximately \$20 million, an increase of 300%. The Federal share of the total City budget increased from 5% to over 15% during the same three years.

The conclusion is that Federal resources are essential for meeting urban needs. However, the categorical grant system, through which most Federal dollars flow, comes to cities with several constraints and in a way that complicates the fractionated service delivery systems at the local level. Frequently the Federal money is for new programs that focus on parts of the City in an overlapping and inconsistent manner. Also, each categorical grant system increases fragmentation by dealing directly with the already fragmented local institutions. Finally, planning within program areas is required but no planning among program areas is required. Thus, the same dilemmas that plague the City in running its own programs are imposed on the city by Federal programs.

The same review and comment system that is needed to sort out local needs, priorities, policies and programs is also essential for effectively blending Federal resources into city improvement activities. This is true for the categorical grant system and for potential forms of revenue sharing. The city and the Federal agencies need to know what kind of impact programs are having on the City. Are there significant positive improvements? Are these missing links in the range of programs? Are programs mutually supportive, neutral, or conflicting? Data and staff analysis is needed to answer these questions and to prepare strategies for planning and managing the mix and supporting content of future programs.

Federal funds are needed to develop CERC activities in cities, that is, to do the local executive planning and management work needed to coordinate the use of Federal funds from agencies such as HEW, OEO, DOT, and DOL and to make sure that revenue sharing works in an effective way.

SAN JOSE'S INTERGOVERNMENTAL AFFAIRS PROGRAM

In San Jose the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs (IGA) has been established to do the work necessary for the Chief Executive Review and Comment Program. This work includes the kind of community and local executive planning I have outlined and

the functioning as a clearinghouse for Federal funding. The charts attached to this paper help define the function and role of IGA.

Chart I shows the kinds of input received by the IGA staff. There are two general sources of information: external and internal.

The external sources and areas of information are the following:

1. Information on Federal and State fiscal resources that can be sought to help solve local problems will be gathered and analyzed by the IGA staff to determine the nature and extent of potentially available dollars.
2. Special studies and evaluations of urban issues and problems in the area will be reviewed by the IGA unit to understand better the City's potentials for improvement.
3. The Federal Regional Council provides a mechanism for exploring possible legislative and administrative changes needed to develop a better fit between federal programs and local strategies for improving the City.
4. Information on City related plans and programs that are funded by Federal, State, Regional, County or special district agencies will be analyzed to understand objectives, plans and evolving programs of these agencies.
5. The established policies of Federal, State, Regional, County and special districts will be assessed to provide a framework for relating city and non-city policies and programs.

The internal sources and areas of information are the following:

1. Data on public and private revenue sources will be collected and analyzed to determine the availability of local resources.
2. The IGA staff will work with citizen groups to continually define and refine statements of City needs and goals.
3. Current and proposed Federal, State, Regional, County and special district programs and plans will be inventoried and analyzed to understand the current mix of programs and to provide a framework for reviewing new program proposals.
4. The implementation systems in the City will be explored to understand the City's decision making and organization ability to integrate programs and to develop meaningful new programs for urban improvement.
5. Established Mayor/Council policies will be employed in reviewing current and new programs. Where policies exist, new program proposals can be processed quickly. Thus, a major effort will be made to assure the existence of adequate policy in important areas.

Chart 2 explains the kinds of things that the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs does. The many elements outlined in Chart 1 can interact in a variety of ways. IGA is concerned with the dynamic interaction of these elements. The major concern is to develop supportive planning and programming to obtain the most effective program mix and the most effective use of limited resources. Chart 2 outlines three examples of the IGA interaction process.

1. Interaction among external inputs. IGA will analyze information on the availability of Federal/State resources and will also analyze the special studies and evaluations of urban issues and problems produced by public and private groups. Viewing these fiscal resources and problems statements can reveal opportunities for better integration of Federal/State funds and funding programs. These opportunities can be discussed with the Federal Regional Council for Implementation.

2. Interaction between external and internal inputs. IGA will analyze city needs and goals and the current mix of city programs. These needs, goals and programs can be

viewed in terms of available and potential Federal/State resources. Program gaps that become evident can now be realistically appraised for potential funding and appropriate new program proposals can be generated.

3. Interaction among internal inputs. IGA will analyze local fiscal resources in light of established Mayor/Council policies and the current mix of city programs. A strategy can now be developed for eliminating overlap and conflict from programs and for matching programs more closely to city policies and priorities within fiscal constraints.

Chart 3 shows how the CERC works through the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs. First IGA receives applications and pre-applications for Federal/State funds from City agencies and from regional and State A-95 Clearinghouses (1). Next IGA analyzes these applications for their relation to existing programs and program proposals and for their relation to the City's strategy for using Federal/State funds (2). Also IGA refers the applications to potentially involved and affected agencies and groups (3). If the IGA and other agency review (4) reveals that the proposal is within established policy areas and that no conflict exists (5), then IGA so notifies the applicant, Mayor, Council, Clearinghouses and the Federal/State funding agency (6).

If the IGA and other agency analysis results in unresolved questions, then IGA will meet with the applicant and affected agencies to seek additional information (7). This meeting will frequently clear up the confusion so that the application will fall within established policy areas and will have no conflict (5). We expect that the majority of applications will follow the routes described thus far.

Should the meeting with the applicant and affected agencies (7) uncover continuing problems with the application, then IGA will work with the applicant to explore development of joint supportive programs (8). In some instances the problem will be that there is a lack of established policy to cover the content of the program (9). This lack will exist in many areas during the early stages of CERC, since the development of comprehensive policies and program strategies is just now evolving.

When policy is lacking, IGA will make policy recommendations to the Executive Policy Group (10). This group is a new policy evolving and recommending group that could be called the Mayor's Cabinet. It is composed of the Mayor, City Manager, Assistant City Manager, Deputy City Manager, Director of Intergovernmental Affairs, and key department heads. The IGA staff serves as the staff to the Executive Policy Group. This group recommends policy to the Council (11). Once Council policy is established (12), the IGA staff can meet with the applicant and affected agencies to refine the program (13).

In some cases the initial working sessions with the applicant and affected agencies (8) may not resolve conflict (14). We hope that this situation will not exist. If it does, we expect that it will not occur frequently. If it does occur, the IGA will make recommendations to the Council (11). After Council action (11), the IGA staff will meet with the applicant and affected agencies to negotiate differences (13). If unresolved conflict still exists, IGA will notify the Federal Regional Council and request that the Council call a meeting to seek a resolution to the problem (15). We hope that this last step is never necessary. We feel that conflicts can be negotiated to desirable solutions before this step has to be taken.

SUMMARY

In San Jose we view CERC as a dynamic process for developing a better, more integrated, more effective match among fiscal resources, needs and opportunities, policies

and programs. We in San Jose are responding to the opportunities presented for local leadership and initiative by new federal programs such as Planned Variation. We believe that local governments can be responsible. Further we believe that local governments need the responsibility and the resources to be responsive and responsible in order for the residents of our cities to develop the kind of respect and pride they need and want in their communities.

MARYLAND STATE LEGISLATOR URGES END TO U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, Maryland State Senator Melvin Steinberg has introduced a resolution in the State senate urging an immediate end to U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia, acceptance of the North Vietnamese proposal to release our prisoners of war when a U.S. withdrawal date is set, and an end to appropriations for U.S. military presence in Southeast Asia.

I commend Senator Steinberg for his initiative and leadership in introducing this resolution. We need more people who have the courage to demand change in the Government's policies. The latest public opinion polls show that 80 percent of the American people favor withdrawal of all U.S. troops within 6 months of an agreement on prisoner release with North Vietnam. Almost 100 Congressmen, myself included, have introduced legislation calling for U.S. disengagement from Southeast Asia.

Senator Steinberg's resolution recognizes the need for increasing the budgets for our domestic needs such as pollution control, medical care, and education. These priorities are suffering because U.S. revenues are being used to carry on the war. Senator Steinberg brings credit to himself by introducing this resolution, and I hope that the Maryland Senate will also bring credit to itself by acting quickly and favorably on the legislation. At this point, I insert Senator Steinberg's resolution:

SENATE OF MARYLAND—JOINT RESOLUTION No. 53

Senate Joint Resolution urging the President and Congress of the United States to bring an immediate end to all U.S. involvement in the Southeast Asia War and requesting that money now being used in the war be spent to aid recovery in the devastated areas and to meet pressing needs in the United States

Whereas, the involvement of the United States military forces in Southeast Asia has brought great suffering to the people of that area without achieving any benefits for the people of Southeast Asia or the United States; and

Whereas, the United States military budget is costing the 3,922,000 residents of Maryland \$1,961,000,000 (\$500 per person) a year and the Maryland net operating expenditures are \$1,608,000,000 (\$410. per M person) a year; and

Whereas, more than one hundred billion dollars has already been spent on the Indo-China War alone at a time when Federal

money is desperately needed for urban renewal, public education, medical care, welfare services, mass transit, pollution control, and other pressing needs in the United States; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the General Assembly of Maryland records itself as urging the President and the Congress of the United States to end at once all United States involvement in the Southeast Asia War; to accept the North Vietnam proposal to release our prisoners of war when the time for such withdrawal is set; to cease to appropriate any additional funds which would contribute to the support of United States military presence in Southeast Asia; to appropriate money now being used in the war to: (1) aid generously in the recovery of the areas we have damaged and devastated, and (2) substantially increase budgets for programs at home in urban renewal, public education, medical care, welfare services, mass transit, pollution control and other pressing needs in the United States; and, be it further

Resolved, That copies of this Resolution be sent to the President of the United States, to the majority leader of the United States Senate, to the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, and to the United States Senators and Congressmen from Maryland.

A SPECIAL TRIBUTE TO BILL AND MAIRE TUDOR

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, the following letter from a constituent, Paul Robert Shuler, speaks for itself. I am happy to add that Mr. and Mrs. Tudor are to get special recognition from the American Red Cross for their actions, and I am proud and pleased to put their story in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN BRAY: I would like to take this time to tell you a true story and ask for your help. We pray in some way that you will know what can be done.

On April 15, 1971 I was spreading ammonia n'trate on my father's farm 1/2 mile north of Crown Center, Indiana, Morgan County, while turning into a field through a gateway, from a blacktop road, the connecting hose slipped loose, letting the deadly fumes escape from the ammonia tank.

My first thought was to escape from these fumes and while trying to jump off my tractor and away from the equipment, I was thrown and pinned by the tractor wheels against the corner post and fence. This all happened in a matter of seconds, there I would remain for an hour before being found by Bill and Maire Tudor.

In this hour I could see many people come up, stop, turn around and leave. The ammonia made a large cloud and because of the escaping ammonia gases made a loud sizzling noise. No one could see me or hear me yelling for help.

Then I saw Bill and Maire and their son came up and tried to get past in their pickup. Bill then backed up and parked his truck got out and walked up the road, but because the wind was blowing the fumes travelled toward him he had to turn back. He couldn't hear me yelling and yelling at him. They turned around and left.

He told me later he went back home and on out to his tool shed, to go about his day's work, and then his wife Maire came out and the two of them got to talking and both of them felt sure I had to be there someplace, Maire said, she just knew Paul Robert

wouldn't go off and leave his equipment out in the road with its leaking ammonia fumes that way. They returned, coming back around a gravel road some 5 miles out of their way to come in from the north of the scene of the accident and coming down wind. Maire then got out and walked down the fence row as close as she could. By this time the school bus had come by, couldn't get past and several cars and people had stopped from the north side. Maire then heard me faintly crying for help, yelling at Bill, who went over in the field and walking with the way the wind was blowing, got close enough to see me, yelling at me "to hang on Paul Robert we'll get you out", that is all I remember till I awoke in the Methodist Hospital some two days later.

Bill sent Maire for help and he made several attempts himself before he could get on the tractor, start it and back it away, getting very sick himself at breathing the fumes, and dragging me out into fresh air.

The Eminence Volunteer Fire Department, was called, where 4 of the men came and got oxygen to me. Stilesville Volunteer Rescue Unit rushed me to Indianapolis and all the firemen risked their lives and becoming very sick, breathing the fumes themselves.

No one to this day understands how I stayed alive for one hour, I don't know myself. But I do know if it hadn't been for Bill and Maire, and the fact that they got involved, their concern and their heroic act, I wouldn't be alive today.

So its the reason I tell you my story, asking you, if in some way, the State of Indiana or Morgan County can make the public aware of these people, Bill and Maire. Does the state of Indiana present awards for outstanding citizen of the year? Can you yourself reward them in some way? Just a certificate of some kind or a letter to them would let them know how very proud we are to have citizens like them?

I do know that their name has been turned into the Red Cross Hall of Fame in Indiana, but they then are noted out of several hundred.

If there is anything at all you could do Mr. Bray, I would be grateful.

Sincerely yours,

PAUL ROBERT SHULER.

HON. JAMES TRIMBLE

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 15, 1972

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, former Congressman James Trimble and I came to Congress in the 79th Congress and soon became close friends. I was very hard hit when I learned of his untimely passing.

I got to know him very well and our friendship developed and deepened over the years. Jim Trimble was a humanist; he respected and believed in his fellow man and he worked for his betterment. He had a keen sense of humor that made him very easy to know and to get along with.

Some years ago, the Trimble's moved into the Methodist Building, their apartment being next door to the Millers'. I, therefore, saw him quite frequently after he retired from the Congress until he moved back to Arkansas.

I shall miss him, his friendship, and

our association, but I am the better for having had the privilege of knowing him. Mrs. Miller and I extend our sympathy to lovely Mrs. Trimble, whom he so affectionately referred to as "the redhead."

PORTAL PROGRAM GETS NATIONAL AWARD

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, one of the benefits of the "unrest" on our Nation's campuses was a questioning and a reevaluation of the commitment of our urban universities to the communities surrounding them.

At Temple University in Philadelphia this reevaluation began earlier than at most schools. In 1963 a program was started to bring the University's College of Education into direct contact with schools in the surrounding neighborhood.

The result was the Portal Schools Concept which recently received the 1972 Distinguished Achievement Award of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education.

I enter into the RECORD a history and an unusually frank evaluation of that program which was printed in the Temple Times, a university newspaper.

PORTAL PROGRAM GETS NATIONAL AWARD

Temple has won the 1972 Distinguished Achievement Award of the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE) for its application of the Portal Schools Concept in four Philadelphia inner-city schools. The award, given last Thursday at the Association's annual meeting in Chicago, recognizes an outstanding program by the teacher preparation sector of higher education.

Colleges and universities comprising AACTE membership prepare 90 percent of the nation's teachers and administrative personnel.

Instrumental in developing the Temple-Philadelphia Portal Schools Concept have been the College of Education Dean Paul W. Eberman, Curriculum and Instruction Division Chairman Roderick A. Hillsinger, and University-Public School Liaison Betty B. Schantz. The story behind the program reflects nine years of continuous building and implementation in the education of disadvantaged children, as Temple has sought to meet inner-city needs.

In November 1963—two months after Paul Eberman became dean of the Temple College of Education—*The Philadelphia Magazine* ran an article which tore apart the city schools, piece-by-piece style. Dr. Eberman recalls that many of his staff stopped him in the hall to ask, "Do these things really go on in the public schools?" Temple is located in the middle of the Model Cities Area. "We had better go out there and find out," he answered.

Like most colleges in those expansive, booming early '60's, Temple's College of Education sent most of its student teachers into the fringe areas or even the suburbs; at the time, there was not a single organized practice teaching situation in the inner city.

"We began," Dr. Eberman explains, "on the assumption that a college of education in the kind of urban setting like ours has a strong obligation to relate to and improve

nearby schools." But, he candidly admits, if he'd put such a commitment up to a vote by the 110 faculty members at the time, "I'd probably have received a resounding 'no'."

Temple used the years between 1963 and 1970 to lay the groundwork for serving the inner-city schools. A nucleus of the College of Education faculty began a program in the inner-city area, and eventually a College Department of Urban Education was established. When prospective staff members were interviewed in those growth years during which the College of Education faculty tripled, they were specifically queried about what urban education experience they had had and what degree of commitment they held.

In 1970, the sacred cows were finally sent to pasture when Temple initiated its version of the Portal Schools Concept: *by mutual agreement, the university, the public schools, the teachers' union, and the community began to operate four portal schools.*

The portal schools concept is a reallocation of existing resources through concentration of programs such as tutorial, student teaching, graduate internship, and special projects like EPIC, Teacher Corps, the Triple T, and veterans programs. Reallocation is a cooperative affair. The university in effect says to the public school system that rather than each segment maintaining separate and distinct cadres of coordinators, lead teachers, supervisors, and curriculum experts, *why not join forces and make joint appointments?* The goal is to create a total educational program that will meet the individual needs of each portal school.

Such an arrangement gnaws away at the traditional barriers of discrete educational authority: the university, school system, union, and community must each surrender a small portion of its sanctuary in order to achieve a greater total.

The four Temple-Philadelphia portal schools were located in predominantly black neighborhoods; one school had a large concentration of Puerto Ricans. They were low on the socioeconomic scale.

All four schools—G. W. Carver, George Washington, James G. Blaine, and John Welsh—were near the university: the closest was two blocks away and the farthest was 15 minutes. The size varied: the smallest of the four schools had 900 students; the largest had 1,200.

Dr. Betty Schantz, the university link with each portal school, believes that "by getting together with the union and explaining the program and benefits possible for teachers under the concept, we have avoided many problems which we might have faced in the future."

She admits regret over some things not possible. "I am not as starry-eyed as I once was, feeling that I might like to hold teachers accountable and wanting the union to support this," Dr. Schantz recalls the negotiations and the union decisions not to have its members on the advisory board vote and not to allow program evaluation by union teachers. Only teachers from Temple could participate in evaluation. "I would have liked an agreement that the university program would be evaluated by every participant, not just the university-trained ones . . . I lost that."

But the union gave a little, too. Its most significant concession was a willingness to hold five to 10 percent of the open teaching positions for teacher education purposes. The way was cleared for a principal to hire student teachers after graduation if he was impressed with their competencies.

The second most serious problem has rested with the community side of the quadrilateral arrangement. "We have had difficulty," Dr. Schantz points out, "in getting parents on the advisory boards who really speak for the community." The qualification is clear: a parent must have a child currently attend-

ing the school. "So far," she says, "our parent representation comes from a very small group who feel welcome in the school, who are there for other purposes, and who are known to most of the school personnel. It is one of the program's weak points."

The concept is now in its second year. Four more schools will be added next year for a total of eight. While assessment would be premature, the question of accomplishment is inevitable. Dr. Hilsinger feels the program has meant a new institutional direction in teacher education. It has made, he contends, a difference in Temple's own backyard by establishing an institutional commitment which deals with most of the college's programs, by altering the university reward system so that demonstration of superior teaching in the public schools pays off on the level of research and publishing, and by trying to teach teachers through experience with real and poor children. But, above all, he points out, "It has tried to make a beginning on a broad enough base to be sustained, rather than vanish like the multitude of 'innovative symbolic crusades' which have emerged over the past 15 years."

Temple hopes to keep the Portal Schools Concept flexible and open wherever it is applied. The staff estimates that a portal school will operate from two to five years. Once a school is running under its own steam and the advisory board is working effectively, the portal approach will no longer be needed there; it can then move on to another school. Hopefully what will remain is the fundamental and sound philosophy that educators and laymen, heretofore laboring in "separate but equal" balliwicks, can work together by mutual consent in their common interest—children.

SOVIET JEWRY

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, the plight of Soviet Jewry has been discussed before in this Chamber. Unfortunately, the situation has not improved much. Visas are slightly easier to obtain. But persecution, both overt and covert, continues. Religious items are difficult to obtain. And while other religions have relative freedom, Jews must congregate under the danger of being punished for their prayers. The great and General Court of Massachusetts, both the State senate and house of representatives, passed a resolution recently which I am inserting into the RECORD for my colleagues. It outlines the seriousness of the situation and directs the United States to take some action to help. The help is needed and overdue. The resolution follows:

RESOLUTION OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

(Resolutions urgently requesting the President of the United States to call upon the Soviet Government to extend to Soviet Jewry such basic rights of religious freedom, emigration and cultural activities as are granted by the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights)

Whereas, In the Soviet Union men and women are denied freedoms recognized as basic by all civilized countries of the world and indeed by the Soviet Constitution; and Whereas, Jews and other religious minori-

ties in the Soviet Union are being denied the means to exercise their religion and sustain their identity; and

Whereas, the Government of the Soviet Union is persecuting Jewish citizens by denying them the same rights and privileges accorded other recognized religions in the Soviet Union and by discriminating against Jews in cultural activities and access to higher education; and

Whereas, The right freely to emigrate, which is denied Soviet Jews who seek to maintain their identity by moving elsewhere, is a right affirmed by the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights adopted unanimously by the General Assembly of the United Nations; and

Whereas, These infringements of human rights are an obstacle to the development of better understanding and better relations between the people of the United States and the people of the Soviet Union; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the General Court of Massachusetts urgently requests the President of the United States to call upon the Soviet Government to permit the free exercise of religion by all of its citizens in accordance with the Soviet Constitution, to end discrimination against religious minorities and to permit its citizens to emigrate from the Soviet Union to the countries of their choice as affirmed by the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights; and be it further Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted forthwith by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress and to the members thereof from the Commonwealth.

Senate, adopted, February 9, 1972.

NORMAN L. PIDGEON, Clerk.

House of Representatives, adopted in concurrence, February 17, 1972.

WALLACE C. MILLS, Clerk.

Attest:

JOHN F. X. DAVOREN,
Secretary of the Commonwealth.

GUN CONTROL

HON. MORGAN F. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in the Chicago Tribune's Speak Out! column March 7, C. E. Gerwig expressed his opposition to the registration of firearms and argued the need for citizen ownership of the same. Francis P. Kane, special assistant to the mayor for gun registration, offered a rebuttal to Mr. Gerwig's article in the March 20 edition of the Tribune.

Charging generalizations, erroneous assumptions, and oversimplification by Gerwig, Mr. Kane notes the tragic price we as a nation must pay for uncontrolled guns. I commend Mr. Kane's presentation of the facts to my colleagues in the House. The article is as follows:

LIFE AND DEATH ISSUE OUTWEIGHS RHETORIC OF GUN CONTROL FOES

(By Francis P. Kane)

C. E. Gerwig's Speak Out! column, "It's Time to Arm Citizens" [March 7], is fantastic, irrational, and replete with inaccuracies.

Gerwig's fallacious arguments become more ridiculous as his column progresses. Chicago has not outlawed guns as he implies. Mayor Daley's request for gun control, which

was adopted by the City Council after lengthy hearings, requires that every gun in Chicago be registered, at no cost to the gun owner.

It was essential that such a law be adopted in Chicago because the state legislature, in five different sessions, refused to adopt meaningful gun control laws.

IT IS EFFECTIVE

The Chicago ordinance is effective. It does not confiscate guns except from those persons who are prohibited from gun ownership: juveniles, mentally defective persons, criminals who have not shown evidence of rehabilitation within the previous five years, and narcotics addicts.

Would Gerwig also permit these citizens to own and carry weapons?

So far, 4,142 law-abiding citizens who registered guns have had their guns taken away because they became involved in crimes or unlawfully used weapons they had registered.

Several hundred stolen guns have been recovered from "law-abiding" citizens who registered guns they purchased from persons known or unknown. Recovery of these guns has helped the Chicago Police Department clear up murders, robberies, and burglaries.

Homicide by guns in Chicago has dropped each year as a result of the city's ordinance.

A MODEL FOR OTHERS

Nearly every state and major city has investigated our ordinance, and many have modeled their ordinances on it because it can be—and is—enforced.

Gerwig mentions that 8,000 deaths are attributed each year to handguns. The number of gun deaths in the United States each year exceeds 25,000. And the number will continue to grow as more and more guns are placed into circulation without adequate controls.

Over half of the gun deaths are suicides. Ten per cent are killings committed during felonious assaults, sex offenses, and in gangland killings by persons with known homicidal backgrounds.

Thirty per cent are killings in crimes of passion. The remainder are accidental deaths in which "unloaded" guns were used, or in such shootings as a hunter killing another hunter or a farmer in a hunting mishap.

Our feeling is that registration of every gun and licensing of every gun owner will make a gun owner realize that he is responsible for his weapons.

National regulations would reduce the number of persons wounded by guns annually, a number which now exceeds 200,000.

MORE GENERALIZATIONS

Gerwig continues to generalize by assuming that all shootings are the results of criminal acts. He also erroneously assumes that every person who has a gun will use it only in the best interests of good government and personal and property protection.

He would better provide the safety he seeks by supporting local police and county, state, and federal law enforcement officials, from prosecutors to judges.

Gerwig should know that more than 25 Illinois communities have gun control ordinances. Two states, Hawaii and Mississippi, require registration of all guns, as does the District of Columbia. All states have some gun control laws, although they vary widely. Most state statutes apply only to gun dealers.

Forty-eight states have not yet passed statutes requiring registration and licensing of gun owners. Eighty per cent of the people in the United States, according to surveys, favor such controls.

We do not advocate confiscation of guns except from those singled out in the law. We do not advocate controls as a revenue-producing agent. We do feel that a national law should be adopted requiring registration of all guns, licensing of all gun owners, and

voluntary turn-in to the government of all unwanted guns.

PRICE IS TOO HIGH

We also advocate the destruction of all guns voluntarily turned in if they cannot be restored for defense stores or cannot be classified as legitimate antiques.

We urge that Congress pass such laws without delay, without pressure from opponents, and with the best interests of all of our people as the primary motive.

Such legislation should be enacted now for estimates have been made that there are 90 million to 300 million guns in our country. If we don't act now that number will grow until we all know the tragic price of uncontrolled guns.

BRITISH CONVERSION TO METRIC SYSTEM REVEALS FOOT-DRAGGING

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, as we approach the consideration of legislation to implement the findings and recommendations of the metric study report prepared by the National Bureau of Standards, it is well to review the experience of Great Britain, which has undertaken a program of conversion of the metric system of weights and measures.

The largely voluntary program initiated in 1967 in Great Britain without the compulsion of legislation by Parliament—appears to have produced a great deal of industrial foot-dragging which is impeding the British changeover.

Mr. Speaker, a most serious consequence to the British economy is the need for adopting metric standards in conjunction with Britain's entry into the European Common Market. In my view, the failure to establish a definite target date is a major reason why many segments of the British industrial community continue to procrastinate, to seek and secure exemption from conversion requirements—and, indeed, to endeavor to capitalize on a retention of the British imperial measurement system.

Mr. Speaker, the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry has presented to the Parliament very recently—February 1972—a report on "Metrication." Without including this entire 42-page report I feel it would be most helpful, in connection with the legislation pending in the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, and the Senate Committee on Commerce, for the Members of this House and of the other body to review the summary and conclusions presented to the British Parliament last month. Accordingly, for our own edification, I am presenting at this time the first 18 paragraphs of this metrication report, which follows:

REPORT ON METRICATION

1. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

International trade and metrication

1. The adoption of the metric system of weights and measurements is spreading rapidly throughout the world. Nearly every country either has already changed or is

about to change to it. The continent of Europe uses it exclusively; all the chief Commonwealth countries and South Africa have changed or are at the moment moving over to it. And in the United States of America the Government has recently recommended the change. If we kept to the imperial system we could soon become the only major trading country using it.

2. Between them, the countries which have gone or are shortly to go metric are already taking more than 80 per cent of our exports. To preserve imperial specifications for home orders while an increasing proportion of our exports must be made to metric standards, would add to the cost of manufacture and make more difficult our penetration of overseas markets.

3. It is their recognition of the fact and extent of metrication in countries to which they must sell that has led wide areas of British industry voluntarily to adopt it for the home market as well. The competitive advantages of doing so were appreciated in Europe many years ago. The member countries of the European Economic Community have now decided to regularise and complete the process and for this purpose have recently ratified a directive setting a target date (1 January 1978) after which only a prescribed system of metric units may be used throughout the Communities.

4. In due course, as a member of the enlarged Communities, the terms of the directive will come to be applied here as well. But we shall naturally need a longer period in which to complete the changeover. Arrangements negotiated with the Community will ensure that units used in our legislation are retained until 31 December 1979. Where there are special reasons they may be retained for even longer.

Industry and metrication

5. For the reasons already mentioned, British industry voluntarily has gone a long way towards adopting metric specifications for home production as well as for exports. It was expected that in the main the broad programme for the process would be completed by the end of 1975. This still seems a reasonable aim and it is one which has the support of the Government, but it is recognised that detailed examination of particular industries' problems may make an earlier or later date preferable.

6. Progress to metrication cannot be a haphazard affair, left to individual whim and decision. If that were to happen it could cause confusion throughout industry and would present untold difficulties to the consumer. It is in everybody's interests therefore to ensure that it takes place in a well-ordered and properly-regulated manner. To see to this is the job of the Metrication Board. The Board acts under the authority of Government and will continue to do so, concentrating on its dual role of coordinating the process of changeover in particular sectors of industry and giving general publicity to it.

7. In recent years special programmes have been prepared for the building, engineering and other industries. There is no doubt that these industries consider that the changeover is contributing significantly to their greater efficiency and competitiveness. Discussions with the transport industry and its users, for example, have shown that they would welcome a changeover to metric tariffs for overseas freights, because British goods are increasingly being carried to countries using or changing to the metric system.

8. The present system for showing speed limits and other road signs is unlikely to be changed for a long time to come.

9. The Government acknowledges and supports the progress that has already been made. They will not, however, use public purchasing power deliberately to hasten the changeover from imperial to metric units. In their own purchasing they will use metric

and international standards only when their discussions with suppliers show that there will be general benefit from doing so.

10. Meanwhile the more industry adopts metric units, the more will the general public become involved in the whole process. The range of products covered will grow and there will be no clear boundary between metric and non-metric parts of the economy. In these circumstances to attempt to keep imperial units for the individual shopper while industry was on metric would be both confusing and costly. It would also deny us the very real savings which stand to be gained when turning over completely to metric.

The general public and metrication

11. There is nothing new about using the metric system in the United Kingdom; it is not some sudden innovation or recent discovery. It has been lawful here for all but a few purposes, at least since the Weights and Measures (Metric System) Act of 1897. So there can be absolutely no question of "metrication by stealth"; nor is there any lack of parliamentary authority for the way it has been becoming more generally adopted. This has been a gradual process proceeding item by item, and that is the way it will continue.

12. There will be no "M-Day" for metrication. But people will become much more aware of it—and more familiar with it—as foodstuffs and household goods measured in metric sizes and quantities come into our shops from our own manufacturers as well as from the continent and from other metric countries.

13. Some goods, like vegetables, that are sold loose by weight may even now lawfully be sold by the kilogramme. But under the Weights and Measures Act 1963 many items of foodstuff may only be sold here in imperial measures. Steps will have to be taken to allow the wider use of the metric system. The Government will therefore propose legislation to permit the sale of metric packs in addition to the existing imperial sizes.

14. There will also need to be some consequential legislation since our laws include many references to imperial units alone. Exact conversions to metric equivalents may sometimes be impracticable, but in those cases the Government have no doubt that a satisfactory solution can be found.

15. The Government have no wish to discourage the sale of draught beer by the pint, but equally if anyone wants to buy it by the litre or half-litre that too should be lawful. The Government have at present no plans for changing from imperial units for the sale of milk.

The changeover to metrication

16. No matter how carefully-prepared and well-regulated, the changeover to a new system must inevitably cause some difficulties, especially for older people who have throughout their lives known only imperial units of measurement: the younger generation will find it less difficult. The education authorities already give guidance and provide facilities to teachers and others concerned, so that those parts of the curriculum likely to be affected are modified in step with the increasing spread of the metric system.

17. The Government recognise that the period during which some foodstuffs are sold in imperial quantities and some in metric will present problems for many shoppers. The Government intend to take action to ensure that the marking of sizes and quantities is absolutely clear and will consider how best the housewife can be given information to enable her to continue to judge value for money.

18. The move to metrication has been taking place over many years, but the Government believe that the time has now come when they must act to ensure the orderly completion of the process. In doing so they

will not hesitate to take whatever steps are necessary to protect the consumer during the period of changeover and to reduce to a minimum any difficulties which the introduction of the new system may cause.

NIXON, RED CROSS SUPPORT NATIONAL BLOOD PROGRAM

HON. VICTOR V. VEYSEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. VEYSEY. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to report two recent developments in the search for a solution to the blood crisis in the United States. Both President Nixon and the American National Red Cross have come out in favor of a national blood program patterned along the lines advocated in H.R. 11828, the National Blood Bank Act.

There follows an article from the National Observer describing these new announcements, the text of the Red Cross statement, the text of the President's statement as it related to blood, and the March 3 New York Times article on the Nixon announcement:

NIXON, RED CROSS SUPPORT NATIONAL BLOOD PROGRAM

Some medical reformers have been insisting that sullied transfusion blood will continue to kill an estimated 3,500 persons and to injure 50,000 others each year unless a nationwide research and blood-collection system is implemented [The National Observer, Jan. 29, 1972]. Last week President Nixon agreed. He disclosed he had ordered the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare "to make an intensive study and to recommend" such a program "as soon as possible."

The Presidential announcement came days after the American Red Cross, which has been criticized for not supporting and, at times, for opposing a national program, reversed its stand. The Red Cross also called for "elimination of all profit in blood handling," for licensing of blood-collection facilities, and for elimination of blood-donor programs that entitle only members to receive "volunteer blood." "Commercial blood" is that bought from paid "donors."

THE AMERICAN NATIONAL RED CROSS,
Washington, D.C. February 22, 1972.

To: Chapter Chairmen

From: E. Roland Harriman, George M. Elsey

Subject: Board of Governors' Statement—

Future National Blood Service

In the 23 years since the American National Red Cross Board of Governors approved the inauguration of a national blood program as a Red Cross activity, the Red Cross Blood Program has developed into a system of 59 regional centers serving 1,646 chapters. It has collected a cumulative total of more than 58,000,000 units of blood—all from voluntary donors. In the fiscal year 1971, Regional Blood Programs collected 3,405,192 units of volunteer blood and produced a total of 4,043,322 transfusable units (whole blood, red cells, cryoprecipitates, fresh frozen plasma, platelet rich plasma, platelets). Today, 2,319,000 blood donors provide the total blood supply in 1,262 chapters, and are an important supply source in 384 chapters. 115,000,000 people and 4,300 hospitals are being served. In addition, on February 15,

1971, the Red Cross offered to cooperate with nonprofit community blood banks outside the Red Cross system by helping to recruit voluntary donors and by offering certain technical assistance.

The Red Cross Blood Program is the nation's largest single blood service operating under one license and one set of medical and administrative guidelines. It provides about half of the blood needs of the nation. The remaining 50 percent of the nation's blood supply comes from some 50 licensed community blood banks, hundreds of hospital blood banks, and an unknown number of commercial sources. Growing awareness of health hazards and concerns about the moral aspects of selling human tissue have created widespread recognition of the need to increase the number of voluntary donors.

Legislation has been introduced in the current session of Congress calling for the establishment of a "National Blood Bank Program to be under the supervision of a Director appointed by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare". In view of this development and broad concern, and with our long experience in this field, the Board of Governors of the American National Red Cross on February 14, 1972, adopted the following basic statement setting forth essential features of future blood service to the nation which the Red Cross believes to be in the public interest.

ESSENTIAL FEATURES OF A NATIONAL BLOOD SERVICE

"Blood is a living tissue and its transfer from one to another is a gift of life. The transfusion of blood or its components can be a life-saving medicine or a hazardous injection depending on the suitability of the donor and the care with which the blood is handled before becoming a part of the recipient's life stream. Humanitarian considerations call for safe, high quality blood to be available when and where needed for every patient regardless of previous donations or ability to replace. The people who need blood and those who voluntarily give it should be assured that every precaution is taken to protect both the giver and the receiver.

"In the light of these precepts, the American National Red Cross believes that the following features are among those essential to a national blood service:

1. Whole blood and components for transfusion should be available to all who need them and preferably should come from voluntary donors.
2. The only charge made for blood or its components should be related to the cost of collection, processing and distribution.
3. There should be a voluntary, nationwide, nonprofit blood service with uniform standards of operation—medical, technical and administrative.
4. Collection facilities should be licensed by the Federal Government and operated under Federal standards and inspection.
5. Pre-established eligibility requirements through individual or group credits, and penalty replacement fees, should be eliminated.
6. There should be established and maintained a high level effort in research, both basic and applied, and in development. These activities should focus on all aspects of a blood service—scientific, technical, administrative and socio-economic.
7. There should be national plan for developing efficient, economical management methods for: donor surveillance, blood and blood product inventories, balancing of supply, plasma fractionation, public education and information, reporting and accounting.
8. A broad cross section of public interest should be involved in all phases of the blood service system.

"The Red Cross is prepared to join with

government and with voluntary organizations to work for the future attainment of these essential features."

ACTION SUGGESTED

Whether or not your chapter is now participating in a Red Cross blood region, I urge that this letter be thoroughly studied by members of the chapter board. Although we will disseminate this information from headquarters on a wide scale, please share this letter with any individuals or groups within your jurisdiction who are concerned with the provision of blood service and the use of blood and blood products. It is vital that the position of the Red Cross be widely understood throughout the country.

In the months ahead your active support will be essential to help do our share in achieving the goals implicit in the Board's statement; goals which, if attained, will save lives and benefit the health of the American people in a very important way.

GEORGE M. ELSEY, *President.*

E. ROLAND HARRIMAN, *Chairman.*

APPLYING SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

In my State of the Union message, I proposed a new Federal partnership with the private sector to stimulate civilian technological research and development. One of the most vital areas where we can focus this partnership—perhaps utilizing engineers and scientists displaced from other jobs—is in improving human health. Opportunities in this field include:

BLOOD

Blood is a unique national resource. An adequate system for collecting and delivering blood at its time and place of need can save many lives. Yet we do not have a nationwide system to meet this need and we need to draw upon the skills of modern management and technology to develop one. I have therefore directed the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare to make an intensive study and to recommend to me as soon as possible a plan for developing a safe, fast and efficient nationwide blood collection and distribution system.

BLOOD BANK STUDY ORDERED BY NIXON— HEW TOLD TO DEVELOP PLAN FOR NATIONAL COLLECTION AND DISTRIBUTION SYSTEM

(By Richard D. Lyons)

WASHINGTON, March 2.—President Nixon announced in a message to Congress today that he had directed the Department of Health, Education and Welfare "to recommend to me as soon as possible a plan for developing a safe, fast and efficient nationwide blood collection and distribution system."

Federal health officials indicated that studies were under way on options that would range from complete Federal control of blood banking to maintaining the present patchwork system that has come under increasing criticism as being unresponsive to the ever-increasing national demand for blood.

The rise in the national demand for health services coupled with the increasing sophistication of medical techniques, such as open heart surgery, has doubled the demand for blood in the last decade. This, in turn, has strained traditional methods of collection and forced many hospitals to rely on commercial sources.

As a result, prices have been driven up, to as much as \$25 a pint in some areas, but more importantly it has led to the increasing donation of blood by drug addicts and derelicts who may be harboring disease, and a dramatic rise in the spread of hepatitis through blood transfusions.

"The problem has been that there is no national system," Elliot L. Richardson, Secretary of H.E.W., told a news briefing.

He said that there was a national need for "developing a reporting system to identify supplies and needs" that would be "integrated with a computer data bank."

How the system would cooperate has not been decided, but Dr. Iam A. Mitchell, a special assistant at H.E.W. who heads the blood bank project, said, "We are leaving no option unconsidered."

Dr. Mitchell said that the project was having problems "because of the great collection of nonsystems" operating in the blood banking area, but that the final proposal would be made this spring.

Included in the measures under consideration is a bill calling for the creation within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare of a new organization that would oversee and regulate all blood banks in the country. At present 18 states have no laws governing blood banks, while only seven states license blood banks and only five inspect them.

The bill was introduced last year by Representative Victor V. Veysey, Republican of California, who has attracted 55 co-sponsors of the bipartisan measure.

CRITICS OF PRESENT SYSTEM

In the last several years Mr. Veysey has been a relentless critic of the national blood banking system and has sought to drive commercial collection systems out of business.

Commercial blood banks have been the targets of repeated investigations because they often accept blood from such donors as derelicts who may be the transmitters of such diseases as hepatitis, syphilis and malaria.

"I want to eliminate the paid donors and develop a public relations program to encourage unpaid donors," Mr. Veysey said. His bill would allocate \$9-million in the first year to H.E.W. to set up a structure for the supervision of blood collection, inspection services and testing.

Mr. Veysey said that the nation should "rely on a system of volunteer, private blood banks." He noted that the Red Cross, the nation's largest blood collector, now accounted for only 40 per cent of non-commercial donations.

HEARINGS PLANNED

Representative Paul G. Rogers, Democrat of Florida, one of the leading spokesmen for health affairs in Congress, said that he would

hold hearings on Mr. Veysey's bill and other proposals "within a month."

Mr. Rogers, chairman of the Health and Environmental Subcommittee of the House Commerce Committee, said that "the hearings will be going into all aspects of the blood problem."

The Administration's involvement with the problems of blood banking was initiated last year by the White House Office of Science and Technology, which is seeking to exploit existing technology to improve deficiencies in the national health care system.

About eight million pints of blood were collected in the United States last year, with roughly 7.5 million of them being used for transfusions. A national survey in 1970 estimated that 30,000 Americans contract hepatitis each year through transfusions of contaminated blood, with 1,500 of them dying from the effects of the disease.

Various medical authorities have estimated that a person receiving a transfusion with a pint of commercially obtained blood runs 10 to 70 times the risk of developing hepatitis as the risk from a pint of blood that had not been donated for profit.

CORPS OF 100,000 COMMERCIAL DONORS

The increase in the demand for blood has created a corps of 100,000 people who sell blood for money, an unknown percentage of whom are carriers of hepatitis, syphilis or malaria. The problem is compounded by the relative difficulty of detecting in the donated blood either the bacteria or protozoa that causes the diseases.

As Mr. Nixon said in his message: "Blood is a unique national resource" that is vitally needed to save lives. "Yet we do not have a nationwide system to meet this need and we need to draw upon the skills of modern management and technology to develop one," he went on.

In other areas of the message, which was made public at the Florida White House in Key Biscayne, the President said that he had directed Mr. Richardson "to plan a series of projects to demonstrate the feasibility of developing an integrated and uniform system of health information."

Most of the 14-page message was a reiteration of health proposals made last year by the President. These include legislation for national health insurance, health maintenance organizations and reforms in Medicare and Medicaid.

As Mr. Richardson put it: "The Message was a plea to Congress to get on with it and enact the proposals."

RACIAL IMBALANCE AT HEW

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the HEW statistics on its employees by race indicate that HEW is grossly out of racial balance.

While the Negro population of the United States according to the 1970 census was 11 percent, the HEW employment records show that of 108,639 HEW employees, 24,461 or 22.6 percent are Negroes. And according to the report, this does not include statistics on HEW employees in Hawaii, Guam, and Puerto Rico.

Further, while section 703(a) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 includes the expression "race, color, religion, sex, or national origin," Secretary Richardson's letter states that HEW does "not collect information from employees on religious affiliations."

I include a letter from Secretary Richardson and the report showing HEW discrimination against the assimilated majority of American people who are simply identified as "none of the above," as follows:

THE SECRETARY OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
Washington, D.C., March 15, 1972.

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

DEAR MR. RARICK: Please accept my apology for the delay in responding to your letter of January 19 requesting data on the distribution of employees by organization, race and religion. The delay was caused by our desire to give you the most current information.

The distribution of DHEW employees by ethnic origin and organization is enclosed. As explained on January 31, we do not collect information from employees on religious affiliations.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

ELLIOT L. RICHARDSON,
Secretary.

HEW-WIDE FULL-TIME EMPLOYEES WORLDWIDE MINORITY REPORT 1—AGENCY, MINORITY AND SEX AS OF NOVEMBER 31, 1971

	OS		OE		HSMHA		SSA		SRS		FDA		NIH		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Negroes.....	496	850	281	707	2,224	2,964	2,337	10,970	73	413	428	438	1,278	1,012	7,117	17,344
Spanish surnamed.....	63	43	35	19	189	146	380	777	54	92	36	12	70	31	827	1,120
American Indian.....	12	11	2	7	1,093	2,421	34	110	4	3	3	2	6	10	1,154	2,564
Oriental.....	23	22	10	8	126	97	128	252	10	7	38	20	95	43	430	449
None of the above.....	2,107	1,415	1,201	951	9,130	7,977	15,676	24,851	719	610	2,706	1,266	4,845	4,180	36,384	41,250
Total.....	2,701	2,331	1,529	1,692	12,762	13,605	18,555	36,960	860	1,125	3,211	1,738	6,294	5,276	45,912	62,727

1 Excludes Hawaii, Guam, and Puerto Rico.

UNIT PRICING

HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, one of the most valuable tools for helping the consumer determine the best buy is unit pricing. This is the posting of a product's price on the basis of a standard meas-

urement, such as per pound, per quart, or per serving.

A recent study of unit pricing by students in the College of Business Administration at Boston University concludes:

Unit pricing provides valuable, objective price data which were not always available to consumers in the past without some effort on their part.

A survey in the Boston area by the study's researchers showed nearly half the persons contacted used unit pricing

to some extent. Unit pricing is by no means the sole criterion for determining the "best buy," but it is a significant factor and should not be denied consumers.

Some jurisdictions and some retailers have recognized the importance of unit pricing and are making it available to the public. These efforts are commendable but they suffer from inconsistency and other shortcomings.

The Boston University study recommends unit pricing be extended by Federal legislation and cover not only food

but drugs, hardware, and variety items. It calls for a consistent system of markings and requirements to help better inform the consumer.

I have introduced unit-pricing legislation in the past two Congresses. My current bill, H.R. 4425, has been pending before the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce for more than 13 months. Support in the House, unfortunately, has lagged behind that of the public, and I am hopeful studies like this one will prod my colleagues to move to close that gap.

I am inserting it in the RECORD at this point:

UNIT PRICING: DOES IT SERVE CONSUMERS?

(By Ronald Savitt, Associate Professor, College of Business Administration, Boston University, March 20, 1972)

INTRODUCTION

The consumer in the research for information about price/quantity relationships of products and services offered in the market seemingly thwarted at every step. It has often been thought that manufacturers, distributors, and retailers, if anything, have gone out of their way to hinder the buyer in his attempt to analyze which product of an assortment is the "best buy". This problem has been especially acute in the food industry where manufacturers and retailers through differences in package sizes and weights, through differences in multiple item versus single item pricing practices, and through promotional activities have added to the consumer's confusion. For example, it is almost impossible, except for the individual who makes split-second calculations or who is armed with a "pocket slide rule" to determine whether a seven ounce can of peas at 19¢ is less expensive than a six ounce can which is sold "3 for 59¢."¹

In an attempt to help consumers solve this problem "unit pricing" has been suggested. What is it? Does it solve consumer problems? Can it be made to work more effectively? are questions to be answered in the following sections of this paper. The basis for the analysis and the conclusions reached in this paper stem from a review of the major studies completed in the United States and Canada,² and from a study executed in the Boston area by the members of the Economics of Consumerism Seminar, College of Business Administration, Boston University.³

What is "Unit Pricing?"⁴

Unit pricing is the practice by which retailers indicate the price of each item on the basis of some acceptable quantity standard of measurement which then allows the consumer to compare the cost per unit between different brands.⁵ Its purpose is to enable the customer to tell at a glance what brand is the best value for the money. Unit pricing is implemented usually through some combination of the following instruments; a color tag placed on the shell molding under the products with (1) the name of the brand, (2) the price of the brand, and of course, (3) the price per unit of measure of the product.

DOES UNIT PRICING SOLVE CONSUMER PROBLEMS?

In order to answer this question it is necessary to recognize that unit pricing is not required by law in all states.

Often, where it is required, the policy has not been operational long enough to give substantial indication of its merit to consumers. And, also, where it is required by legislation, enforcement agencies have been derelict in enforcing the statutes. In part, this stems from the already high enforcement loads of

consumer protection agencies, most of which have neither the resources nor power to adequately enforce current statutes. Further, not all products are included in the statutes nor are all retailers obligated to use it. In the first case, for example, in the City of New York "corn meal, rice, maize, . . . prepared pre-flavored convenience pasta foods" are not included.⁶ The Connecticut statute, for example includes "any food, drug, device, cosmetic or other article, product, or commodity of any other kind or class, except drugs sold only by prescription . . . and, in Massachusetts, single unit sellers are not required to exhibit unit prices."⁷

There is no doubt about the fact that unit pricing offers the consumer a better and more systematic method for evaluating the price quantity problem in shopping. What needs to be asked is: "Do people use unit pricing?" The answer is yes; however, the number of people using it is relatively low. In general, studies indicate, that when available, only between 5 to 25 percent of the shoppers studied used any form of unit pricing.⁸ It should be clearly noted that the various studies examined showed no similarity in research methodology nor gave a clear indication of the following factors: (1) The length of operation of unit pricing; and (2) The nature of implementation, public or competitive policy. In the latter case, when a store introduces a policy such as unit pricing substantial promotion is given to its existence and hence consumers may be more well informed than if it were public policy.

Because of the substantial variation in these data the Seminar conducted a study in the Boston Metropolitan area to ascertain the extent to which consumers used unit pricing.⁹ The study conducted eleven months after the institution of the legislation discovered that 48.7% of 117 respondents used unit pricing for some items and that only 20% used it for most of their food purchases. The first figure can be explained in terms of the question asked which allowed respondents a range from "don't use at all" to "for all food purchases" rather than a dichotomy. While the second figure fits within the range of the other studies, it, as the former figure conceivably, might be high in so far as the present study included a sampling problem arising from the coverage of the law in Massachusetts. Because this law excludes single unit, sole proprietor operations, many areas within the Boston area were not included in the field survey.

Among these are low income areas where the chainstores do not have branches. Hence, a more extended survey which included low income areas might clearly show fewer people using unit pricing than the present study. And, of course, to the extent that people in low income areas do not have access to stores with unit pricing one of the major goals of the legislation is clearly thwarted. In the present study, except for the student category the lowest income level of any respondent was \$6,000.¹⁰ Even if the 20% figure is a true measure of the Boston population in general, it might be high in so far as Boston is an area in which people are very conscious of "consumerism."

In any event, the use of unit pricing is relatively limited and we would expect it to remain so. Its limited use can be attributed to some rather obvious reasons as well as some more subtle ones. First, the concept of unit pricing to a number of shoppers is complex especially to those individuals who are already confused by the methods used to indicate exhibit prices. The interpretation of shelf labels, even for the most sophisticated shopper, is sometimes quite difficult. Labels are often hard to read since, more times than not, they are computer print-outs, which do not have clear images. Also, the shelf tags include inventory stock numbers which,

while necessary for the operation of the system, are confusing. Second, it is appropriate to suggest that consumers with low income or low educational levels have never used price/quantity comparison techniques and when presented with unit pricing have not used it because they were not given the proper understanding for its use.

Third, even when consumers understand unit pricing many do not use it because of historic brand loyalty to certain products. Even in light of measurable price differences this loyalty prevails. It is important to recognize that brand loyalty is built up over a number of purchases and experiences with differing offerings within a product assortment. Indeed, sellers operate on the premise which encourages consumers to repeat purchasing a single brand over time and in fact sellers through advertising, and other promotional schemes attempt to continually reinforce the consumer's preference toward one brand.¹¹ Even with "cents-off deals," substantial advertising and other promotional efforts by competitors to switch consumers to their brands, the probability that this will take place diminishes over time in most instances.¹²

It is not reasonable to argue that an absolute price difference, as exposed by unit pricing, is sufficient to change brand loyalty. Even if the difference were as high as 10%, for example, it is believed that this would have minor impact because of at least two other very important factors. The first of these is the risk involved in brand switching; this might range in magnitude from simple product failure to peer group disapproval.¹³ No matter the type or importance of risk, what we are saying is that price is only one of several variables which the consumer uses in his decision making process. For the most part, it might not always be the most important one.¹⁴ The second point is, that, in general, those brands which have the lowest price per unit in a specific category are often those which carry the store label or a private distributor's label. For example, the National Commission on Food Marketing stated that "on the average, the advertised brand price was about 20 percent higher than the private label product with which it competed."¹⁵ And, it is a general belief on the part of buyers that private label merchandise is of lower quality insofar as they make distinctions about quality related to the presence of some kind of intensive promotional efforts and to the extent they tend to judge quality on the basis of price.¹⁶ Whether a private label item is of lower, equal or higher quality than the more heavily promoted is usually not known. This is so simply because consumers are not fully aware of producers' quality standards nor those standards established private label distributors. Often, a retailer's top line of private brands is intended to be of a quality equal to or better than the quality contained in the national brands, secondary lines are purchased frequently to fill a competitive need for low-priced merchandise.¹⁷ What unit pricing fails to do is to make quality comparisons easier for shoppers. While it was not intended to do this, the absence of such provisions deters its use and also its potential benefits. We have more to say about how to include the quality variable into the present system later in this presentation.

Besides the above reasons for not using unit pricing, others have been discovered. Among these are included lack of awareness of the system,¹⁸ hurried shopping, and general belief that its use would not result in significant savings in relation to the extra time required to make price comparisons for the large number of products purchased.¹⁹

Further, it is necessary to recognize that stores establish certain policies which while not interfering with the operation of unit pricing often do tend to negate its effective-

Footnotes at end of article.

ness. It should be clearly noted that such policies have proceeded the introduction of unit pricing. Their existence is based on other factors there is no reason to expect they will be or should be changed.

First is the practice of promoting particular brands of products groupings away from the traditional display shelves. This takes the form of check-out dump bins, island display units, and product combination promotions. The net impact of such activities is to reduce the opportunity to make unit price comparison. For example, the buyer is confronted with grapefruit juice as part of a total breakfast promotion, made by a single supplier. And although the required unit price data does appear, the shopper does not have the opportunity to make use of it unless he is willing to search out the aisle and shelf area where other brands of grapefruit juice are displayed and then make the comparison. Comparisons are also thwarted in those situations where the store only offers two brands one of which is a private label. To the extent that a store is unable to maintain stock of the private brand at all times the shopper is left only with the immediate choice of a single brand. This often arises when stores are not full knowledgeable in the handling of private label operations. Further, there are times because of strikes, shortages, and other events when the advertised brand(s) may be out of stock and in those situations the comparison of unit prices not available. Both in the promotional case and the stock-out case, the effect is short lived and, at least in the former, the serious shopper, it would seem reasonable to argue, should make the additional effort to search out the other brands for the price comparison. This is the consumer's responsibility to consumer protection. To ask more of the store in this situation would appear to be somewhat unreasonable.

In conclusion of this discussion, three points need to be made. One, even though there appears to be a trend for the increase in use of unit pricing, it seems reasonable to conclude that some maximum number will be reached.²⁰ Whether it is within the current range, discussed earlier, or at a higher level is related to how quickly unit pricing is adopted as public policy and is also related to how rapidly retail stores adopt such a pricing system for purely competitive reasons. While there is reason to believe unit pricing will spread through legislation, there is some reason to suggest that least in retail food sales it might be adopted by supermarkets as part of their attempt to promote a "low-price" or discount image.

This latter phenomenon will take place in spite of the allegations that implementation and operation of the system is expensive.²¹ This will occur insofar as the existence of unit pricing in one store gives it a competitive edge over others in the same market. And, the costs involved may well be then considered a "promotional" expenditure to the extent they serve as a means of attracting new consumers and keeping old who believe, whether it is true in fact or not, that stores using unit pricing have lower prices.

Two, it should be noted that the present evaluation of unit pricing is made at a time when, at least in the Boston area, it is new and has been promoted by a number of the supermarket chains as part of the pricing policy. Consumers may be aware of its existence at the present. However, this does not mean it will be used. Consumers who presently use it may not continue to use unit pricing. Once a purchase pattern is established with unit pricing there is no certainty that changes will be made as a reflection of future use. What we are saying is that consumers might establish new brand loyalty to what once was "the lowest per unit brand;" but, with changes in price over

time they might choose to ignore the new differences. In this regard it simply becomes one of many variables to be used.

The third point is that unit pricing as it now exists does not answer all of the consumer needs, although it does provide more information, more easily obtained than previously. There is no doubt of its potential impact on the price/quantity part of the decision process but it falls elsewhere. This is more fully discussed in the following section.

Can unit pricing be made to work more effectively?

The major problem with unit pricing is that it only provides information for a part of the consumer's decision process. Although it allows price/quantity comparisons, it does not allow for price/quantity/quality analysis. As indicated earlier in this discussion consumers make brand choice on the basis of past experience which is intrinsically built on some belief as to the implicit quality of the brand. The only way in which consumers would fully benefit from unit pricing is if a uniform standards system is established to cover a group of products. Then a consumer could determine the unit price for all brands and for all qualities. For example, the consumer would then be able to evaluate on a cross sectional basis whether brand A, B, or C of peas was less expensive in relation to the quality and quantity contained in each can. The establishment of quality standards goes one step beyond the current packaging and labeling act requirements.

The creation of standards and the execution of grading food products into such categories is not an impossible task since a great number of food items are already graded. What would be needed is a national policy requiring that standards be established for the great variety of food and/or other products which are thought necessary and that then the means for the enforcement of grading be implemented.²² This system would mean that the consumer could compare price, quantity, and quality across brands. For example, this would mean for canned apricots a consumer could select grade 1, 2, or 3 from the brands available and then make the necessary price comparison. While not all consumers would necessarily choose the highest quality at the lowest price per unit, there is no reason to force them to do so. The purpose of the addition of standardization and grading and its important complement better packaging and labeling²³ is to provide more information to the consumer. It is up to the consumer then to decide if indeed other factors about a specific brand are more important, that is, other subjective qualities. The consumer, however, cannot exercise his own responsibility unless his interests in such matters are protected.²⁴

To be certain there will be many arguments raised to suggest that this type of plan is not workable. First, it will be alleged that the number of brands will disappear and that consumers instead of having greater choice will indeed have less. This would not take place since no producer would be required to produce all qualities within any brand format and further there would be no control over the number of private brands any producer could offer. Second, it will be alleged that this system will be expensive and will ultimately result in higher prices for consumers. There is no doubt that such costs will develop and that they will have to be borne by someone. However, to suggest that there are not already substantial social costs being borne by consumers who are unable to make adequate comparisons is unrealistic. What we are suggesting is that costs have been accruing for a good number of years. The only difference is now that the costs will be traceable and responsibility set. It is clear that price is rea-

Summary and recommendations

Based on our evaluation of unit pricing, as it now exists, several significant changes should be made in its form. These changes should be made in light of the fact not all consumers nor any significant majority are now using the system and in light of the assumption that no one may ever choose to use it. Unit pricing provides valuable, objective price data which were not always available to consumers in the past without some effort on their part. Whether they choose to use it or not is not the key criterion. What is, is its availability. If they choose not to use it and as a result are dissatisfied with their expenditures, they need only blame themselves. To expect more from consumer protection is unreasonable.

The recommendations for the improvement of unit pricing are:

1. Unit pricing should be extended by federal legislation to cover all states and territories. Such legislation should extend its coverage also to all drug, food, hardware, and variety items sold in any retail context.
2. A system of standards should be developed to cover the products mentioned above and quality designations should be part of the packaging and labeling requirements.
3. A formal education program should be developed by the Office of Consumer Affairs to inform people of the existence and the benefits from the system.
4. A strong but fair enforcement system should be established to oversee the manufacturers, resellers, and retailers of the products included. Responsibility should be placed in the hands of the Federal Trade Commission.

FOOTNOTES

¹ A good experiment is to time people as they attempt to make the correct calculation. What is the answer? We think the reader should discover it for himself!

² Included were: McCann-Erickson Advertising of Canada, Ltd., "Unit Pricing and The Consumer," July 28, 1971; Jewel Food Stores, "Jewel Compar-A-Buy Pricing Study," October 11, 1970; Monroe Peter Friedman, "Dual-Price Labels: Usage Patterns and Potential Benefits for Inner-City and Suburban Supermarkets (a Summary Report)," Center for the Study of Contemporary Issues, Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, Michigan, July, 1970.

³ James J. Brinkerhoff, Mark Burger, Eric Dingle, Mark Kaplan, Alan Rosenblum.

⁴ Unit pricing as a concept and in legislative form varies from political unit to political unit. For example in Connecticut it is known as "unit pricing" while in the City of New York it is known as "Truth-in-Pricing, see: Connecticut Public Act No. 856 *An Act Concerning Unit Pricing of Consumer Commodities*, July 15, 1971; "Truth-in-Pricing Regulations 1, 2, 3, and 4," *The City Record*, City of New York (May 1, 1971), 383-84.

⁵ Usually prices are stated on a per pound or per pint basis, for example, see: *The Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, Chap. 885. "An Act Establishing Unit Pricing Law for Certain Retail Stores," September 1, 1970.

⁶ *The City Record*, op. cit., Section 4, paragraphs m and o, 384.

⁷ Connecticut Public Act No. 856, op. cit.; and, The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, op. cit.

⁸ "Dual Pricing: Only 5.4% Use Even Though 62.9% Aware," *Canadian Grocer* (November, 1970), 10; McCann-Erickson Advertising of Canada Ltd., *Unit Pricing and The Consumer* (July 28, 1971), 6; Friedman, op. cit., provides similar results. "A substantial minority of the suburban-store respondents (38% of a sample of 878), and a somewhat smaller minority of the inner-city-store respondents (25% of a sample of 798) reported that they had used the dual-price labels while shopping in the test stores."

⁹ For brevity, the Seminar Study is not included. Copies of the questionnaires and numerical response data can be obtained from Professor R. Stavitt, College of Business Administration, Boston University, 212 Bay State Road, Boston, Mass. 02215.

¹⁰ "Dual Pricing . . ." *op. cit.*, *The Jewel Food Study* suggests by income groups that about 99% of upper income shoppers, about 67% of middle income shoppers, and about 29% of lower income shoppers are familiar with the "Compar-A-Buy" system. This of course does not mean use. Considering the fact that these respondents shopped at stores where unit pricing is a policy and well promoted, it would not be incorrect to assume that these figures would be significantly lower for the general population except, perhaps, in the states or municipalities where unit pricing is required by law.

¹¹ John C. Narver and Ronald Savitt, *The Marketing Economy: An Analytical Approach* (New York: Holt, 1971), 211.

¹² John Howard, *Marketing Management: Analysis and Planning* (Homewood, Ill.: Irwin, 1963), 36.

¹³ For example, see: Raymond A. Bauer, "Risk Handling in Drug Adoption: The Role of Company Preference," *Public Opinion Quarterly* xxv (Winter 1961), 546-559; and, Donald F. Cox and Stewart Rich, "Perceived Risk and Consumer Decision Making—A Case of Telephone Shopping," *Journal of Marketing Research* (November 1964), 32-39.

¹⁴ Absolute price differences are not always important to non-ultimate consumers. For example, retail pharmacists have been shown to not to purchase at the lowest price but at higher ones. This is an indication of the value of marketing functions which they could not provide themselves from the price difference. See: Ronald Savitt, *Market Competition and Dual Distribution: The Ethical Drug Industry*. (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1967), 142-160.

¹⁵ National Commission on Food Marketing, *Organization and Competition in Food Retailing: Technical Study No. 7*. (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1966), 137. Emphasis added.

¹⁶ The controversy of price/quality relations is too extensive to be developed here. The following articles are suggested for further analysis: Andre Gabor and C. W. J. Granger, "Price as an Indication of Quality," *Economica* New Series, February 1966; Stanley Hollander, "Customary Prices," *Business Topics*, Summer 1966; Harold J. Leavitt, "A Note on Some Experimental Findings about the Meaning of Price," *Journal of Business*, July, 1954; J. Douglas McConnell, "The Price-Quality Relationship in an experimental Setting," *Journal of Marketing Research*, August, 1968; Tibor Scitovsky, "Some Consequences of the Habit of Judging by Price," *Review of Economic Studies* (2), 1944-45.

¹⁷ National Food Marketing . . . , *op. cit.*

¹⁸ Boston University Seminar Study 25% of respondents shopping in stores with unit pricing did not know what it was.

¹⁹ It is argued that unit pricing can save as much as 10 percent in the customer's annual food bill. There is little evidence to support this allegation and of course such a reduction in expenditures does not include changes in quality which might arise because of qualitative differences. See: Joseph S. Coyle, "What Cost Dual Pricing?" *Progressive Grocer* (November 1970), 78;

²⁰ "Progress Report on Unit Pricing," *Consumers Report* (February 1971), 84. Estimates vary but under present conditions only about 40 percent will use unit pricing. Also, see: "Consumers lukewarm to Unit Pricing Policies," *Chainstore Age* (December 1970), 35-36.

²¹ Coyle, *op. cit.*, 79. There is no doubt that there are costs involved in establishing and operating a "unit price" system. A study

by Consumer Research Institute, Inc., entitled *Cost of Unit Pricing in Grocery Stores* (July 1971) alleged costs for maintenance depending on type and size of store would run from between \$1,919 to \$213 a year.

²² Ronald Savitt, "Comments: Uniform Tire Grading," National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, December 20, 1971. Standards can be created for every product; the more complex the product the greater the need for standards. See: "The 324 Ways to Grade a Tire," *Business Week* (February 19, 1972), 22-23.

²³ There is substantial need to review the major inadequacies of "truth-in-packaging" legislation as it now stands. This, however, is beyond the scope of the present discussion. See: *Hearings: Economic Prospects and Policies* Joint Economic Committee, Congress of the United States, 92nd. Cong., 1st sess., January 27, 1971, Testimony of Esther Peterson, 270. The Seminar Study showed respondents, 60%, would like to see standard package (content) size for all food products.

²⁴ *Hearings: Consumer Protection Legislation*, Government Operations Committee, House, 92nd. Cong., 1st sess., July 12, 1971, Statement by Hon. Chet Hollifield, 542. Boston University Seminar Study data indicate that 72% of the respondents would desire to see standardized quality labels on all food items.

NIXON'S POLICY MISSES THE BUS

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, anyone who takes even a marginal interest in American history has discovered that some American Presidents stand out while others' contributions, and even their names, are difficult to recall.

I firmly predict that, once he is consigned to the history texts, President Richard M. Nixon will recede rapidly to the latter category. If remembered at all, it will be for his failure to provide leadership when Americans needed it most.

The Presidents whom we recall easily and with fondness are men who were a short jump ahead of their national constituency. They were aware of the ingredients required to make America a strong, healthy, and democratic land. Sometimes they had to listen to the whisper of their own hearts, rather than to the national clamor, and take a step which was unpopular in the short range, but necessary in the long. The Presidents who live on in our memories were individuals who were as large as their office; they resisted the temptation of pettiness and personal political gain.

Mr. Nixon is not such a President. His recently televised statement on school-busing revealed his lack of leadership ability and his resort to immorality.

As our national leader, instead of as a man with the mentality and vision of a ward boss, Mr. Nixon could have led us out of our national dilemma over schoolbusing. He could have condemned the proponents of a constitutional amendment as men and women who would like to return black people to a separate and unequal status. He could have told the American public that, while busing is not a tool to everyone's taste,

it is one of the only ones we have. He could have stressed the importance of the 1954 Brown against Board of Education Supreme Court decision, the 14th amendment, and the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Most importantly, he could have reaffirmed the inviolability of the Supreme Court and the implementation of its decisions.

Mr. Nixon did none of these things, having chosen instead to go his old route of appealing to the public's fears and insecurities to save his own political hide.

To his credit, he recognized the importance of quality education and community control of the schools. But, even here, he was a step behind the American people. The Congress has already authorized more than the amount he suggested to upgrade schools in poor neighborhoods.

On March 18, 1972, the Cleveland Plain Dealer featured an editorial on President Nixon's mistaken reading of the school-busing issue. The editors deserve our full commendation for their rational and humanitarian position. I urge my colleagues to consider the points they raised.

The article follows:

[From the Plain Dealer, Mar. 19, 1972]

NIXON'S POLICY MISSES THE BUS

President Nixon's plea to Congress to enact legislation blocking any new lower federal court orders for busing of schoolchildren to achieve racial integration was unfortunate for several reasons.

The timing, for political purposes in a presidential election year, was too pat. Gov. George C. Wallace, the segregationist, had just won a resounding victory in the Democratic party primary in Florida. Mr. Nixon's abrupt decision to go on national television at prime time, to appeal in some measure to persons who are as antibusing as is Gov. Wallace, hardly was accidental.

The President yesterday asked Congress for a moratorium on new or additional court busing orders until July 1, 1973—or sooner should Congress act on broader legislation at some earlier date. The President, in so doing, is asking the legislative branch of government to nullify or restrict the actions of the judicial branch.

Is such a request good policy, let alone constitutional even under Article III of the Constitution limiting judicial powers?

Does President Nixon's bill solve the problems of providing quality education and furthering healthy integration? We think not, despite the President's request for many millions of dollars for "equal educational opportunity," which includes funds already requested in other education measures.

Mr. Nixon has set up, and has asked the Justice Department to carry out, an antibusing campaign aimed at those federal judges who, he believes, have gone far beyond the Constitution and the rulings of the U.S. Supreme Court.

But if Congress enacts the President's program, its constitutionality undoubtedly will be questioned and will wind up in the Supreme Court. The latter has been unanimous and firm in its command that racial separation be eliminated.

It would be disastrous for the United States to reverse its goal of desegregation. As for busing itself, more than 20 million school children in this country are bused to schools but only 3% for integration purposes. Busing for such a purpose has not shown itself to be a sure-fire solution but it has been successful as an integration tool in certain areas.

Wisely, the President stopped short of espousing a constitutional amendment to

stop busing, as Gov. Wallace and others have proposed. But he did tell Democratic and Republican leaders of Congress yesterday that he did not want to discourage completely the consideration of an amendment. We oppose the amendment plan.

Senate Democratic Leader Mike Mansfield of Montana said school busing is the most perplexing issue he ever has seen before the Senate. Undoubtedly he is correct. But the President was not constructive by declaring guerrilla warfare on lower federal courts while dangling equal education opportunity money as a carrot-on-a-stick and using the weight of his office to make a national television appearance that had to be rated 99% political.

ST. PATRICK'S DAY, 1972

HON. STEWART B. MCKINNEY

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. MCKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, March 17, 1972 was not a very happy St. Patrick's Day. The troubles in Northern Ireland have reached such a pitch that the legendary mirth and merriment to which we have grown accustomed on March 17 has been sadly blunted.

Last week, Jo Brosius, the editor of Fairpress, a Westport, Conn., newspaper, wrote a very poignant piece which speaks directly to this issue. I would like to share that commentary with my colleagues today:

COMMENTARY

(By Jo Brosius)

What ever happened to that zany McNamara's Band?

And what ever happened to the amusing "Irishman," Paddy, who jigged to the music? A funny fellow, he was, part philosopher, part dupe, part drunk and forever belching "begorrah's."

With a leprechaun's lack of realism, pixilated Paddy was set apart from other men. His world was one of poetic magic, lilting language, a kind of misty-whiskey melancholy and dreams as evanescent as Finnian's Rainbow.

One could hardly take seriously a green-garbed caricature who appears yearly on St. Patrick's Day greeting cards. Certainly no one could view him as a threat.

So what did happen to Paddy? As far as Americans know he vanished somewhere in the acrid smoke of Belfast and London-derry bombings.

What most Americans don't know is that Paddy never existed.

He was created by that systematic process of emasculation applied to each new wave of immigrants or upward-strivers by those who either got here first or have started up the social ladder.

And maybe because of his charm, the Paddy-man fared better than some other ethnics. After all, does it hurt as much to be characterized as a quaint comic as to be made a "Step-n-fetchit?" Both "characters," however, are non-threatening to people busy protecting their bastions of prosperity... and that's what it's all about.

During the last half of the 19th Century, those who had gotten here first needed more than "No Irish need apply" signs to spare them from the competitive potential of hordes of poor, aggressive newcomers, escaping the famine and oppression resulting from British rule of their homeland. So desirous of freedom were they that hundreds of thousands sailed, half-starving, often

shirtless and shoeless, in the stinking steerage of ships bound for America. The Irish immigrant was a sad creature and only American "magic" and Tin Pan Alley could make him into funny, lovable Paddy.

Recent news from Northern Ireland tends to make most Americans think that fervent religious antagonisms, have turned Paddy's kith into kilfers and bombers. It is always easiest to categorize things and a "religious war" seems a nice pat explanation, not requiring any depth of understanding of the situation.

The Troubles of the 1970's are a direct, inevitable outgrowth of the religious politics played by Great Britain in her administration of the six northern counties which she clung onto following the formation of the Free Republic of Ireland.

These politics closely resemble the racial politics of the American South with the usual components of deprivation. For the Catholics: limited civil rights, inadequate housing, no representation, no government jobs. The Protestant poor, although also ghetto-ized, had it just a little better. Their fears and hatred of the Catholics came from the same source as the southern "Redneck" fears of blacks.

Even the "majority" status of Protestants in Eire was achieved through British inducement of immigration to the six counties from England and Scotland.

Of all the so-called civilian nations, Britain's treatment of Eire ranks as the ugliest in the annals of oppression. Even in recent years, the British have frequently invoked the dread "special powers" act which permits arrest and internment without charges.

Irish Catholics living in the north have disappeared, many have been imprisoned for years without being brought to trial, sometimes with no charges, on the suspicion that they are associated with the IRA or other rebel units.

When such things happen in Greece or Spain or Vietnam, Americans are outraged.

A capsule review of the crushing of Eire, may explain the depth of the Irish hatred of England.

In recent history, it stems from the intervention of Henry II in Irish affairs. Henry VII, Henry VIII and Elizabeth I completed the destruction. During these reigns, Irish villages were plundered and burned, nine-tenths of the land was awarded to British nobles, the Anglican Church was pronounced the Church of Eire, Irish trade was destroyed, Irish men were denied the right to hold land or office or to attend school. These were sad times for what was known as the "Land of Saints and Scholars" because it was the citadel of learning for Western Europe during the Dark Ages. The situation gave rise to a priest-oriented society for the parish priests secretly taught parishioners. The church became refuge and school and later, a rallying place for revolutionaries against British rule.

Yet for all its organized Catholicism, Eire is remarkably free of religious prejudice. It's capital has a large population of Irish Protestants and Irish Jews and recently had a Jewish mayor.

Even the "potato famine," so called for the failure of the potato crop in the 1860's was the result of British rule. The grain harvest had to be paid to British landlords. Ireland is a fertile land able to grow more than potatoes.

Do the Irish remember too much of the past? Perhaps. But it was only 1916, as Great Britain was about to wage a "War to free the World for Democracy" (WWI) when British troops fired into an assembly in Dublin petitioning for independence. Many leaders were executed summarily and Eamon DeValera was spared only because he was an American citizen.

"Sinn Fein," the name of the Irish freedom party, means "we ourselves." It is long past time that the British remove them-

selves from Irish soil. Such removal is the only way The Troubles can begin to end.

In the same spirit, Mr. Speaker, an Old Greenwich, Conn., resident, Michael McKenna, recently shared his reflections on Ireland with the readers of the Greenwich Time. In my view, this piece is also worthy of review by the Members of this House. At this point, I would like to include it in the RECORD:

THE IRISH LIKE TO FEEL "GORGEOUS," ESPECIALLY AROUND ST. PATRICK'S DAY

(By Michael McKenna)

Her greatest poet, William Butler Yeats, celebrates her as the "traditional penurious Old Woman who becomes, as soon as she has found the willing sacrifice she sees a, a beautiful young girl with the walk of a queen."

Ireland is the home of contradictions. A country hovering in truth between material facts and unknown mysteries. The last outpost of Europe, with no country on her right hand but her ancient conqueror and nothing on her left but the wide Atlantic. And the centuries of isolation continue, sustaining the world's misinformation and lack of knowledge about her.

I got to thinking about this one misty September afternoon in Dublin while hunkered in an oak-paneled corner of O'Donoghue's musical pub, enjoying one of our superior national vices: procrastination. Americans, especially, tend to think of Ireland as an honest-to-goodness fairy tale brimming over with leprechauns, whiskey, knee-breeches, shillelagh, gilt harps, Guinness, much feuding, and a facetious form of flattery called Blarney.

Some have the impression that the entire nation consists of a collection of high-spirited half wits who, when not fighting, praying, drinking, or paying strangers compliments, spend their time dancing the Irish jig or rollicking through four-leaf-clovered meadows seeking out leprechauns.

As an Irish-American, I'll admit that the country has been rather uninventive, but Ireland has given the world more than whiskey. Ireland has bestowed upon the world a long neglected mythology, said by some scholars to be unsurpassed by any but that of Greece; a literature in two languages; various schools of religious thought; saints; musical folk forms; and any number of writers, poets and dramatists—Jonathan Swift, Oscar Wilde, George Bernard Shaw, James Joyce, Brendan Behan and Yeats, to name a few.

Nor is this land that bore these men the monotonous "emerald green" some would have you believe. Mother Nature "freaked out" during the Ice Age with unparalleled creations of riotous color and unique geographical variations shaping purplish-blue mountain ranges, glittering lakes and streams, swampy glens, brownish bogs, and vast central plains which often radiate a silvery-gray or gold lighting, depending on the refractive whims of the gold Irish sun. Frequently, while trespassing her magical topography, one is exposed to a vision of nature so intense and profoundly beautiful that he almost feels he could hold it in his arms.

In order to understand Ireland one must consider her volatile past, the key to her numerous faces and present contortions.

The Iberian Celts were the first known race to have appeared in Ireland, around 200 B.C., followed by the Picts, a tall, fair-skinned people with red hair and greenish eyes. These, in turn, were tyrannized by yet another invader, the Gaels. They arrived about 254 A.D. and promptly installed a logical system of government. They also installed a tireless gift of gab and a passion for story telling, drinking, fighting and feasting. In time the three races merged. The Gaels, being the most powerful, provided the names for the people of Ireland.

Christianity began in 432 A.D. with St. Patrick. Brought to Ireland as a child slave, many think from France, he developed a compassion for its people and realized the necessity for social change. Escaping to the Continent, he became a theology student, was ordained in Rome, and returned, with a handful of strong-willed monks, to the island that had enslaved him. The conversion rate of "pagans" to Christians was so rapid that, during St. Patrick's own lifetime, more than three quarters of the population were baptized Christians. Although St. Patrick is credited with any number of supernatural feats, driving the snakes into the sea was not one of them. Since the Ice Age molded Ireland before the European Continent, isolated Ireland had no snakes.

English domination began in 1170 A.D. when Henry II delivered the Norman knight Strongbow to marry Aoife, daughter of an Irish king. That marriage opened the longest chapter of resisted occupation that European history has known, occupation that continues to this day. For in that year the Norman invasion and eventual overthrow of Ireland was spearheaded by Richard de Clare—Strongbow.

Beginning with the reign of Elizabeth I, the English experimented with plantations throughout Ireland in an attempt to mix Irish and English blood and make English rule more acceptable. The plan failed. The Irish would have little to do with the English socially, and the English preferred to marry each other's cousins, therefore holding themselves aloof. In time the government cleverly decided on a new strategy: Englishmen were not to be used; instead, granite-rock, oat-cake-eating Scots Presbyterians. In effect, Celt met Celt. The result of this plantation system remains today a trail of mutual animosity stretching from London, which finances the North, to the rest of the world, which remains indifferent to the problem.

From my endless conversations with people on both sides of the political "green curtain," I can only conclude that the civil disorder in Northern Ireland will not be resolved until the Irish are gazing upon the withdrawing backs of the English.

For Ireland is, of course, its people. That special breed who possess the indescribable magic of relaxed self-assurance they call being "restful." A people who do not feel superior, pompous, nor, on the other hand, humble or inferior. The Irish simply feel good. In their words, "gorgeous." And therein lies the secret to what strangers call Irish charm. And the best hope for the future of Ireland.

Last, in this St. Patrick's Day remembrance, I would like to comment briefly on the activities and membership of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in America. As you know, Mr. Speaker, the AOH is not simply an ethnic organization. One of its main functions is best stated in the organization's Constitution:

Our motto, "Friendship, Unity and Christian Charity" implies a friendship carrying with it a spirit of helpfulness, a unity of all our people, and a charity not merely for the assistance of our own members but a charity broad and universal and circumscribed by neither race nor creed.

The AOH has a proud heritage for over this century, its members have generously lived up to those principles. During this past week, two AOH divisions in Connecticut honored four of their own; four men who have exemplified the motto of "Friendship, Unity, and Christian Charity." These men are Patrick McBennett and William Anderson, both of the Malachy F. Lynam Division of Norwalk; and Anthony Walsh and Frank Daley of the Phillip Sheridan Division

in Stamford. As you will note from the following two articles, the first from the Norwalk Hour, the second from the Stamford Advocate; these gentlemen merit congratulations:

AOH HONORS TWO PAST HEADS WITH LIFE MEMBERSHIPS

William R. Anderson of 9 Maplewood terrace and Patrick McBennett of 10 Delaware avenue, former presidents of Norwalk Division, Ancient Order of Hibernians, were presented with life membership certificates in appreciation of distinguished service at the St. Patrick's dance recently at Artom Manor. Raymond Cullen, president of the order, made the presentations.

Mr. Anderson, a two-term president, headed the AOH when it met in K of C quarters, then in River street, with a membership of more than 100. He had served as Connecticut delegation to the national committee of Anti-Partition of Ireland.

Mr. McBennett is a past president of the Norwalk and County AOH. He was a state chairman of Catholic Action for the AOH. Mr. McBennett has long been a member of the Zoning Board of Appeals. He is a retired supervisor for Charles of the Ritz. He is a member of the Holy Name Society of St. Mary's Church and Msgr. Finn Council, K of C. Mr. McBennett was an intelligent officer of the Irish Republican Army prior to coming to the United States.

SPECIAL HONOR FOR TWO ON ST. PATRICK'S DAY

The green, white and gold Irish flag will be raised at a ceremony in Central Park at ten a.m. on Friday, St. Patrick's Day.

Mayor Julius Wilemsky will be present as will many Irishmen and their friends from the area.

A highlight of the occasion will be the honoring of two Stamford men with the longest, continuous membership in the Ancient Order of Hibernians, Anthony Walsh, 11 Boxwood Dr., and Frank Daley, of 27 Webb Ave.

Anthony Walsh, born in Newport, County Mayo, Ireland, was a dispatch rider for the Irish Volunteers during the "Black and Tan" regime. Over the years, he has taken active part in the fight for freedom of all Ireland.

Mr. Walsh joined the Hibernians in 1930 and is a past president of the division and of the association. He has held most of the offices in the Order and has been a member of the degree team.

Mr. Walsh, an active Democrat, has served five years in the town and city committees. He also represented Stamford in the State Central Committee and served on Stamford's Zoning Board of Appeals during Mayor Quigley's administration.

He and his wife, Ann, who is from County Tryone, have two daughters, Patricia and Jeannie, and a son, Peter, who is in the contracting business with Mr. Walsh and three grandchildren.

Mr. Walsh, a member of the State Street Debating Society, has been honored as "Man of the Year," is a Fourth Degree Knight in the Knights of Columbus and a member of the "All-Stamford" Club.

Mr. Daley was born in Stamford on May 2, 1896. He was a naval aviator during World War I and is one of the few living aviators from that war. He is a retired refinery and chemical engineer, associated with U.S. Synthetic Rubber during World War II.

Mr. Daley joined the Ancient Order of Hibernians in 1913 at the age of 17. He became interested through a friend, Tom Stracy, a policeman from New Haven, involved in athletic programs.

Mr. Daley competed as a member of the order's team at 17 and won the 100-yard dash at Lighthouse Point in New Haven. He was secretary of the local division in Stamford at 18, during the Bartley Fahey and Martin Ryan regime. In 1916, he won the hammer throwing event for the State. Mr. Daley competed in the national pentathlon and the decathlon.

Mr. Daley ran for election to the post of mayor of Stamford and has served as a member of the Board of Finance. He has also taken part in various community activities.

He and his wife, Nan, have two daughters, Betty and Nancy, and eight grandchildren. He has a living room set that was once owned by the late John McCormack, famous Irish singer. Mr. Daley has visited Ireland on two occasions and writes feature stories on Ireland.

FOUR BASIC FACTS ON RETAIL MEAT PRICES

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, there is a lot of discussion these days in regard to the price of meat. Consumer advocates urge the Government to impose a price freeze.

Secretary of Agriculture Butz, on the other hand, supports the producers and says he would like to see their operation get into the black for a change.

Mr. Speaker, with your permission, I would like to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point another opinion, that of Minnesota Agriculture Commissioner, Jon Wefald, who cites some facts and figures which I would like my colleagues to see.

WEFALD: FOUR BASIC FACTS ON RETAIL MEAT PRICES

Consumers should understand five basic facts about present retail meat prices, Minnesota Agriculture Commissioner, Jon Wefald, says.

"First, the prices for livestock are just getting up to where they were in 1950; second, the farmers' total debt has increased by over 500 per cent since 1950; third, the farmer has been in a wage-price freeze for over 20 years; fourth, meat prices now are actually only about 20 cents a pound higher than they were 21 years ago when livestock prices hit the previous record high; and fifth, farmers have families to feed and protect, too."

Wefald said, "Moreover, as many consumers as farmers in Minnesota depend upon the meat industry for their jobs and income." He warns that any throttling of the domestic meat industry will have a damaging effect on that important segment of the economy, and estimated that 19,000 Minnesotans are employed in meat and poultry processing, 30,000 more in retail grocery and meat markets, another 35,000 in the food service industry.

Wefald suggests that consumers review the official federal government statistics that show the combined processing and marketing operations account for more than two thirds of the total retail cost of food in the United States.

"In 1970, the last year for which statistics have just been released, Americans spent \$101.6-billion for groceries. Processing-marketing claimed \$68.5-billion and the farmers' share was only \$33.1-billion.

"Since 1951, while the farmers' share of the U.S. consumer food bill has increased by 61.5 per cent, the processing-marketing cost has increased by 140 per cent," Wefald said.

"Analysis of the marketing costs for that same period reveals that labor costs have increased by 146 per cent, transportation costs by 80 per cent, processing-packaging-advertising-distribution costs by 115 per cent and corporate profits after taxes by 217 per cent.

"Emphasizing that food continues to take a lesser share of disposable consumer income, only 16.3 per cent in 1971, meat represents only 5 per cent of that income," he said.

B. B. KING

HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, while many concerned individuals speak of working to change conditions and the atmosphere of hopelessness pervading the Nation's penal institutions, it is especially praiseworthy when someone actually is able to make things a little less horrible.

One man in particular who is doing something is B. B. King, King of the Blues. B. B. King is making it a mission to ease, if only momentarily, the terrible, debilitating burden of boredom and routine faced daily by those inside our prison walls.

B. B. King has been giving generously of his time and talent to play prison concerts throughout the United States in our Federal and State prisons. With 14 concerts to his credit already, including a most recent one in my district at the Adult Correctional Institutions, Howard, R.I., he is well on his way to setting an unparalleled personal example for thousands of other public figures who could be instrumental in helping to reshape our correctional institutions, and in easing the despair of inmates. Teamed with criminal lawyer F. Lee Bailey as cochairman of the Foundation for the Advancement of Inmate Rehabilitation and Recreation (FAIRR), Mr. King hopes to expand prison programs by arranging appearances by other entertainers, lawyers, sports personalities, writers, musicians, and a wide range of public figures, in a series of concerts, discussion groups, and training programs.

The King has played every kind of gig imaginable over the years, from the roadside dancehalls of the rural South to sessions with the top names in the business here and abroad. His legacy is that of bluesmen Elmo James, T-Bone Walker, Blind Lemon Jefferson, and jazzmen like Charlie Christian and the fabulous Django Reinhardt. His heritage and that of the majority of inmates has been the blues, and it is doubtful if any listeners have ever been more attuned to the message than his prison audiences—that what life is all about is not conquering the blues, but coming to terms with them.

B. B. King was born on a plantation and before he became a musician he was a welder at a time when this country was not hiring black welders. After he became a musician he traveled the width and breadth of this Nation with one-nighters, including 342 of them in 1956, surely a show business record. B. B. King paid his dues traveling to sing to people and bring them a message. His hope for the inmates in society's custody is that while each individual is paying his dues, he be allowed the basic human dignity

vital to forming a foundation for success when that second chance rolls around. Unfortunately, the record shows that society has failed to recognize and honor its commitment to that human dignity, and too many second chances have become second nightmares.

The test of a man is not in "making it," but in what he does when he has. What B. B. King does is remember what so many forget—to count their blessings and to reach out to others who need a hand or a little hope.

I would like to at this point commend those who were instrumental in presenting B. B. King at the Adult Correctional Institutions in my district: Jerry Del Monte and WBRU, the Brown University radio station in Providence which sponsored and broadcast the concert, and Mr. Julio Costa, director of recreation at the facility.

DOLLAR DEVALUATION

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. SCHWENGEL. Mr. Speaker, a few months ago I received a letter from Dr. George Braunlich, a constituent, containing some thoughts of his on dollar devaluation. Dr. Braunlich has had considerable background in economics and international relations. Because we will soon be considering H.R. 13120—modification of the par value of the dollar—I thought his comments might be of interest:

DAVENPORT, IOWA,
January 3, 1972.

HON. FRED SCHWENGEL,
Rayburn House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

MY DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: Congratulations for your religious liberty citation from Americans United for Separation of Church and State. This ought to convince the Orthodox Christians that you are a sincere believer in the power of prayer.

Before I studied medicine, I was enrolled in the Consular School of the University of Chicago. Here I studied International Law with Harry Pratt Judson, Money with James Lawrence Laughlin, Cities with George Edgar Vincent, Trade Unionism and *Das Kapital* with Hoxie (a Marxian Communist who took us to I.W.W. meetings), Economics, Political Science, and languages—all by eminent teachers.

When Nixon became President in 1969, he proposed reversing the Keynesian philosophy of devaluing the dollar by about 5% a year to revaluing the dollar upward so as to reward the thrifty instead of the spenders. This hit right into my philosophy and I recommended pegging the price of gold at \$32 an ounce instead of the present \$35 and making it legal for Americans to trade in gold. We would resume specie payments of \$32 an ounce and gradually get the dollar back to \$20 an ounce.

Our gross national product is such that this is entirely feasible. Gross National Product is the increase in total value of the assets of a State in any given time. In 1970, the Gross National Product of the U.S. was just under one trillion dollars. In 1971, it was just over one trillion and in 1972, it will be still higher. The balance of payments is a minute part of this whole picture and means no more than any other part. Our gross national product is

larger than that of England, France, Germany, Italy, Austria and Russia combined. So we can afford to import whatever we want and have a high standard of living while at the same time inflation will be stopped by the higher value of the dollar. What Keynes (pronounced Cains) and the Fabian Socialists started in England over sixty years ago we can reverse by increasing the value of our dollar.

Could you insert this letter in the Congressional Record so that we can start this movement at once instead of waiting until just before election?

Happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE BRAUNLICH.

DIABOLICAL U.S.S.R. GOVERNMENT THROUGH DIABOLICAL METHOD SEEKS DIABOLICAL ENDS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, we as a people have long been recognized as generous but naive and overcredulous. Not desirous of corrupting the officials of other countries for malevolent purposes we find it difficult to believe that any country could be guilty of diabolical practices. Taking advantage of this fact, the USSR engages in scientifically organized corruptive processes to compromise and then enlist for their own purposes the persons compromised.

It has long been evident that the Soviets have without the least hesitation sought to obtain recruits in other lands of highly placed persons in government. Nations not practicing such corruptive methods are at a distinct disadvantage in dealing with those that do. Thus, communism has come to be the greatest evil that the world has ever known; and those who think otherwise will soon come to know to their sorrow the truth of this statement.

One of the present problems of the free world is that it seems too eager to recognize and establish diplomatic and economic ties with Communist-dominated nations. This danger has been repeatedly illustrated, for example, in the series of no-win wars since the end of World War II.

Years ago when communism was in process of acquiring power, there was a sentiment among the governments of free nations to withhold recognition of Communist governments as illustrated by the refusal of the United States to recognize the USSR until 1933. Now the reverse is the case; and free nations are recognizing Communist governments with the result that the international Communist movement is becoming stronger.

As Communist governments do not change their methods of conquest through corruption processes in the least, free nations associated with Communist nations are bound to suffer. Thus the USSR and Red China are becoming more powerful through the recent trends of free nations in dealing with Communist powers.

Today, we see the thief, the assassin, the mass murderer, and the most diabolical creatures that the world has ever known welcomed by free world leaders. How can the intrinsic evil of communism be destroyed by such naive practices?

Fortunately, the United States does have publications with perceptive editors and courageous publishers, among them the *Herald of Freedom of Zarephath*, N.J. In a recent issue, it sets forth a most revealing summary in great detail showing the corruptive operations of the GRU—Chief Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff—and the KGB—Committee for State Security—of the Soviet Union, citing specific examples of our own officials who were compromised.

Because the information presented in the issue should be of the greatest interest to all members of the legislative and executive branches of our Government, both State and Federal, especially police and intelligence agencies, and the Nation at large, I quote it as part of my remarks:

[From the *Herald of Freedom*, Mar. 17, 1972]

THE SOVIET SECRET POLICE

Recent reports about England's expulsion of over 100 Soviet espionage agents, operating under cover of diplomatic personnel, focused public attention on one phase of the activities of the Soviet Secret Police and espionage apparatus but did not tell the complete story. What is referred to as Soviet Secret Police is actually two separate organizations.

The first, the G.R.U., Chief Intelligence Directorate of the General Staff (its correct name—Glavnoye Razvedyvatelnoye Upravleniye) operates from the Soviet Ministry of Defense, 34 Maurice Thorez Quay, Moscow. At the G.R.U. are both military and naval intelligence with worldwide operations. The second, the more important and much larger of the two, is the K.G.B., the Committee for State Security of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union (correct name—Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopasnosti) which operates from its headquarters at 2 Dzerzhinsky St., Moscow. Known as "The Lubianka," this is divided into two separate buildings; one, the Secret Police Headquarters and the other, the K.G.B. prison. Heading the K.G.B. is Yuri V. Andropov who was appointed in 1967.

Within the K.G.B. are various directorates or divisions and sub-sections, each with its own number and name which are changed from time to time. In substance they are as follows:

The Foreign Division supervises all espionage worldwide.

The Operations Division handles personnel assignments.

The Information Division conducts research analysis, makes evaluations, and prepares intelligence reports and estimates.

The Secret Division prepares forged passports, birth records, identities, various records and histories of persons whose identities are being assumed; provides foreign currency and arranges emergency contacts.

The Recruiting and Training Division trains personnel for K.G.B. service and maintains a record of every Communist in the world, as well as every fellow traveler, sympathizer and individual who has been compromised, and also important people who are susceptible to compromise.

The Communications Division prepares and arranges for the use of code cyphers, code systems and radios. This division has a worldwide network of communications between headquarters (known as "the center") and agents in the field.

The Finance Division handles disbursements of foreign currencies of every na-

tion in the world, arranges payments for purchasing information and for bribery, supplies funds to agents and finances Communist Parties, fronts and others.

Within the second Directorate there is a section for Agit Prop which supervises the preparation, production and distribution of Communist propaganda. A separate section supervises and executes terroristic activities, bombings, and sabotage. The Cadre or Personnel Section maintains agent personnel histories, assignment records, progress of agents, qualifications of all personnel throughout the world, specialists, etc. The Allied Section maintains secret agents in satellite countries (including sleepers) to report every activity and all information of any use. This section coordinates the intelligence services of the satellite Communist countries. The Mobile Section is responsible for the activities of agents "in place" acting as sleepers and is responsible for the assignment of assassins, kidnappers, infiltration specialists, and agents for special sabotage work.

The K.G.B. has a fully trained staff of approximately 25,000 agents with officer status. In the field these agents may act as section chiefs or residents and have their own group of operatives who may have been recruited through compromise or who may be local Communist party members. It is estimated the K.G.B. has over 200,000 persons in its employ, either as regular agents or co-opted operatives. Both the K.G.B. and G.R.U. have many uniformed and civilian personnel who function as border and security guards, who supervise prisons and forced labor camps, and who are utilized in other areas.

One group utilizes female agents for compromising purposes or for securing information. Girls are recruited at an early age (14-15 years old) and are trained from 3-4 years with an intensive course in a foreign language. They are taught the art of seduction, how to avoid pregnancy, and at least one other specialty such as ballet dancing, singing, playing a musical instrument, secretarial work or theatricals. They are instructed in poise, grace, and conversation. Older females are used to pose as wives of diplomats and military attaches and these women are given long pleasant assignments.

A former K.G.B. agent stated that at all times the service uses at least 10,000 trained female personnel for various purposes. Informed sources state that school for training in espionage and sex are maintained in Moscow, East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Cuba. There is a similar set-up for using males to compromise females.

Many important people, particularly in public life, education, arts, sciences, etc., whose leftist activities are suspect, are not actually members of the Communist Party but rather have been co-opted earlier into the K.G.B. network. Connections as such would be known only in K.G.B. headquarters in Moscow and to the particular case officer or staff chief for whom they may work or from whom they may receive instructions.

The success of the K.G.B. operations have been far greater than is generally known, particularly in the field of compromising important persons. A prime example is the "Profumo Case" in England, with tentacles reaching into the United States.

On March 27, 1960 Captain Eugene Ivanov was assigned to the Soviet Embassy in London, England. Ivanov was a K.G.B. officer who operated under the cover of assistant naval attache. He was the case officer for Soviet agent Dr. Stephen Ward, an osteopath physician, and portrait artist, who was born in 1913 the son of a British clergyman, Rev. Canon Arthur E. Ward of the Church of England. Dr. Ward maintained consulting rooms at 38 Devonshire St., W-1, London and a residence house at 17 Wimpole Mews W-1, London, as well as a country cottage on Lord Astor's Cliveden Estate. Dr. Ward's patients included such notables as Sir Winston Churchill, Elizabeth Taylor, Paul Getty, Lord Astor, several members of the royal family,

and a number of high officials in the British Government. Among the individuals whose portraits he painted were the Duke of Edinburgh, Princess Margaret, and her husband, the Earl of Snowdon.

Dr. Ward's modus operandi was to pick up young girls between the ages of 16 and 17 (he found them in cheap night clubs in the London area) and induce them to come and stay with him in his house in London. He seduced many of these girls himself and, after they were thoroughly indoctrinated, he procured them for many influential persons. He catered to the perverted tastes of his friends, which included whipping and other sadistic performances, kept a collection of pornographic photographs and utilized hidden mirrors, tape recorders and special cameras.

Dr. Ward made his first contact with K.G.B. agent Capt. Ivanov on January 20, 1961 and the relationship (having to do with the compromising of important persons) continued until Ivanov suddenly left London in January of 1963 and returned to Moscow, after having been warned by Dr. Ward. Ivanov had also acted as a "go-between" for the Castro Government and the Western powers during the Cuban crisis during this period.

One of the assignments Dr. Ward received from his case officer, Ivanov, was to obtain atomic secrets, if possible, through War Minister John Profumo and other officials of the British Government. Mr. Profumo was Secretary of State and War from July 1960 until he resigned in June 1963. He had a fine war record, has risen to the rank of Brigadier, and had held numerous government posts.

Among the numerous females utilized by Dr. Ward were Marilyn (Mandy) Rice-Davies, Christine Keeler, Maria Novotny, Suzie Chang, and Vickie Barrett. One of the most successful of the girls used by Dr. Ward for compromising purposes was Christine Keeler who originally came from Wrayburg, England. She left home at the age of sixteen, went to London and was employed by the Murray Cabaret Club as a show girl, a job which consisted of simply walking around in the nude. After meeting her, Dr. Ward took her to his house to live with him, and introduced her to some of his friends for sex purposes.

Christine was the female used to compromise Profumo, a meeting having been maneuvered while she was staying at the cottage on Lord Astor's estate. There was a swimming party and Mr. Profumo was one of Lord Astor's guests. It was arranged for Christine to slip off her bathing suit just as Mr. Profumo approached the pool, thereby attracting his attention. Nature having taken its course, Dr. Ward arranged for the information that Mr. Profumo was having a sex affair with Christine Keeler to leak out. Profumo denied the rumors in Parliament but Dr. Ward was able to present proof of the sex affair to the British Security Service. Having lied publicly, Profumo was forced to resign from his post. Subsequently the conservative government fell and the Labor Socialist Government took control of Great Britain.

During the resulting investigation there was testimony that Lord Astor was also involved in sex activities with one of Dr. Ward's girls and that at least four other cabinet ministers had been guests at Dr. Ward's sex parties. Lord Astor died of a heart attack in the Bahamas in 1966.

One of Dr. Ward's girls, Suzie Chang, extended operations into the United States and compromised President John F. Kennedy when he made a trip to England. The thinly veiled story of JFK's involvement appeared in an article printed in one edition of the *N.Y. Journal American* of June 26, 1963. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy immediately demanded that the story be killed and reportedly threatened an anti-trust suit against the Hearst Corporation, owners of the newspaper.

The authoritative *British Intelligence Digest* (Religious News Edition) took note

of Kennedy's affair with Suzie Chang and others in its July 19, 1963 issue, stating:

"President Kennedy's private domestic life is not one of marital bliss. In fact, it is said, he is interested in women other than his wife and this is leaked all over the world. . . . This is bad and hurtful to America. Indeed, there was even a cartoon published in England during his recent visit showing Miss Keeler tied up with a dog-chain until the President and his entourage should leave. It is time that this was said. . . ."

Suzie Chang was also involved in compromising VIPS in the Henry Allen Towers group in New York in 1961. Towers, a British television producer, was arrested in New York City allegedly as a procurer for Maria Novotny, whose uncle was then president of Czechoslovakia. Miss Novotny, a K.G.B. agent on assignment with Towers, had been compromising high officials and diplomats from the United Nations. After their arrest, Miss Novotny and Towers were conveniently allowed to slip out of the country. Forfeiting \$10,000 bail, Towers fled to Czechoslovakia and then returned to England, as did Miss Novotny.

On June 25, 1963 the N.Y. Times reported that the U.S. Attorney's Office had reopened the case of Towers and Novotny in connection with espionage but apparently nothing further developed. At the time of the Towers-Novotny arrest it was learned that there were other individuals reportedly involved in the compromising operation. One was Evelyn David, a 32-year-old "journalist," who arranged dates for call girls, working out of the U.N. lounge. Also mentioned were Delia Merino-Bartet, also known as Yvonne Landot, a young Peruvian girl who worked at the U.N. as a translation secretary, and Ilena Bata, a blonde Hungarian model who was living at 440 East 46th Street in New York.

K.G.B. compromising operations around the world are aimed at persons of influence or potential influence. Some they destroy, others they control. There was the case of Maurice Ernest Napoleon DeJean who was a close friend of the late President DeGaulle in France. When he was the French Ambassador to Moscow he became involved with a Miss Kronsberg whose apartment on Ananovsky Lane was actually a K.G.B. flat. Thereafter under control, DeJean continued in the French Diplomatic Services, was named Administrator of the French Shell Oil Co. in 1965 and later was made Administrator of the Association of Seaside Resorts. He became President of the Communist-front, the Franco-Soviet Society for Industrial Cooperation.

The late President Sukarno of Indonesia was compromised by K.G.B. agent Valentina Reschetnyk during a visit to Moscow. As a result of the affair Sukarno fell in love with the girl, made her his mistress and took her back to Indonesia with him. She was able to influence his decisions over a period of years and reported to the K.G.B. regularly. Earlier in her career this same girl had compromised a number of Americans.

Mrs. Vijayalakshmi Pandit was the Indian Ambassador to Moscow from 1947 to 1949, Ambassador to the U.S. from 1949 to 1951 and President of the U.N. General Assembly in 1954. The K.G.B. learned that, while in Moscow, Mrs. Pandit was having an illicit affair with the First Secretary of the Indian Embassy (Triloki Nath Kaul). Since she was very important and influential in the Indian Government the K.G.B. became very interested in Mr. Kaul. Through the K.G.B. efforts he became involved in a sex and love affair with Miss Okunevskaya, a K.G.B. agent, to such an extent that he was ready to give up his Indian citizenship, marry her and become a Soviet citizen. Because of his important connections, however, this was discouraged. In 1949 he showed up as First Secretary of the Indian Embassy in Washington, D.C., was Chairman of the International Committee of Supervision and Control in Vietnam in 1957-58 and from 1962

to 1966 was Indian Ambassador in Moscow. Although completely compromised by the K.G.B., he rose in position until in 1968 he became Secretary General of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Government of India.

Jacob Beam, now U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union, was our Ambassador in Warsaw, Poland, at the time of the sex and spy scandals there. He had been compromised by a Polish K.G.B. agent, now Mrs. Jerzy Michalowski (the wife of the Polish Ambassador to the U.S.), nee Myra Zandel, formerly Mrs. Ignace Zlotowski, alias Mrs. Stefan Arski.

Through a double agent, a high ranking member of Polish Intelligence who defected to the West, we learned the details of some of the activities at the U.S. Embassy in Warsaw. One diplomat after another had been compromised, including the security officer, the code clerk and most of the Marine Guard. It was also learned that a high ranking American diplomat had been a K.G.B. agent for 18 years. After the facts became known, the diplomat, Edward Symans, was retired (with a full pension).

The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee learned, while questioning a K.G.B. officer who had defected, that the wife of (the late) Ambassador Llewellyn Thompson, long time Ambassador to the U.S.S.R. (1955-62, 1967-69) and more recently a Nixon-appointed delegate to the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT), was having a "love affair" with a diplomat from the Finnish Embassy in Moscow. The hearings disclosed other cases of compromise by K.G.B. operatives which placed diplomats under K.G.B. control. Anabel Bucar (American), a code clerk in the American Embassy in Moscow, was seduced by an agent named Lapschin and subsequently defected to the Soviet Union. Undoubtedly she took with her the considerable confidential information available to a code clerk.

The K.G.B., operating on a far-sighted and long-range policy, compromises as many diplomats as possible in iron curtain countries but often does not demand cooperation until after they have been transferred to other posts where they can be more useful. In embassies where the K.G.B. has already penetrated, staff members newly placed under K.G.B. control are "kept on ice" until they are assigned to an embassy or consulate where there has not been K.G.B. penetration. Not all compromised individuals are required to commit specific acts of espionage or theft of documents; some are used for other purposes such as merely arranging introductions at social gatherings or dinner parties. Through these introductions the K.G.B. agents are able to follow up on individuals in whom they have an interest.

Presumably any derogatory information in personnel files of U.S. government employees would certainly be known to the special section of the K.G.B. which maintains data on Communists, front members, sympathizers, and prospective co-opted personnel. This information is made available to resident agents or operatives. It has been well documented that in less than 20 years over 1000 homosexuals have been uncovered and eased out of the State Department. How many remained or how many new ones have been brought in is unknown but new ones are being uncovered (usually through arrests made as a result of their homosexual activities or by having acted disgracefully in public). Each one of these individuals is of interest to the K.G.B. as a prospective victim of compromise to be co-opted.

There have been cases where the compromised individual would not yield to Soviet pressure. A French general who was a military attaché in the French Embassy in Moscow, upon learning that his wife had been promiscuous with a K.G.B. agent, committed suicide to avoid K.G.B. pressure and family disgrace. Five generals in Germany committed suicide at a time when it was be-

lieved the German security forces were closing in on them for their alleged cooperation with Soviet Intelligence.

Very little is done to counteract the K.G.B. program in this country. State Department security officers who endeavor to adhere to strict standards are removed from their jobs (Otto Otepka for example). The long promised house cleaning of the State Department has never materialized. When the F.B.I. submits cases of espionage to the Department of Justice, in more cases than not, the espionage agent is permitted to leave the country without prosecution because of "pending sensitive negotiations with the Soviet Union." Somehow defectors from the K.G.B. seem to have names and information concerning agents in other countries but not in the U.S. When Anatoly V. Kuznetsov, a popular Soviet writer who had maintained close contact with Soviet leaders, defected, he revealed that the K.G.B. has agents in the highest levels of most Western governments, including Great Britain and the U.S. A former high ranking intelligence officer who defected to the West advised Col. Guy Richards, former editor of the N.Y. Journal American, that Communist intelligence agents had penetrated every U.S. government agency except the F.B.I. and that diplomats have been compromised in embassies of every non-Communist country.

Unless and until strict security policies are put into effect, security risks removed and individuals with character defects or leftist sympathies are kept out of government service, the K.G.B. will be able to continue its worldwide operations with little interference. Regardless of statements made by Communist leaders, the Communist Parties of the entire world (including all members) are required to cooperate with the K.G.B., and most of their planning and activities are supervised by agents of the K.G.B.

WHAT FREEDOM MEANS TO ELMO CONEY

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Elmo Coney, of Indianapolis, Ind., has written a brief but eloquent tribute to what freedom means to him, and what he would like to see it mean to others. Freedom is not free—something we often forget. His article follows as it appeared in the North Side Topics, of Indianapolis, on February 16, 1972:

FREEDOM IS MANY THINGS, BUT NOT FREE:

ELMO CONEY

(By Elmo G. Coney)

(EDITOR'S NOTE: Born in Mississippi, graduated from high school in Magnolia, Mississippi, and from college in Alcorn, back in 1938 when the country was struggling out of a depression, Elmo Coney's personal struggles probably were many, but he used them as stepping stones toward a positive attitude and a life devoted to service, helping others to help themselves. He is Projects Coordinator of Citizens Forum, Inc., a "Better Neighbor Program" founded by his wife, Mattie. Here he has written his own impressions of what freedom is to him, what he would like to see it mean to others.)

Freedom is: Being born in a Country, with a Constitution and a Bill of Rights, that proposes that it be ruled by law rather than by man.

A Constitution that guarantees everyone the pursuit of happiness.

A Bill of Rights that says, we are all equal before the law.

We have the opportunity to choose the best and leave the worst; we can choose knowledge or ignorance; we can be a productive citizen or a parasite; religious or atheistic; optimistic or pessimistic; patriot or traitor.

Freedom is: exercised when citizens pray enough, work enough, learn enough and share enough to make this country a better place to live and a better place because of our having been here.

I have been busy doing and developing myself so intently that I have always thought of myself as being free.

In America everyone who is willing to pay the price and accept their Individual Responsibility as a good citizen is free. There is no such thing as something for nothing.

Wishing for freedom and wanting freedom, like success, are two different things. People who wish don't put forth as much effort as those who want. Those who want, work. Those who wish wait on luck.

All citizens are free to accept the available opportunities or create their own opportunities. If you can't get a job working for someone else work for yourself.

You are Free to find a Need and Serve it.

Our positive thinking citizens are free to compete with our negative thinking citizens to inspire our children to accept their individual Responsibility as productive American citizens in order to eliminate poverty, laziness and self-pity.

Crime, filth, or poverty cannot continue unless the community condones it. Freedom is when citizens act positively individually or collectively to solve their problems.

Citizens may become involved in different activities, of their own choosing, for pay or for life fulfillment.

All citizens may develop, use, and control his or her own mind. Freedom is not free. You have to work at it from the day you are born until the day you die.

Freedom is: Choosing to accept the responsibility of living an exemplary life or just doing what comes naturally.

Choosing to use ones youthful years to prepare oneself for a respectful future or an embarrassing future.

Choosing to develop health habits that will prolong good health or destroy it.

Choosing to develop an attractive personality or a repelling personality (to make friends or enemies).

Choosing to adopt high risk employment (high compensation); Moderate risk employment (controlled compensation); low risk employment (low pay).

Choosing to adopt employment or unemployment as way of life.

Choosing to be a skilled employee or an unskilled employee.

Choosing to be an employer or an employee.

Choosing to make things happen or let things happen.

Choosing to change the things I can change, accept the things I can't change, and know the difference between the two.

Freedom is: Being able to attend school and measure up or fall.

Being able to participate in extracurricular activities of my choice.

Being able to work before and after school, at home and for others.

Being able to participate in religious activities at home and at church.

Being able to participate in patriotic activities by choice.

Being able to make your contribution toward the perpetuation of Civilization.

Being able to develop my innate talents and personal initiative.

Being able to compare my life with others so that I may know the value of my experiences in a country such as ours.

Thank God for the laws of God and the laws of man that made all this possible.

PARMA'S FOUNDING FATHER OF ADULT EDUCATION, J. HERBERT DETRICK, RETIRES

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, in June the Parma school system will be losing to retirement a truly remarkable educator, J. Herbert Detrick, who will be completing 37 years in education.

It is impossible to estimate the impact for good this distinguished man has had on the lives of the many men and women who acquired new skills and new learning under his guidance. The Parma community is far richer for his selfless devotion.

A very fine article outlining Mr. Detrick's career appeared in the March 9 Parma Sun Post:

FOUNDING FATHER OF ADULT EDUCATION IN PARMA, J. HERBERT DETRICK, RETIRES

(By Frank Sopuch)

The founding father of adult education in the Parma School System will be leaving his desk in June after watching his program grow from one class with 15 students to 277 courses with more than 7,000 pupils.

J. Herbert Detrick, who came to the Parma schools in 1945 to direct an infant curriculum in industrial education, will retire after compiling 37 innovative years in the field of education.

Detrick began teaching school in DeGraff, Ohio, his hometown in Logan County, 11 years before he came to Parma to make his mark in the field of adult education.

After he had created a nationally-recognized industrial vocational program in the Parma Schools, Detrick was called upon in 1948 to teach a course in industrial arts to parents of Parma students.

That course, which included a unique variety of electronic, welding and machine shop skills, was the start of the Continuing Education Program in the Parma Schools.

"I like to describe our evening program as 'continuing education' instead of 'adult education' because the latter term tends to limit its scope," explained Detrick.

Enrollment certainly is not limited to adults as one glance at the curriculum will tell. Among the courses offered in the spring session, which began four weeks ago, are organ and guitar lessons, tie-dyeing and leather and vinyl crafts.

Other unique features of the evening school are the business and industrial career programs and the high school continuation curriculum, which enables students to achieve the equivalent of a high school degree.

Special certificates are awarded to persons who complete a sequence of courses designed to meet employment standards in the major subject areas of the business-commercial and technical-industrial divisions of the program.

Certifications are awarded for clerical typing, secretarial service, medical secretary, geriatric technician, office machines, PBX receptionist, key punch data processing, bookkeeping, machine shop, welding, offset printing, auto mechanics, electronics, refrigeration and air-conditioning and food services.

A new addition to the spring curriculum was a basic radio-television production workshop for persons interested in dramatics, broadcasting and audio-visual communications in business, industry and education.

A division for graduate study offers accredited courses from Kent State University for educators working on advanced degrees.

Vocational guidance and career counseling studies are also available.

Other divisions of the program provide "how-to-do-it" subjects for homemakers, craftsmen and artists.

A community service is provided by the Parma Board of Education for enrollment of senior citizens residing in the Parma School District for selected courses in the Continuing Education program at half the normal enrollment fee.

Looking to the future, Detrick has begun to lay the groundwork for educational and recreational programs that concentrate on family involvement such as camping, roller skating and party games. "People today have more spare time to invest in leisure activities," said Detrick.

Detrick observed that women's liberation movement has also had a tremendous effect on the need for more adult education. "Women are coming into the job market today after having raised a family," he explained. "They are unsure of their skills in today's complex world and need retraining, which we can provide for them through our career certificate programs."

But the development of the Continuing Education Program in the Parma School System will be left to Detrick's able successor Al Ferlan, the current coordinator of apprenticeship training under vocational education.

Ferlan will have a hard act to follow. Besides teaching, coordinating and directing educational programs over the past 37 years, Herb Detrick served as president of the Parma Education Association for the 1948-49 school year and initiated plans for the first single-salary schedule for the professional teaching staff in the Parma schools.

Detrick has also held numerous offices in local, state and national education associations. He founded the North Central Industrial Education Association serving the schools in the Greater Cleveland area.

When asked what he intended to do with his leisure time after retiring in June, Detrick replied with a smile, "I think I will take some night courses in real estate and small business management. I've spent more than 20 years creating and directing an adult education program but I've never utilized the program myself."

Detrick also plans an extensive auto tour of the United States with his wife.

THE LATE HOUSTON HARTE—A MAN OF GREAT TALENT AND ACHIEVEMENT

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, thousands of Texans, and many throughout the Nation, mourn the loss of Houston Harte of San Angelo, Tex., one of the country's top newspaper publishers. Beginning with a modest investment 52 years ago, his vision and enterprise enabled him to expand his investments into a network of daily publications in Texas. His purpose was to always give the public a high quality of responsible news coverage to which he felt they were entitled.

Newspaper business was only a part of Houston Harte's busy life. His influence for community progress was noteworthy, and his involvement in a variety of local projects and the imprint of his achievements will be felt by generations yet to come. At considerable personal cost he did much to preserve the history of the

area where he lived—the Fort Concho country. He sponsored and underwrote "The History of Fort Concho," written by J. Evetts Haley.

In addition, he was author of "In Our Image," which included richly illustrated character studies from the Old Testament, published in 1949 by Oxford University Press. This unique publication was widely acclaimed throughout the Nation.

Above all, Houston Harte was a patriot, fiercely devoted to the preservation of our heritage and our institutions. Whether dealing with the poorest man in town or the most affluent, he inspired and encouraged every citizen to make the best use of his talents and opportunities in the struggle for a better life and a more stable society.

In the field of philanthropy he left his mark. Among many contributions for worthy projects, 4 years ago he and Mrs. Harte made a \$350,000 gift to Angelo State University, and Houston Harte University Center has been named in his memory.

These are but a few of the many good things that could be said about the late Houston Harte. His ideals will live on and on, in the decades yet to come.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I include an editorial which appeared in the March 14 issue of the San Angelo Standard-Times, and an article which appeared in the March 15 issue of the same paper:

HOUSTON HARTE: HIS DEATH A LOSS TO ALL
The loss is incalculable.

There is no need to exaggerate the role Houston Harte played in Texas journalism, in the growth of San Angelo, in the prosperity of West Texas, in the progress of the state. He was a titan, a mover and shaker, the man on whom thousands relied to get things done with confidence that was never misplaced. He touched the lives of virtually everyone in the state during his 50 years in Texas journalism; the legacy he leaves will long survive him.

But it is as a journalist that Houston Harte should be best remembered, for he was a rarity—a man who founded an empire on newspapering, not one who bought into the profession as an outsider. Houston Harte was a newspaperman all his adult life, and a superb one. That he was also extraordinarily successful in business only complimented that central role.

It is rare, too, that a boss can win and hold the affection of his employees; rarer still that he can continually merit their complete respect. But that was true of Houston Harte; every Standard-Times employee feels a personal loss, a deep personal loss. And every journalist in the state, most in the nation, share in the sense of deprivation.

When Houston Harte came to San Angelo 52 years ago as the new editor and publisher of the Standard, he brought with him certain ideas about journalism—that a newspaper should lead, that it should report everything in its area of coverage without fear or favor, that it should relate all events to its own readers, that a newspaper must be truthful and fair to merit the public's support. He never lost sight of those ideals; he never allowed any Harte-Hanks staffer to lose sight of them, either.

Houston Harte insisted his newspaper be used as an instrument for the public good, for the advancement of the community and for protection of the people's right to know. He never allowed it to become a vehicle for self-aggrandizement. Many were the embryo Standard-Times staffers who thought to please the boss by inserting his name or his

picture into print, only to find out to their pain Houston Harte didn't play the game that way. His carpet was well-worn with the shufflings of those who at times had to attend a dressing-down—but never for reporting the truth, whoever it hurt, only for failing his own high standards of journalism.

San Angeliens of course know their debts to Houston Harte—although they'll never know all of them, because he preferred it that way. Suffice it to say San Angelo could never have become the city it is today without Houston Harte's enthusiastic and incredibly successful efforts. If a city can be any man's monument, this one is his.

His family and his religion occupied the first places in Mr. Harte's heart and mind but his next loves, and ones to which he devoted a major part of his time, were San Angelo and The Standard-Times. No local problem, individual or collective, was too small for his personal attention and he was a tireless civic leader, with many great accomplishments remaining as a tribute to his efforts.

Although he had a large interest in many fine newspapers. The Standard-Times was "his" and closest to his heart. The quality of the product of this newspaper was his main concern, and he left no stone unturned nor spared any expense to make it the outstanding prestige newspaper in West Texas. It had to be the best because it figuratively belongs to San Angelo and West Texas.

To his employees, Houston Harte will be remembered as their ideal of a newspaperman. He had had his fingers stained with ink, he had faced the irate citizen on the street corner, he had wrestled with the responsibilities of objective journalism at first-hand. He knew the problems; he knew the answers. And for five decades he trained by example thousands of other Texas journalists who now have extended his influence into virtually every newsroom in the state.

Mr. Harte is gone and we mourn for him. But his ideals and high standards will live for many years to come in Texas and Southwestern journalism.

SERVICE TODAY—FELLOW NEWSMEN TO HONOR HARTE

A large delegation of fellow newspapermen will be among those in San Angelo today for the 2 p.m. services for Houston Harte, 79, who died Monday in Shannon West Texas Memorial Hospital.

Harte, who came to San Angelo from Missouri in 1920 to purchase the San Angelo Standard, gained national prominence as a newspaperman. His organization grew from one small daily into Harte-Hanks Newspapers, Inc., which currently includes 19 newspapers in six states with a total circulation of more than 600,000. The firm also owns a television station.

Services will be in First Presbyterian Church and burial in Fairmont Cemetery, directed by Robert Massie Funeral Home. Officiants will be the Rev. Harold Odum, pastor, and Dr. B. O. Wood, pastor emeritus, of First Presbyterian Church.

U.S. Rep. O. C. Fisher will attend the services. Others whose names were available late Tuesday include Dorrance Roderick, publisher of the El Paso Times; Charlie Guy, editor and publisher of the Lubbock Avalanche-Journal; Wes Gallagher of New York, general manager of Associated Press; Jim Mangan, chief of the Dallas AP bureau; Bob Williams of First National Bank in Dallas, Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby, publisher of the Houston Post; Bill Hobby, executive editor of the Post, and Ed Hunter, managing editor of the Post and former managing editor of the San Angelo Standard-Times.

Also, Richard W. Wortham, president of Southland Paper Mills in Lufkin and Geoffrey Hutchings, executive vice president of Bowater Paper Co. in Atlanta, Ga.

Harte-Hanks Newspapers, Inc., officials planning to attend are Robert G. Marbut, president; Charles A. Wahlheim, vice presi-

dent, and Bruce B. Meadow, member of the board of directors and of the executive committee.

Publishers of Harte-Hanks newspapers attending will be Matte Sholey of the Greenville Herald-Banner, Paul Bailey of the Commerce Journal, Cleo Crittenden of the Denison Herald and Walter Bassano of the Paris News. Also, Robert Whipkey, retired publisher of the Big Spring Herald, and Mrs. A. G. "Pat" Mayse, widow of former publisher of the Paris News.

According to a spokesman for Robert Massie Funeral Home, a public address system has been set up in Wood Fellowship Hall at First Presbyterian Church and those who cannot find seats in the church sanctuary will be able to hear the services there.

Tuesday afternoon a San Angelo banker reported he had received telephone calls from people across the state wanting to do something in memory of Harte. He advised each to make contributions to the Angelo State University Foundation, which Mr. and Mrs. Harte established in 1968 with an arrangement to make gifts totaling \$250,000 to the university over a five-year period.

Pallbearers for today's services include John S. Cargile, Dr. Ralph Chase, Joe M. Mertz, Oron Lee Schuch, Dale L. Bates and Hunter Strain Jr.

The Standard-Times offices will be closed from 1:30-3:30 p.m. today and there will be only one edition of the Evening Standard-Times.

FULL CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, I think it is especially appropriate, in this election year, that Congress act to insure that every American's right to free expression of his political opinions is adequately protected. We have been requesting concerned American citizens to work through the political system; but at the same time, one anachronistic piece of legislation, the Hatch Act, has the effect of excluding millions of U.S. citizens from active political participation. Today I am cosponsoring legislation which would correct those provisions in the Hatch Act that infringe on the political freedom of Government employees.

The Hatch Act was originally intended, when it was first enacted back in 1939, to protect public employees from involuntary political activity, coercion, and abuse of office, and its provisions in these areas remain valuable. However, the effect of the act's blanket prohibition against active political participation has been to deny these workers their political rights. What my bill would do would be to eliminate from the present law this sweeping prohibition against political activity by Government employees. The only restriction on political activity to remain would be a prohibition on holding a salaried office in a partisan political club. Furthermore, this bill would empower the Civil Service Commission to take action against officials, including these appointed by the President—who are not currently subject to Civil Service Commission jurisdiction—that it finds guilty of unlawful coercion. Most important, however, for civil service employees, the

prohibition against soliciting political financial contributions is retained, so that these employees may not be made the subject of political extortion.

When the Hatch Act was first enacted, the extent of its coverage was by modern standards only minimal. Even when the Hatch Act was amended in 1940, to include State and local government employees working in programs receiving Federal funds, less than one-half million workers were subject to it. Now, after three decades of growing government responsibility, that number has expanded to more than 5 million employees. There are very few areas of modern society that are not affected or involved in some way with Federal programs or programs using Federal funds. And there seems every assurance that more and more Americans will come under the restrictive provisions of the Hatch Act simply by choosing to work for the Federal Government or a federally funded local project. In fact, Congress recently expanded the act even further to cover employees of private groups administering community action programs funded by the Federal Government through grants under the Economic Opportunity Act. Certainly it is ironic that those persons who are concerned enough about public affairs to choose to work for Federal and State programs are the ones that are excluded by this act from political activity.

In 1966, Congress created a Commission, known as the Hatch Act Commission, to study all Federal laws restricting political participation by Government employees. In its final report, in December 1967, the Commission noted the need for substantial reform of the present act, particularly in the areas of clarifying its vagueness and reducing its application to the fewest employees. As the Commission noted, most Government employees are so confused by the more than 3,000 specific prohibitions issued over the years by the executive branch and have so little idea what they are permitted to do that they tend to avoid taking part in any political activity at all. Congress has taken the initiative in recent years in expanding the opportunities for political activity through its civil rights legislation and the 18-year-old vote. Is it not about time that Congress restores to Government employees their right to free political expression and to act on the recommendations made by the Commission that it created?

The city of New York has more than 300,000 municipal employees. A great number receive some Federal contribution toward their salaries and are, under the existing law, "Hatched." This bill, if enacted, would restore full citizenship to them.

THE LATE HON. JAMES WILLIAM TRIMBLE

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 15, 1972

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, Jim Trimble was a rare man—honest, intel-

ligent, hard working, kind, and generous. Those qualities in any man are enough to set him apart and make his passing from life to death more significant than that of most. With his going, human kind has lost a rare civilized presence. Jim Trimble's presence added an intangible in every room he entered. He was a good man and his presence had a meaning of its own.

But the judge was more than a good man; rare as they are. He was an extraordinary public servant. For his beloved people in the Third District of Arkansas, he was a fine Representative in Congress—surely a better one than they knew—because he was always a leader of opinion. In a gentle, quiet, and very restrained way Jim Trimble was not only ahead of his people and his State, he was ahead of the majority in his country. Time and time again he would vote in the Rules Committee, where I sat beside him, for what he believed was good for his country's welfare, no matter how bad that vote was for his political future.

Few outside of Arkansas and the U.S. House of Representatives ever heard of Jim Trimble but I have served with only two or three Members in my time who have as wisely and courageously performed the duties of a U.S. Congressman; a Representative of all the people of the United States.

RESOLUTION OF MINNESOTA POLLUTION CONTROL AGENCY

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I have received a letter from Grant J. Merritt, executive director, Minnesota Pollution Control Agency, forwarding a copy of that agency's resolution relating to pending water pollution control legislation which I would like to share with my colleagues. Therefore, I insert the text of the letter and the text of the resolution at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

MINNESOTA POLLUTION

CONTROL AGENCY,

Minneapolis, Minn., March 16, 1972.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: The enclosed resolution supports the major points in the Dingell-Reuss-Saylor Clean Water Package which will be urged as an amendment to the Blatnik Bill.

I hope you will study the resolution carefully and support the Clean Water Package. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

GRANT J. MERRITT,
Executive Director.

Enclosure.

RESOLUTION OF THE MINNESOTA POLLUTION CONTROL AGENCY TO THE PRESIDENT, SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA—PASSED MONDAY MARCH 13, 1972

Be it resolved by the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency that any major legislation to amend the Federal Water Quality Act should contain the following provisions:

(1) A provision that gives the federal government the right to veto state permits is-

sued to individuals who discharge effluent in intrastate waters;

(2) A provision that allows individual states to set stronger pollution control standards than the minimum standards set by the federal government, especially in the areas of pollution from marine sanitation devices and pollution emanating from radioactive sources including atomic power plants;

(3) A provision that sets 1985 as the deadline for achieving no-discharge of pollutants to our nations waters. This should be more than a goal to be studied, it should be national policy;

(4) A provision that gives any citizen or group standing to sue to abate any pollution or to challenge any arbitrary and unfounded action of a pollution control agency;

(5) A provision requiring that the spirit and letter of the National Environmental Policy Act be followed and that all of the information required in environmental impact statements be obtained before the granting of any permit to discharge effluent into our waters.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S CURE IS WORSE THAN THE DISEASE

HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon has proposed legislation which will funnel billions of dollars into health insurance companies, ostensibly for the goal of providing improved health care for Americans. As Congress considers national health care legislation, it should be noted that the performances of health insurance companies under the medicare program have been erratic, inefficient, costly, and inconsistent with congressional intent. I cannot see how the health insurance legislation proposed by the President will be any different.

An article on the abuses of medicare appeared in the Detroit News of March 7, 1972. The article states that an audit presently being conducted by the Social Security Administration has uncovered evidence that "hundreds of millions" of medicare dollars have been misspent because of business inefficiencies and excess payments to doctors. No one really knows how high the final bill for these abuses will be, but we all know that the American taxpayer will have to pay it. With this point in mind, I urge my colleagues to read the following description of these abuses:

ABUSES OF MEDICARE CHARGED—UNITED STATES SAYS HEALTH INSURANCE FIRMS MISSPENT MILLIONS

WASHINGTON.—Health insurance companies, including Michigan Blue Shield, have misspent "hundreds of millions" of medicare dollars, federal auditors have found, because of business inefficiencies and excess payments to doctors.

Previously undisclosed audits by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) questioned practices ranging from the purchase of 2,100 monogrammed golf balls to payment of \$320 million to Florida doctors without assurance that the fees were reasonable.

Spokesmen for HEW's Social Security Administration and the insurance companies

said many of the deficiencies disclosed by the audits have been remedied. Some insurers also challenge portions of the findings, objecting to the HEW auditors' statistical projections of misspending from an analysis of sample payments.

John C. McCabe, president of Michigan Blue Shield, said there was no foundation to the HEW charges concerning medicare payments in Michigan.

"The only outstanding dispute between us and HEW is a disagreement on judgment on what constitutes reasonable charges concerning fees of physicians in connection with Medicare charges," McCabe said.

"Studies show that physician payments in Michigan are among the lowest in the nation with respect to Medicare.

"About a year and a half ago, Michigan Blue Shield and HEW exchanged views on this matter and we sent them a letter pointing out our position. We received no response to that letter and therefore assumed they did not contest it.

"To have agreed to the government position would have meant that medicare patients would have had to pay money out of their own pockets."

The claims of corrective action could not be verified. The audits run two years late, and the Social Security Administration won't open current files to newsmen.

A staff report of the Senate Finance Committee on the 38 Blue Shield plans, 15 commercial companies, and two independent insurers acting as medicare payment agents for doctor bills had this to say:

"Carrier performance under medicare has in the majority of instances been erratic, inefficient, costly and inconsistent with congressional intent . . . Unquestionably millions of dollars of public funds have gone to subsidize carrier inefficiency."

Thomas M. Tierney, who runs the medicare program for the government, had a different assessment.

"I think in the overall, the carriers and intermediaries have done an effective job in administering a very complex program," he said. "This is not to say there are not problems."

Insurance companies and Blue Cross and Blue Shield plans funnel government money to health institutions and doctors who treat medicare patients. They assume no risk, administrative expenses are paid in full and no profit is allowed.

The HEW audit findings, which will be aired this month at hearings by the Senate Anti-trust and Monopoly Subcommittee, are serving as ammunition for proponents of government-run health insurance.

President Nixon, among others, proposes to funnel billions of dollars into the carriers and an expanded, government-required and subsidized health insurance.

The federal auditors' most common complaint involved overcharges—failure by companies to limit physicians' payments to "reasonable, customary and usual fees," as defined by doctors themselves.

"Weaknesses in financial management" of Michigan Medical Service (Blue Shield, for example) resulted in \$1.2 million overpayments between March, 1969 and March, 1970, the audit said.

Misspending by Blue Shield plans in Arkansas, Florida and Iowa also was mentioned.

"No one can say for certain how much money has been overpaid as a result of the failure to apply statutory limitation on 'reasonable charges,'" the Senate Finance Committee staff report said. But it estimated the amount at "many hundreds of millions of dollars."

The Social Security Administration, under prodding from Congress, has recently removed some companies from the program or cut their medicare business.

Cleveland Blue Shield lost its contract. Thirteen counties in southern California

were taken away from California Blue Shield. Chicago Blue Shield lost six counties.

The auditors also spotted some expenses they said were charged improperly to medicare.

They included those golf balls, country club and social memberships, liquor, and leased cars at Virginia Blue Cross.

TIM LEE CARTER, CONGRESSMAN FROM KENTUCKY

HON. JOHN J. DUNCAN

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. DUNCAN. Mr. Speaker, I have read with great interest the following article from U.S. Medicine, March 15, 1972, by Reginald W. Rhem about my good friend and able colleague, the distinguished gentleman from the Commonwealth of Kentucky, TIM LEE CARTER.

Representing the people of Kentucky's Fifth Congressional District, Dr. CARTER has always been deeply concerned with the issues and problems that confront his constituents. Indeed, he is a true friend of the common people, and his years of service in this body have been characterized by devotion to his State and Nation.

Principle and honesty are TIM LEE CARTER's hallmark. His counsel is always precise and insightful and his leadership in the area of health and environmental legislation is well known here in Congress. The people of the Fifth District of Kentucky and those of us who are privileged to be his colleagues are, indeed, fortunate to have him serving in the U.S. House of Representatives.

It is with pleasure that I submit this article for your attention:

DR. CARTER TRUSTS COMMON PEOPLE

(By Reginald W. Rhem)

TOMPKINSVILLE, KY.—In July 1966, Dr. Tim Lee Carter made his second trip to South Vietnam. The Republican representative from Kentucky's fifth district had been chosen by Speaker of the House John W. McCormack—along with 13 other congressmen—to visit that country and report the progress of the war effort.

When they returned to Washington, the Speaker's committee was ushered into the White House. President Johnson asked each member if he thought U.S. forces should continue to fight there.

"They all said yes until he got to me," Dr. Carter recalls. "I told him, 'No—I'm against it.' I was the only one on the committee who felt we were losing the war."

The President talked for 30 minutes trying to convince him to change his position, Dr. Carter says. "But he didn't."

By August 28, 1967, the Kentucky Congressman could no longer hold his tongue. In an emotional speech before the House, he demanded "a drastic change of direction" in the Vietnam war. "Let us now, while we are yet strong, bring our men home, every man jack of them," he said.

Thus, Dr. Carter became the first member of the House to publicly declare his opposition to the war.

FORMER BULWARKS POSITION

Flying back to Kentucky after the speech, Dr. Carter was asked by an accompanying reporter if his stand wouldn't hurt him in his district. The congressman looked across the

aisle, saw a man he didn't know who appeared likely to be a constituent ("probably a farmer," he says) and suggested the newsmen ask him if the U.S. ought to stay in Vietnam. "The farmer told him, 'we've got no business being there,'" Dr. Carter recalls.

Coming out strongly against the war was "the most popular thing I ever did," he now says. "It was one time I learned I could trust the common people."

Trust in the "common people" of his district translates roughly into finding out how they stand on the issues and championing that stand. At least once a year, Dr. Carter's office sends out questionnaires to each voter in his district to poll their views on major issues. He rarely crosses them without good reason.

His constituents are highly patriotic in an old-fashioned sense, and Dr. Carter himself is described as "a flag waver." They are disturbed by "crime in the streets" and campus violence—although they see little of it here—and Dr. Carter has come out strongly as a "law and order" congressman.

To keep the pulse of his constituents, Dr. Carter also spends a great deal of time traveling the back roads of his widespread Kentucky territory. His field representative here, Doyle Ray Hammer, who runs a local print shop, says he himself drives 30,000 miles a year running over the district, and probably drives Dr. Carter's car an equal number of miles when the congressman comes down from Washington.

POLITICKING PAYS OFF

It pays off, Dr. Hammer says that a poll taken by a newsmagazine recently put Dr. Carter's recognition by the electorate "way high" compared to other congressmen. And in the last election, he adds, Dr. Carter's percentage was "the highest of any congressman in the United States."

Dr. Carter tries to keep to a minimum any views he may personally have that greatly differ from the majority of his constituents. One of the toughest issues he has had to face, in this tobacco state, is the health hazards of smoking. As a physician, and a congressman, he concedes the issue puts him "between a rock and a hard place."

"I've never said it was not harmful to smoke cigarettes," he will tell you, although he smokes himself. As a physician he cannot encourage his patients to smoke. "But I'm going to support my people's right to grow tobacco. They've got to live!"

QUESTIONS CANCER LINK

Anyway, he says he is not convinced anyone has "proved" cigarettes cause cancer. "At NIH, they've had rabbits, hamsters smoking tobacco for years. None have ever developed lung cancer. But rabbits and hamsters who have breathed in automobile fumes and were given virus, they got it right away."

Another issue he's uncomfortable discussing is Medicare. In 1965, Dr. Carter voted against Medicare. He ran for office originally with the pledge that he would "support conservation measures and increases in medical aid to aged and disabled under the Kerr-Mills bill." (That was a different program.)

Asked about his previous opposition to Medicare, he tells you: "Well, let's just say I supported Eldercare" (the American Medical Association's alternative to Medicare). "I still believe Eldercare was a better bill."

INFLUENCES LEGISLATION

As a member of the subcommittee on public health and environment of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, Dr. Carter has had many opportunities to influence medical legislation passing Congress. He has been a major supporter of the President's Special Action Office for Drug Abuse Prevention, of the Cancer Attack Program (originally as recommended by the Nixon administration, then the compromise version worked out by his subcommittee), a

Sudden Infant Death Syndrome bill, and—most recently—a Noise Control Act.

Now, he says, he believes that Medicare "works fairly well" as far as supplying medical benefits to the aged. "But it's made it hard for hospitals to get along," he says. This is because Medicare pays hospitals only for the exact cost of the patient's treatment, and does not help meet other hospital expenses—such as expansion—that formerly were added to patients' bills.

SEEKS LARGER PAYMENTS

"Medicare should pay hospitals more," Dr. Carter says. The Medicare fund has the money to do it now, he says. "They're lending their excess to the federal treasury." At the same time, he adds, we should "keep hospital costs down."

Dr. Carter likes to talk about medical—and educational—bills he has supported over the last eight years, particularly those that helped his district. He is especially proud of his role in getting 17 vocational schools constructed in 24 counties of his district, as well as "several new hospitals" and water purification systems.

"I don't think it's an accident Kentucky's mental retardation center was built at Somerset" (the largest town in his district), he says.

People in his district are aware of his efforts. Roscoe Kelly, PhD, president of Somerset Community College, says he is grateful to the congressman for his help in trying to get the National Institute of the National Commission on Marijuana and Drug Abuse, so is in good position to make his views felt. This stand, too, is widely supported by his constituents, who have consistently opposed legalizing even alcohol in his district.

On national health insurance, Dr. Carter says he wants to see that "those unable to pay" are helped by the federal government. Kentuckians interviewed in his district seem to back this position, but adamantly insist that able-bodied men should support their own families and pay their own bills. Dr. Carter, too, wants Americans to pay a good portion of their own.

Nor does he want "industry to fail" because of too heavy a load created by programs like the Nixon administration plan. "Marginal ones might fail," he says. "I'd like to see the government pay something in these cases." Otherwise, he likes the administration's proposal.

Dr. Carter also likes the AMA's Medi-credit plan, but thinks it ought to "consider adding regional health maintenance organizations." HMOs are "something that's coming in medicine," he adds. "I'd like to see these privately owned and privately financed, where possible."

LAW AND ORDER ADVOCATE

He is for strong "law and order" legislation. In 1969, he introduced a bill providing for investigative detention and search of persons suspected of involvement in federal crimes. (Lately, he has deleted provisions calling for "preventive detention" of suspected offenders.) Yet "crime in the streets" is not a problem in his rural Kentucky district, he says.

(It's more of a problem where he works. He recently was called out of a Washington restaurant—where he was attending a function with Sen. Hugh Scott (R., Pa.). "A man was shot out in front," Dr. Carter says. He didn't think anything of it at the time, since he's seen a lot of it as a general practitioner.)

And he is against foreign aid. In a House speech two years ago, he said: "I submit that the foreign aid policy during the past 15 years has not only been an abysmal failure, it has kept in power dictatorial potentates and has not served the common people of the area for which it is intended."

Yet he is in favor of President Nixon's trip to China. "We mishandled the Chinese prob-

lem for many, many years," he says. "They've continually tried to contact us diplomatically—to become friends."

MIDDLE-OF-THE ROAD

His views on international affairs are based on a firm conviction that "we shouldn't be sticking our noses in other people's business," a conviction repeatedly echoed in his district.

Ideologically, Dr. Carter describes himself as "right in the middle of the road." He says he believes "the government's budget should be financially sound" and asks: "That's not a conservative position, is it?"

Dr. Carver is "very patriotic, a real flag waver," says a fellow Republican who has known him for many years, C. Homer Nelkirk, a judge on the Kentucky Court of Appeals in Frankfort.

The 62-year-old physician-congressman is not ashamed to show his patriotism. In a recent House speech, he resurrected a half-mythical organization of American patriots, believed active between 1774 and 1784, called the "Order of the Rose."

Members swore: "I am determined to sacrifice estate, ease, health, applause, and even life itself to the sacred calls of my country." Their motto was: "Where Liberty is, there is my Country." Their symbol was an embroidered rose.

Dr. Carter himself wears a small embroidered rose on his lapel, and genially swears in—as members—friends and fellow congressmen "who stood up for the United States of America, and were willing to risk our lives in defense of the United States." (It's not difficult to join, or exclusive. He even presented a lapel badge to this reporter.)

Another congressman probably would be ridiculed for such ostentatious displays of patriotism, attacked for such strong stands against the war, or criticized for taking an ambivalent position on a major industry (tobacco). Another congressman running for his fifth term might be attacked merely for being in office eight years. Minority members of Congress usually have trouble pointing to solid achievements, since the opposition party has control of the legislative apparatus.

But Dr. Carter has never had difficulty getting reelected. Each year the margins get wider, in fact. Championing issues is only half the story; people here genuinely seem to know and like him.

"He's the milk of human kindness," says Judge Nelkirk, who ran unsuccessfully against Dr. Carter's predecessor in the 1962 primary race. And Dr. Carter is known because "he works at it." Judge Nelkirk explains that much of the incumbent's political strength stems from the fact that he "keeps personal contact with his constituents."

For example, in the recent redistricting of Kentucky's congressional districts, the fifth district got Madison County—the Richmond area. "He's not well known there," Judge Nelkirk says. "But you can bet he'll be there personally before long, visiting the different clubs. He'll get known."

Ors Gowens, the manager of a Somerset radio station (WTLO), expressed what many who know Dr. Carter often mention about him: "He has the ability for recognizing and giving attention to you as a person." A Somerset physician, Dr. Morris R. Holzclaw, confirms that "Dr. Carter's personality is the most striking thing about him."

Even his political opponents like him. Alonzo Carter (no relation to Dr. Carter), chairman of the Pulaski County Democratic Executive Committee, calls him "a grand person." He adds: "There's no chance of beating him this year."

Dr. Carter has been practically invulnerable since he first won his seat in 1964. Yet the congressman himself will tell you he ran only when he failed to convince his brother, James, and "some of my cousins" to run

for the vacant congressional seat. Dr. Carter won the primary election—against 14 other candidates—by a "handsome majority," his brother recalls.

"He was elected by less than 10,000 votes in the general election," says his brother, a Circuit Judge of the 29th Judicial District here in Tompkinsville. "But that was because of Johnson's landslide that year." Dr. Carter won each election since then handily, and ran with only "token opposition" last term, he says.

To no small degree, most people who know Dr. Carter say, his medical practice has been a big help in getting—and staying—in office. Doyle Ray Hammer, his field representative here, says "that's a great asset to a congressman, to be a doctor. So many things they do involve emotions." People listen when their physician tells them something, Mr. Hammer says. "Reassuring people is half the work."

"People come here with all sorts of problems—you get every problem in the world. Many are personal problems, and you've got to be sympathetic." Dr. Carter spends much of his time helping his constituents see the right federal agency, Mr. Hammer says.

Another plus is being a member of an old and respected Kentucky family. A press release by Dr. Carter's office when he ran in 1964 stressed the position of the Carters in the state's past.

"He and his family have long been prominent in Republican politics in Kentucky," it said. "There is a history of faithfulness to the Republican principles that the Carter family has always shown that is unsurpassed."

In fact, the Carter family has been active in this area for many years. Dr. Carter's great grandfather, Joseph Abcock Carter, was a member of the Old Mulkey Church, originally formed outside Tompkinsville by Philip Mulkey and other settlers from the Carolinas in 1773. (The Old Mulkey Meeting House is now a State Shrine.)

Dr. Carter's father, the late James C. Carter, Sr., served 36 years in the position James, Jr., now holds.

AN "A" STUDENT

His sister, Mrs. Stanley C. Pace of Burkesville, was Republican National Committee-woman from Kentucky for many years. President Eisenhower made her the first woman appointee to the U.S. Foreign Claims Commission; she served as chairman before she retired.

Another brother, Abe Carter, was sheriff, then county judge, and now the County attorney of Monroe County.

Judge Carter says his brother as a boy was "unlike me and Abe. Tim was an A student. He applied himself."

The future congressman at one point thought of making the Navy a career, and won an appointment to the U.S. Naval Academy in 1929. But, he says, "I decided I'd much rather save lives than take them."

Also, he says, "I couldn't stand being away from the green hills of Kentucky" for a life at sea. He left Annapolis after completing the first year. (One of Dr. Carter's nephews, however, is a graduate of Annapolis. Another nephew graduated from the U.S. Military Academy.)

He returned to Tompkinsville to teach school. While basketball coach at the high school here, his teams went to the state tournament all three years—in 1932, 1933, and 1934.

WAS COMBAT MEDIC

He received his A.B. degree from Western Kentucky State College in 1934, and earned his M.D. from the University of Tennessee College of Medicine in 1937. Dr. Carter then interned at the U.S. Marine Hospital and Chicago Maternity Center.

With the coming of World War II, Dr. Carter volunteered for military service and served 42 months as a combat medic, with the 38th Infantry Division. He received the

Combat Medical Badge and Bronze Star Medal.

Back in Tompkinsville after the war, Dr. Carter set out his shingle as a country doctor. "When I interned," he says "I had opportunities to work in Chicago. But I chose to be a country doctor. I went to Chicago Maternity Center to learn how to deliver babies."

It was a hectic practice, recalls his nephew, Dr. James E. Carter, who joined him in 1958 and now runs the clinic here that Dr. Carter operated for years with his late partner, Dr. Wendell F. Hurt. "He wouldn't refuse to see any patient any time. When he was here, Dr. Tim made house calls galore. If he couldn't see them then, he'd make sure he could see them later."

"My uncle was a perfectionist in the practice of medicine," Dr. Carter continues. "He hated to miss a diagnosis or make an error in treatment about as bad as any fellow I've seen. He's meticulous. He seldom erred in judgment." Dr. Carter pauses a moment. "I learned a lot from him."

In fact, the physician-congressman still sees some of his "old time patients" when he returns to Tompkinsville on weekends. "He feels he can do something for them," says his nephew. "He enjoys it because it keeps him in touch with medical practice. He's never home but he doesn't spend a little time in this office."

Except for fees from the patients he sees himself, the elder Dr. Carter takes no profits from the clinic.

Actually, one of the reasons Dr. Carter left his practice to run for Congress in 1964, according to his nephew, is because his practice as a country doctor was "killing him."

The younger Dr. Carter explains that his uncle "lost one of his kidneys—probably as a result of riding around in a bouncing jeep and not drinking enough water. He used a jeep to make house calls. He'd go as high as two days without taking his clothes off."

The congressman himself will concede that "I have no doubt I'd be dead if I kept in practice. In Washington, I can sleep at night." Then he says, "You know, it would be a great experiment to get into a health maintenance organization. . . ."

NEED FOR NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AGING

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. MINSHALL. Mr. Speaker, one of my distinguished constituents, Dr. Thaddeus Samorajski of Parma, Ohio, presented some most fascinating and compelling testimony last week when he appeared before the Subcommittee on Public Health and Environment during its hearings on aging research.

Dr. Samorajski, who is director of the laboratory of neurochemistry, department of mental hygiene and correction, State of Ohio, and an assistant professor of experimental neuropathology at Case Western Reserve University, spoke in support of the establishment of a National Institute of Aging. His remarks point up the fact that as Americans now lead longer lives, it is essential to anticipate and meet the problems and challenges inherent in an age group of 60 and over that will have grown from 5 million in 1900 to more than 35 million by 1980.

What this noted expert, who lectures widely both in this country and abroad, has to say on the subject of aging should have interest for a much wider audience than the subcommittee and I am pleased to share his testimony with readers of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

STATEMENT BY DR. T. SAMORAJSKI (VIEWS IN SUPPORT OF H.R. 12308, ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AGING, AND ALSO H.R. 188, ESTABLISHMENT OF NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF GERONTOLOGY)

NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF AGING

The topic of human aging includes vast and complex principles and practical social issues that are of vital importance not only to science but also to each individual and to society. There are a number of scientists with different interests and skills that are conducting basic and applied research on human aging. In view of this diversity and complexity, the aims of this report are to present some current views that are shared by many scientists concerning the great urgency of social support to insure future progress in the field of Gerontology. The 3 main issues that confront gerontology as a socially responsive scientific enterprise can be stated most briefly as follows:

A. Discover basic principles of human aging that may also serve as useful guides for the solution of personal and social problems.

B. Justify the support requested and received from the public for basic and applied research on human aging.

C. Outline the needs expressed by many scientists for a separate Institute of Aging responsible for coordinated planning of research and for the allocation of scientific manpower and resources.

Although scientists from different disciplines may not agree about all details of implementation, there is considerable agreement concerning fundamental social and scientific objectives. These can be listed as specific points under each of the 3 main issues.

A. Basic principles of human aging

1. Universality of aging. All scientists agree that aging represents one of the most universal and inevitable problems of man. To date, aging represents one of the major unsolved scientific enigmas or riddles. With advancing age, memory dims, the senses become less acute, motor skills decrease, the hair turns gray, the skin wrinkles, bones become brittle and vigor and vitality decline and ebb away with age. What specific changes in molecules, cells and the body occur during aging? What causes these changes? Can these changes be modified or significantly delayed?

2. Definitions of aging. Two of the most prominent long term changes of aging include the progressive decline in many body functions and the increasing probability of death. Since these two features occur in everyone, aging has been defined by scientists as a "universal, progressive, intrinsic and deleterious decline which occurs with the passage of time after reproductive maturity".

3. Increasing size of the aging population in the U.S.A. The increasing scientific and medical knowledge on the causes of many diseases and their prevention or control have resulted in a continuously increasing proportion of people over 60 years of age. In the U.S., the number of people 60 years old and over will have increased from 5 million in 1900 to 35 million by 1980. This increasing number generates many as yet unsolved psychological, social, economic, political and medical problems.

4. Role of heredity, nutrition, physical fitness and social factors in aging. Although the "maximum" life span of man is determined by heredity, such factors as nutrition, physical fitness, occupation, social roles, popula-

tion density, climate and many other controllable factors can influence the rate of aging and the psychological and physical fitness during senescence.

5. Personal and social consequences of aging. Depending upon many factors that remain to be discovered, individuals can age "gracefully" or pose many problems to themselves, the family and to society. As yet, little is known about personal and social factors that result in normal aging and fulfillment of personal goals in some individuals, and in frustration, maladjustment and increasing withdrawal and social isolation in others.

6. Aging and the onset, incidence, and distribution of different types of diseases. At the present time, most scientists do not consider aging to be a disease but an orderly extension of an overall developmental life span program. But many older individuals must ultimately face the prospects of death due to complications produced by many diseases that have only minor consequences for younger members of the population. This has led some members of society to believe that aging represents the 100 percent fatal disease that ultimately overtakes everyone.

B. Justification of support requested from society for basic and applied research on aging

1. Scientific progress on causes of aging. How much do scientists know about the causes of aging? Quite frankly, so far, relative to early growth and development, very little. The sources of knowledge on aging are still mostly common sense, intuition, and a great deal of speculation. Scientific research on the causes of human aging is still in a very primitive state.

2. Improvement in life span and in mental and physical health of senior citizens due to scientific progress. Despite the great advancements made in recent years by science and medicine in the reduction of infant mortality and the diseases of youth and middle age, relatively little has been done for the population 60 years or greater. In 1900, people 65 years of age could expect to live, on the average about 12 more years. Now in 1972, they can expect to live another 14 years, a very modest increase of only 2 years. This figure represents not only the complexity of the human aging problem, but also a lack of effort on the part of the scientific community and the need for a new initiative if major changes are to be achieved in facilitating man's effort to add "life to years and years to life".

3. Urgent need for life span studies of human aging. Due to the long life span of man, there has been a separation of aging from development in scientific research. Development in man takes many years and requires public education as preparation for a productive and useful life. Due to lack of information, there are at the present time no comparable training, public education or counseling programs to help individuals adjust to retirement and other aspects of aging. Public opinions, attitudes and many laws are based on tradition, convenience, economy and other untested assumptions rather than on substantiated scientific principles of aging.

4. Individual and social responsibility for support of research on aging. At the present time, support for life span longitudinal studies of man is urgently needed since development and aging are only two different aspects of the total life span of man. Many of the changes that occur with advancing age have their causes in antecedent conditions that occurred much earlier in life.

C. Role of a separate Institute of Aging in the future progress of Gerontology

1. Gerontology as a social and biological science. As an interdisciplinary science, Gerontology includes biology, biochemistry, physiology, psychology, sociology and ecology. Basic research in these areas is focused on fundamental principles of human aging. Ap-

plied research deals with the application of these principles to the solution of personal and social problems of senior citizens. Both types of research need urgent support since they are major sources of more reliable knowledge about aging.

2. Scope of personal, social, medical and geriatric problems of senior citizens in the U.S. Numerous surveys conducted in various cities around the country have indicated the disturbing fact that the services for older persons are fragmented into many conflicting or overlapping agencies and institutions. Most researchers agree that there should be in each community and level of government a more unified and coordinated approach to the problems of senior citizens. But the assignment of priorities requires a better understanding of the needs and problems of older persons.

3. Diversity of basic and applied research on human aging. Today, studies of aging are being conducted in some universities, medical schools, hospitals, government laboratories and some research institutions across the country. However, while many of these basic research studies on nutrition, cell metabolism, biochemistry, physiology, psychology all touch on some aspects of aging, they do not directly attack the questions of the fundamental causes of aging and their modification or improvement based on scientific knowledge. This could best be accomplished through a separate Institute of Aging with responsibility for the coordinated planning of research and the allocation of resources to fundamental problems of aging that may be ignored for various reasons by many scientists.

4. Advantages to society and science of coordinated planning within a National Institute of Aging. Gradually, the public is

recognizing the importance of the problems of aging. With increasing public interest, more support may be allocated to research on human aging and more of the nation's scientists will take up the research challenge. A separate Institute of Aging can provide the leadership for the great scientific and social challenges that must be met in the field of Gerontology. By its very existence, identity, and visibility it can help focus social and scientific problems and their most effective solutions.

5. Public attitudes, interest and support. Until recently, the public and most scientists considered problems of aging as a pursuit of the mystic elixir or fountain of perpetual youth. In the past decade, interest and support have changed. Research on cancer and on aging have not only become acceptable but vital since they appear as inevitable consequences in a population with increasing proportions of older individuals.

6. Scientific attitudes, interest and support for a separate Institute of Aging. In contrast to many scientific problems in other areas, the study of human aging is much more complex since it represents the summation of long term psychological, physiological, biochemical and morphological changes which are subject to considerable environmental and social modification. A separate Institute of Aging can participate in the identification of major problem areas that make many investigations in a particular area particularly difficult or challenging. All scientists agree that the application of the highest professional and scientific talents and major resources are required for the solution of problems in human aging and that the commitment of these talents and resources would ultimately be fully justified by the future progress.

7. Summary. There are many theories about the causes of human aging. They focus either on genetic or environmental factors as determinants of aging. Scientists are currently studying the effects of genetics, radiation, nutrition, hormones, exercise and many other factors on the aging process. Scientists working on these problems agree that the establishment of a National Institute of Aging can provide the critical momentum for the stepped-up attack on the important personal and social problems of human aging. Such an institute can lead not only in providing understanding of the causes of aging but also help solve consequences of aging which now constitute one of the most important public health problems in modern societies.

PRESIDENT NIXON IS KEEPING HIS WORD

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 20, 1972

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, last week the President of the United States withdrew an additional 5,900 soldiers from Vietnam.

On January 20, 1969, there were 532,500 Americans enduring the perils of an Asian war. Today, there are 108,600 Americans in Vietnam who are planning to come home.

Mr. Speaker, President Nixon is keeping his word.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Tuesday, March 21, 1972

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Reverend A. Dickerson Salmon, Jr., rector of All Saints' Episcopal Church, Frederick, Md., offered the following prayer:

O God our ever-present Father, help us to recognize that Your purposes stretch beyond the horizon of our vision; that Your demands confront our selfish desires and our limited wills; that Your compassion overflows the utmost love in all our hearts.

Help us to know only what is Your will, and to ask only for Your strength to obey it. Keep us from all ignorance, prejudice, bitterness, strife, and fear.

Fill us with faith and hope in Your promises, with courage and compassion for the needs of Your people, our constituents.

Enable us both to pursue faithfully the work we have been given to do this day, and to experience Your peace which passes all understanding. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Without objection, the Journal stands approved.

There was no objection.

REV. A. DICKERSON SALMON, JR.

(Mr. BYRON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 min-

ute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the membership of this House, I would like to express my deep appreciation to the Reverend A. Dickerson Salmon of the All Saints' Parish in Frederick, for offering the prayer today in the House of Representatives.

Reverend Salmon began his career in the ministry in New York and in 1963 he came to Brunswick, Md., to serve with the Grace Episcopal Church. He also served on the board of Claggett Diocesan Center. In 1970 he assumed his present position and is also currently serving on the diocesan committee.

In addition to his religious activities, he is involved in other public and community services and is a member of the Rotary Club and the board of directors of Goodwill Industries.

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased that Reverend Salmon consented to be with us today, and I am sure that all who heard him were most impressed with his sincerity, and I only hope that he will be able to visit us again sometime in the near future.

CHANGE IN LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

(Mr. BOGGS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to announce a change in the legislative program for this week.

We are postponing consideration of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act (H.R. 11896), originally scheduled for tomorrow, until next week. In its place on tomorrow we will consider H.R. 13592, the National Sickle Cell Anemia Act which received a rule today.

As previously announced, we will consider the conference report on S. 18, Radio Free Europe, tomorrow, and we will consider the legislative appropriation bill on Thursday.

RECORD JUMP FOUND IN HOUSING STARTS

(Mr. CONABLE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. CONABLE. Mr. Speaker, economic indicators are improving on a wide front and one of the most encouraging is the record jump found in housing starts during the past 3 months.

The latest Department of Commerce report on housing starts indicates an increase of 8.4 percent for February. This figure when added to a January increase of 0.6 percent and a December increase of 10.3 percent indicates the tremendous strength displayed in this sector of the economy. More specifically, housing starts climbed to a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 2,678,000. All 3 months have been well ahead of the 1,793,000 rate a year earlier. The sharpest increases in last month's starts