

April 17, 1973

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

12821

By Mrs. BOGGS:

H.R. 7128. A bill for the relief of Rita Petermann Brown; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. GUBSER:

H.R. 7129. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Ruth G. Palmer; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

MAIN STREET, U.S.A.

HON. HAROLD V. FROELICH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. FROELICH. Mr. Speaker I insert into the RECORD an article which has appeared in the nationally syndicated column "Main Street, U.S.A.," by Bert Mills.

His article focuses on the city of DePere, Wis., and the outstanding voting record that it has maintained over the past 20 years.

In recognition of their outstanding achievement, Senator NELSON and I have introduced a concurrent resolution before Congress to designate DePere as "America's Votingest Small City." I insert this article as a testimonial to DePere and urge by colleagues to support this resolution:

[From the West Branch (Mich.) Ogemaw County Herald, Apr. 12, 1973]

MAIN STREET, U.S.A.

(By Bert Mills)

WASHINGTON, D.C.—DePere, Wisconsin, where at least 95 percent of registered voters cast their ballot in Presidential elections, claims to be "America's Votingest Small City" and all 11 members of Congress from Wisconsin have joined in co-sponsoring a Joint Resolution to so designate DePere.

Actually, DePere's voting record in 1972 was 98.05 percent. There were 6,479 registered and 6,353 did vote. That was not a record for DePere. Twice before in the past 20 years, DePere has topped the 99 percent mark. Its worst record in six elections has been 95.9 percent, back in 1956.

These records, if such they be, did not just happen. Since 1952, DePere has had a goal of a 100 percent turnout of registered voters in Presidential elections. The quadrennial crusade is directed by a 100 Percent Vote Committee which has the assistance of four service clubs, the city government, local media, schools, churches, and the business community.

The committee obtained lists of all registered voters. The Kiwanis took one ward, the Lions another, Rotary a third, and the Optimists the other. Every registered voter was telephoned. Those away from home, at school or in the service, were contacted and sent absentee ballots.

Disabled and elderly citizens unable to make it to the polls, even with a free ride, also received an absentee ballot.

YOUTHS DID VOTE 100%

1972 was the first national election in which most under-21 youths were eligible to vote. DePere made sure they did, and chalked up a 100 percent record in that age bracket. The few defections were among their elders, some with valid excuses such as a broken arm, the flu, or a newborn baby.

DePere is not some isolated community out in the boondocks which happens to be hipped on voting. It is a close-in suburb of Green Bay, Wisconsin. Like many suburban communities, it has enjoyed a phenomenal growth. In 1940, its population was 6,373. By 1970, it had more than doubled to 13,309.

DePere boasts a college, St. Norbert, which makes the sports pages regularly each summer because the Green Bay Packers hold their pre-season practices there. DePere is also the home town of Miss America, Terry Anne Meeuwsen. She is the brown-eyed beauty who sang "He Touched Me" for a national TV audience last fall, and will earn \$125,000 as a result before her year ends next September.

DePere was discovered by a French explorer in 1671 and was named "Rapides des Peres," meaning "Rapids of the Fathers." Over the years the name was simplified to DePere.

FRESHMAN BOOSTS COMMUNITY

DePere is represented in Congress by a freshman Republican, Harold V. Froehlich, from Appleton, Wisconsin. He is a 40-year-old attorney, certified public accountant, and real estate broker. He served 10 years in the Wisconsin legislature and was Assembly leader when elected to Congress last November.

Froehlich is confident DePere is "America's Votingest Small City" and he hopes Congress will make it official by adopting H. Con. Res. 162, or S. Con. Res. 17, the Senate counterpart. He realizes the title will last only until the next election in 1976, when DePere will have to earn it all over again.

However, the Congressman has made a public pledge that if any comparable small city can beat DePere, he will co-sponsor another resolution to transfer the crown to the winning city. He doubts that will be necessary. He also appears confident he will still be in Congress four years hence.

OPPOSITION TO "NO FAULT" INSURANCE

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, on behalf of the junior Senator from South Carolina (Mr. HOLLINGS) and myself, I bring to the attention of the Senate a concurrent resolution passed by the South Carolina general assembly.

On March 30, 1973, the South Carolina general assembly passed a concurrent resolution memorializing the Congress to desist from enacting legislation relating to "No-Fault" Insurance. Senator HOLLINGS and I jointly endorse this concurrent resolution.

Mr. President, on behalf of Senator HOLLINGS and myself I ask unanimous consent that the concurrent resolution be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

A CONCURRENT RESOLUTION MEMORIALIZING THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO DESIST FROM ENACTING LEGISLATION RELATING TO "NO-FAULT" INSURANCE

Whereas, the United States is comprised of a union of sovereign states to which powers not delegated by the Constitution of the United States are reserved; and

Whereas, historically, matters governing

the insurance industry have been dealt with by the states; and

Whereas, state control of insurance matters has proven beneficial as appropriate measures have been enacted to provide for conditions peculiar to local circumstances; and

Whereas, in recent times much attention has been given to various "no-fault" schemes to replace automobile liability coverage now available in many states and in this State; and

Whereas, in determining if South Carolina should require such "no-fault" insurance, it would seem best that such determination and the particulars related thereto would most properly be left to this General Assembly and all other State Legislatures.

Now, therefore, be it resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring:

That this General Assembly does hereby memorialize the Congress of the United States to desist from enacting "no-fault" insurance legislation thereby preserving the power of the States to supervise insurance activities.

AMERICA'S FUTURE LIES IN THE HANDS OF YOUNG FARMERS

HON. GENE TAYLOR

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. TAYLOR of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the future of America lies in the hands of the young farmer of today. If we are to maintain our high standard of living, which includes food in abundance at an equitable price, our young farmers must be encouraged to stay on the land and not forced to seek a better life elsewhere.

We cannot encourage a food boycott, and then expect to have food readily available when we want it. We cannot afford to support inflationary measures on one hand, while denying the farmer the right to an equal share of the free marketplace on the other.

Instead of condemning the farmers for the high cost of living we should commend them for providing so much, for so many, at the lowest cost of any nation in the world.

To that end I offer the following letter from Jim Powell, Secretary of the Carthage, Mo., Young Farmers Association:

CARTHAGE YOUNG FARMER'S ASSOCIATION,
Reeds, Mo., April 14, 1973.
Congressman GENE TAYLOR,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

CONGRESSMAN TAYLOR: At the last regular meeting of the Carthage Young Farmers Association, a lengthy discussion was held about the recent meat boycott and the future of the farmer in our economic system. This meeting was attended by over sixty young farmers and their wives.

The group voted unanimously for the secretary to write you expressing some of the major points brought forth in our discussion.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

I. MEAT BOYCOTT

We know that the American consumer today spends a lower percentage of his income on food than any other people in the world. Much of the increase in prices of food is due to ready-to-serve, precooked, or other services performed on foods. We also know that one-third of the grocery bill today is made up of non-food items. The consumer is more conscious of food prices because food is purchased weekly rather than on a yearly basis. We do not feel a meat boycott will reduce meat prices. The increased demand for red meat has boosted meat prices during a short period, in contrast to the gradual increase of wages and other consumer costs over a long period of time, thereby making meat prices a front page issue with the farmer as the villain. We know this does not present the true picture.

II. FUTURE OF THE FARMER

The continuing increase in the prices of farm inputs such as machinery, equipment, feedstuffs, farm labor, and interest is the major concern of this group. We know the farmers' operation has become bigger and more efficient each year, but this increase has just kept pace with inflation and rising input costs. Only recently have farm prices increased and for the first time in many years the farmer is being paid a fair price for producing his product. We as young farmers are more concerned about the future of the farmer because we are not as financially stable as older farmers. High interest and rising input costs have caused many of us to wonder how long we can continue to operate.

III. FUTURE OF AGRICULTURE

We do not want agriculture to fall into the hands of large corporations or be controlled by the federal government. We also want the American consumer to continue to be the best fed person in the world at the most reasonable cost. The recent floods over our nation, the late planting season, and the decreased planting intentions of feed grains and soybeans could develop into a real food shortage and even higher food prices.

We hope you will understand the farm side of the meat boycott and realize our concern for the future of the farmer in our economy. We would welcome the opportunity for you to meet and talk with us about agriculture at any time.

Sincerely yours,

JIM POWELL, Secretary.

THE CARPENTERS ARE HURTING IN THE NEW ECONOMY

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, too often we in Congress have focused our criticism of the President's impoundment policies all too narrowly and have overlooked the peripheral effects of his actions. As I noted at the time I introduced my legislation to require congressional approval of the President's impoundment of appropriated funds, such actions have very seriously hurt the housing industry and its attempts to meet our future needs.

Recently, I have learned how the freezing of funds for the Federal Government's public housing program has begun to affect the economy of the San Francisco Bay area in my State of California. In an article of March 4, 1973, ap-

pearing in the San Francisco Examiner, it is estimated that the President's discontinuation of funding for these programs will result in the loss of \$355 million over the next 12 months in the Bay area economy. Unemployment among members of the carpenters union, accounting for approximately half the total building trade workers in the Bay area, is already running nearly twice the normal seasonal rate.

Local 36 in Oakland, with 2,200 working members, has 510 men out of work; Local 1622 in Hayward, 2,400 members, 434 out of work; Local 162 in San Mateo, 800 members, 140 out of work; Local 2114 in Napa, 450 members, 128 out of work; Local 316 in San Jose, 2,800 members, 600 out of work; Local 751 in Santa Rosa, 900 members, 199 out of work.

Mr. Speaker, Congress must act responsibly to provide for those who are facing financial hardship and loss of jobs due to the President's actions. I am including the full text of this article in the RECORD, in order that the other Members of Congress may be fully aware of these hardships when we consider legislation to control the impoundment powers of the President.

[From the San Francisco Examiner, Mar. 4, 1973]

THE CARPENTERS ARE HURTING IN THE NEW ECONOMY

(By L. G. Maatz)

The effect of the Federal Government's moratorium on subsidized housing will ultimately be noted on graphs and charts, but its effect in human terms is being felt now—in jobs.

In dollar terms, the loss to the Bay Area economy over the next twelve months will be over \$355 million. That, according to Clive Knowles of the State Council of Carpenters, will represent the loss of federally subsidized low and middle income housing, public housing, college housing, open space grants and basic water and sewer grants.

PIPELINE DRY

When those twelve months are up, the so-called "pipeline" of applications for federally subsidized housing and other programs will have run dry. The pipeline consists of applicants which had been approved by the Department of Housing and Urban Development prior to January 6 of this year, when Secretary Romney announced the freeze.

But the immediate issue is jobs. And the evidence of the cutback is already evident in local hiring halls. Unemployment among members of the Carpenters Union—which accounts for approximately half the total building trades workers in the Bay Area—is already running nearly twice the normal seasonal rate.

Some areas have been hit harder than others, San Francisco being somewhat better off than most. Carpenter Locals 22 and 483 here report 77 and 191 men on their "out of work lists," not too far off the normal ten percent unemployment figure for this time of year.

HIGH RISES HELP HERE

The emphasis on office and high-rise construction, as opposed to residential, is responsible in large part for The City's good fortune. But in the suburbs, where residential construction is the key, the picture is less favorable.

Local 36 in Oakland, with 2,200 working members, reports 510 men out of work; Local 1622 in Hayward, with 2,400 members, 434 out of work; Local 162 in San Mateo, 800 members, 140 out of work; Local 2114 in Napa, 450 members, 128 out of work; Local 751 in Santa Rosa, 900 members, 199 out of

work; Local 316 in San Jose, 2,800 members, 600 out of work.

A slight increase in construction is expected in the spring, according to Al Thoman, Business agent of Oakland's Local 36. "But the future looks grim," he said. "What with the enormous increases in lumber prices, coupled with the cost of private money, the new guidelines and requirements called for in the preparation of Environmental Impact Statements and the No-Growth movements around The Bay, the moratorium capped it up."

FEWER STARTS

Bill Leonard, of the Associated Home Builders, predicts fewer than 40,000 housing starts this year for the nine Bay Area Counties, well down from the 60,000 the past year. "And we estimate," Leonard says, "that each one of those starts represents about one and one quarter full time jobs. Add to that a few side effects—like the fact that 20 percent of the teamsters locally are supported by transporting building materials either to or within the Bay Area—and you get some idea of the disaster we're looking at."

It is difficult to estimate the overall impact of expensive money. No-Growth movements and other factors, but the effect of the moratorium can be more closely predicted, according to Knowles. Californians Against The Housing Moratorium, a lobby spearheaded by The State Council of Carpenters, which Knowles had an active hand in forming, has prepared an impact study of the moratorium on the nine Bay Area counties.

Based on U.S. Department of Labor studies which estimate that there are 146 man-hours per \$1,000 of construction cost—58 hours of on-site employment and 88 hours of off-site employment—the study gives an estimated loss in employment of 26,557 man-years due to the moratorium. Put a bit differently, that is 45,991,158 man-hours.

Not all of that loss would directly affect The Bay Area of course, as a good portion of it would be spread over to other areas in the form of transportation workers, factory labor and raw material development, but the impact on the local labor scene is clear.

MIGHT LIFT EARLY

U.S. Senator Alan Cranston has indicated that there is some possibility that the moratorium might be lifted earlier than year and a half as first announced. The California Democrat quoted James T. Lyman, HUD secretary-designate, as saying that it would take "about six months" to appraise the various programs and determine which ones should be continued, modified or eliminated. But that is still nothing more than a possibility, and the 18-month period still stands officially.

And, according to Knowles, it takes HUD a year or more to get building applications processed through to the construction stage, so an early reversal of the freeze would still take many months to regain the lost ground in construction, and, consequently, jobs.

And jobs are what the union people are concerned with, not studies and appraisals. And there is no denying that the jobs are getting fewer.

"Unemployment checks are running out," says Local 36's Thoman, "and it's the welfare lines that will be forming next."

THE ROBERTO CLEMENTE SPORTS CITY ACT OF 1973

HON. HERMAN BADILLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, on New Year's Day of this year the world was stunned and saddened to learn of the

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untimely death of baseball star Roberto Clemente. Ironically, the news of the plane crash in which he died brought to light a side of Clemente that much of the American public had not known before—that of a compassionate human being anxious to be personally involved in delivering relief supplies to the earthquake victims of Managua, Nicaragua.

Although he himself was born into reasonably comfortable circumstances, Roberto Clemente was deeply concerned about the conditions of poverty faced by many Puerto Rican youths, and as much as 2 years ago he was dreaming of building a "Sports City" in Puerto Rico to provide training and opportunities for youngsters who might otherwise be relegated to the streets. As he had commented shortly after the conclusion of the 1971 World Series:

They spend millions of dollars for dope control in Puerto Rico, but they attack the problem after the problem is there. Why don't they attack it before it starts? You try to get kids so they don't become dope addicts, and it would help to get them interested in sports and give them somewhere to learn to play them.

I am pleased today to introduce a bill, coauthored by the gentleman from Puerto Rico, Mr. BENITEZ, and myself, a bill which would serve to fulfill Clemente's dream by providing Federal assistance to the Roberto Clemente Memorial Foundation to enable the foundation to construct a youth recreational center in Puerto Rico. Joining us in cosponsoring the Roberto Clemente Sports City Act of 1973 are our following colleagues: Mr. MOAKLEY of Massachusetts; Mr. SAR-BANES of Maryland; Mr. MITCHELL of Maryland; Mr. LEGGETT of California; Mr. RANGEL of New York; Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania; Mr. DELLUMS of California; Mr. MEEDS of Washington; Mrs. CHISHOLM of New York; Mr. BINGHAM of New York; Mr. MADDEN of Indiana; Mr. BURTON of California; Mr. ROSENTHAL of New York; Mr. ROZ of New Jersey; Mr. BRASCO of New York, and Mr. DE LUGO of the Virgin Islands. Our bill would authorize a Federal grant of \$2.5 million for the sports city project, make the foundation eligible to receive Federal surplus property and equipment, and direct appropriate Federal departments and agencies to provide technical assistance.

It is our feeling that no more fitting memorial could be found to honor the memory of a man who was not only a legendary sports figure, but a hero to the youth of his country as well. The ideals which Roberto Clemente's life symbolized can be appreciated by all of us, and especially at a time in history when the problems of youth have come so much to the forefront.

CANADA STUDIES PIPELINE EXTENSIVELY

HON. LES ASPIN OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, it is not widely known that a great deal of en-

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vironmental research on a Canadian pipeline is already underway. In fact, 119 specific environmental and social studies of a pipeline through Canada are currently being conducted.

While additional environmental research is needed, clearly a great deal of groundwork has already been done. There is no doubt in my mind that as evidence accumulates, more and more Members of Congress will become convinced that the Canadian alternative is the best solution to supplying the oil needs of the United States, particularly the East and Midwest.

As many of my colleagues may know, Canada's Energy Minister has offered to provide Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton with all preliminary engineering and environmental studies of the pipeline. I am calling today upon Mr. Morton to accept Energy Minister MacDonald's offer and begin cooperative environmental studies. Since many leaders of Congress have endorsed the Canadian alternative, it is high time for Mr. Morton to examine this route.

While the environmental evidence against the trans-Alaska pipeline is incredibly overwhelming, it is not widely known that a great deal of positive environmental research has already been done on the Canadian route. The 119 studies are part of a \$15 million, 3-year examination undertaken by Canada's Department of Energy, Mines and Resources to investigate the costs and benefits of pipeline development, particularly in the Mackenzie Valley region. Now that the pipeline issue is coming to a head, the results of 54 of the studies being completed by July will be important factors in any decision Congress makes. Thirty-nine reports, including studies of marine resources, landuse, permafrost, wildlife and the geology of the Mackenzie Valley have already been completed.

The vast majority of the studies are being prepared under the auspices of Canada's Energy, Mines and Resources Ministry as well as the Department of Northern Development and Indian Affairs and Department of the Environment. In addition, 22 studies are being undertaken by other government agencies, associations, and universities.

Canada is also confronting the problem of financing a northern pipeline. As many of my colleagues may know, Secretary Morton has complained publicly that Canada could not finance an oil pipeline.

Last month, Donald MacDonald, the Canadian Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources appointed a 15-man task force to study the financial and economic impact of Canadian northern pipeline development.

As hearings continue, in the House subcommittee on Public Lands chaired by the distinguished gentleman from Montana, (Mr. MELCHER), I am sure that it will become increasingly clear that the Canadian alternative offers overwhelming economic advantages to the Midwest and East and that the environmental costs of the trans-Alaska pipeline is so prohibitive that Congress will choose the Canadian route.

\$3.57 SIRLOIN COSTS TOKYO

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, in an effort to put current food prices in their proper perspective, we should look at the prices we pay as compared to the rest of the world.

Wayne Darrow, in the April 6, 1973 Washington Farmletter, presented some interesting figures on mid-March prices on sirloin, broilers, and eggs in Brussels, London, Rome, Ottawa, Copenhagen, Tokyo, and Stockholm.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert into the RECORD Mr. Darrow's figures for all my colleagues to see. The figures follow:

If the United States can solve food-related production-inflation problems other Nations will copy. Food prices rose 243% in Chile last year and 5.7% in Canada, 7.4% in the UK, 11.3% in Ireland, 4.3% here, and 3.7% in Japan where groceries were already quite expensive.

Here are mid-March prices in various capitals:

Sirloin—\$2.45 a lb. in Brussels, \$1.88 in London, \$2.79 in Rome, \$1.68 in Ottawa, \$1.69 in Washington. Beef filet—\$6.51 in Copenhagen. T-bone—\$3.57 a pound in Tokyo.

Broilers—62¢ per lb. in Bonn, 93¢ in Copenhagen, 47¢ in London, 64¢ in Paris, \$1 in Stockholm, \$1.67 in Tokyo, 65¢ in Washington.

Eggs—88¢ a dozen in Bonn, 93¢ in Brussels, 71¢ in London, 86¢ in Copenhagen, 44¢ in Paris, 83¢—\$1.06 in Tokyo, 73¢ in Washington.

WAYNE DARROW.

BORN WITH A WELL-FED MIND

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, the need for good nutrition is a topic many of us have discussed in depth. More and more, people throughout the United States are becoming increasingly aware that poor nutrition is a very serious problem.

Recently I had the opportunity to read an article on nutrition in Human Needs, a Government magazine put out by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's Social and Rehabilitation Service.

The author of the article, Kathleen Lyons, did an excellent job of both researching this subject and writing an article which was both interesting and informative. Because of the value of this article I commend it to my colleagues:

BORN WITH A WELL-FED MIND

(By Kathleen Lyons)

Many administrators of social service programs are trying to help people whose first deficits may have occurred even before they were born. Although we don't have all the exact scientific data at this time, we do know that certain prenatal and postnatal conditions lead persons on a lifetime path that may be marked by illness, disability, and an inability to compete successfully with other human beings in the very complicated business of living.

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One of the most important deficits that we are studying these days is in the area of nutrition. The building-blocks of the various human systems—skeletal, nervous, muscular, etc.—come from the foods ingested by the person either in the fetal state before birth or as an infant just after birth. Hence, in order to participate in sensible long-term social service planning, the planner ought to equate "long-term" with the word "lifetime." If we can understand what people need before they are born as well as what they need during the rest of their lives, then it is possible to make some real headway. Certainly this would be a most helpful point of view when the planner approaches the whole area of nutrition.

Actually for Americans the subject is rather new. Until five years ago, for example, we considered malnutrition to be a problem existing only in underdeveloped or in newly developing nations but not in the United States. But in the late 1960's, during the rise in the general social consciousness of this country, more Americans turned to the problems of hunger and malnutrition here at home.

Since then the scientific community has concentrated more of its resources in this area and some interesting results have come about. For example, in the fall of 1972 at a gathering of nutrition scientists in Mexico City, approximately one-fourth of the papers presented dealt with prenatal and early postnatal nutrition. It is now generally acknowledged that the mother's diet during pregnancy and lactation has an enormous and lasting effect upon the physical and mental development of the newborn infant.

We should understand that malnutrition, or "poor nutrition," can be defined as a state in which the individual is deprived of one or more nutrients such that the growth process is slowed down and specific biochemical changes and clinical syndromes appear. Among the most severe cases overseas we find children with retarded growth, edema (the swelling caused by the collection of water in hungry tissues), a variety of skin changes, and death. *Marasmus*—emaciation and a general wasting away—is caused by extreme food deprivation after birth, particularly the absence of calories and protein. A second clinical syndrome—*kwashiorkor*—caused by protein deficiency, is a complex of stunted growth, edema, anemia, apathy, and other signs of general physical and mental deterioration. The word *kwashiorkor* comes from Ghana and was always associated with the diet problems of people somewhere else; so it was something of a deep shock when a Public Health Service survey turned up cases of clinical *kwashiorkor* here in the U.S.

Although great strides have been made in the nutritional sciences during the past few years, most of our information has not come from humans. Civilized science simply will not allow the starving of mothers and infants in order to gather new clinical information. That would be barbarism, not science. Hence, much of what we know today about prenatal nutrition and development comes from animal studies. Once we have at least a working knowledge of animals, we can go on to man.

Some important work done in England has shown that nutritional damage to the adult rat is limited: no matter how severely an adult rat is starved, there appear to be no detectable effects on lipids, protein, or nucleic acids in the brain of the rat. However, even mild undernutrition during the brain's fastest growth period before the animal's birth will permanently affect its composition. These brains of mildly starved prenatal rats may also show degenerative changes of neurons and neuroglial cells.

The British work—done by Drs. Dobbing and Widdowson—has shown that growth may be stunted if there is undernutrition of the rat during the vulnerable prenatal and postnatal periods. Dr. M. Winick has further shown that there seem to be three critical phases of growth in the organs and organ

systems of rats: (I) cell division, (II) cell division and increasing organ size, and (III) increasing size of the cells themselves. The transition from one phase to the next depends on the synthesis of DNA (deoxyribonucleic acid) slowing and then stopping. Winick has shown that severe malnutrition in phases I and II during the vulnerable periods of birth will permanently reduce the total number of cells in the brain despite any nutritional supplementation at a later date.

Other reports of experimental work with rats and pigs demonstrate poorer cerebral performance—a measurable reduction in brain potential—associated with a history of early undernutrition. Such animals can neither learn nor unlearn a task as fast as animals adequately fed during the early vulnerable periods. When presented with a variety of unpleasant or irritable situations, such animals tend also to overact in frustration, tension, and anger.

It is worthwhile noting that different routines of malnutrition have been introduced to pregnant mother rats. The results have been lower birth weights for the newborn. When these newborn are given over to well-fed lactating mother rats as "foster rats," the newborn do gain in body weight and their general health tends to improve dramatically. However, despite this improvement, these newborn of underfed mothers never achieve the same body weight as rats who had normal births from mothers normally fed.

So much for animals. But what does this mean for people?

Working with human fetuses that had been aborted or which were available during autopsies of the mothers, Drs. Dobbing and Winick have studied the growth of the human brain. They generally agree that the most rapid brain cell division (Winick's phase I) takes place before birth. Dobbing has identified two major periods of cellular multiplication: the first is between Week 15 and Week 20 of gestation; the second is after Week 25 and ends in the second year of postnatal life. During that first period, however, Dobbing believes a tremendous proliferation of cells for the nervous system occurs, an intensive "neuroblast" period. If this is the case then good nutrition for the fetus would seem to be very much desired.

But ordinarily the fetus is not directly fed; nourishment comes from the mother. For many, many years it had been assumed that the fetus in utero would always do well, drawing from the mother's reserves any and all nutrients it might need—whether the mother could spare them or not. The impression—a false one—was that no matter how marginal or poor the mother's diet was, the baby would be brought to terms as normal.

Recent findings indicate that a pregnant mother must have a greater intake of many of the nutrients to produce not just a normal appearing baby, but a baby that has developed to its full genetic potential while in utero. Birth weights and mother weights are very relative: a 7-pound baby may be underdeveloped for one mother, while a 5-pound baby may have reached its full potential within the body of another mother.

A number of reliable investigations have also turned up other evidence. For instance, there is a correlation between the degree of malnutrition beginning at various times during gestation and continuing in the first year or two of life and later the individual's smaller head size, lower intelligence, lower brain weight, and fewer brain cells. Children showed slower rates of development for mental and motor functions during the first three years of life.

The evidence associating severe malnutrition with reduced intellectual capacity is reasonably clear; the evidence for mild or even chronic malnutrition is not. However, one can't isolate nutrition from the environment of the fetus and the infant. The qual-

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ity and quantity of available foods must be placed into a context that also includes hormonal and genetic factors plus emotional deprivation, social class, family size, and the efficiency of the mother. We must also keep in mind that malnutrition does occur primarily among the underprivileged and does produce increased and chronic infection, particularly diarrhea, among the young. These infections in turn produce the vicious cycle of higher metabolic demands, lower food intake, and poorer absorption of nutrients. The nutritional state further deteriorates.

Science has only just scratched the surface of cause-effect relationships between prenatal nutrition and human development. There is no agreement on an ideal diet for a pregnant mother nor do scientists agree on the safest, most effective way to provide food to small or premature babies (by oral or intravenous means, for example). The evidence does at least suggest that low-weight infants do resume growth right after birth and that this vulnerable postnatal period may be highly significant for making up through improved nutrition whatever deficits may have occurred in the development of the brain while the child was in utero. There is still the caution, however, that the answer to some of these problems is not as simple as overnutrition or some new food fad. A recent study from Russia, for example, showed a substantial increase in abortion among pregnant women taking large doses of vitamin C.

The additional energy requirements during pregnancy and lactation, allowing for a 20-25 pound increase in body weight of the mother and diminished activity as gestation proceeds, could be met by consuming an additional 200 calories per day (2,000 calories normally allowed).

At the present time, approximately 47 percent of the dietary calories are derived from carbohydrate sources such as sugars and starch, while 41 percent of the calories are derived from fat. Except for the body's specific need for carbohydrate as an energy source for the brain and other specialized purposes, carbohydrates and fats appear to be interchangeable as dietary energy sources.

Elsewhere on this page are the recommended daily dietary allowances of the Food and Nutrition Board, National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council.

Still, when all is said and done, all this vital scientific data will do little good if the information is not transmitted to the public for its use. Frankly, low- and medium-income people will have to be re-educated as to which foods contain the nutrients they need for themselves and their children. In addition, it is clear that low-income persons will have to be given additional aid in getting the foods they need. Then again, all persons in our society must get to know the nutrient composition of new synthetic foods coming into greater use, in order to somehow control one's nutrient intake. This is no small matter.

Clearly we must help low-income persons get the foods they need at every stage of their lives. We must learn more about their dietary requirements and how these match up with their socio-cultural food preferences. Finally, we all have a responsibility to facilitate the delivery of food to the poor so that we may one day see a dramatic reduction (if not the outright elimination) of malnutrition in this land of abundance.

RECOMMENDED DAILY DIETARY ALLOWANCES DURING PREGNANCY AND LACTATION

	Pregnancy	Lactation
kcal.....	+200	+1,000
Protein (gm).....	65	75
Fat-Soluble Vitamins:		
Vitamin A Activity (IU).....	6,000	8,000
Vitamin D (IU).....	400	400
Vitamin E Activity (IU).....	30	30

	Pregnancy	Lactation
Water-Soluble Vitamins:		
Ascorbic Acid (mg)	60	60
Folic acid (mg)	0.8	0.5
Niacin (mg equiv) ^a	15	20
Riboflavin (mg)	1.8	2.0
Thiamine (mg)	+0.1	+0.5
Vitamin B ₆ (mg)	2.5	2.5
Vitamin B ₁₂ (μg)	8	6
Minerals:		
Calcium (g)	+0.4	+0.5
Phosphorus (g)	+0.4	+0.5
Iodine (μg)	125	150
Iron (mg)	18	18
Magnesium (mg)	450	450

Source: Food and Nutrition Board, National Research Council (1968).

ANOTHER SIDE TO THE MEAT BOYCOTT

HON. SAM STEIGER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, the attention of the media continues to focus on the price of beef. Unfortunately, much of the commentary on this subject has been highly emotional and has failed to present all of the facts as they actually exist.

I would like to bring to my colleagues' attention an editorial by Mr. Homer Lane of KOOL radio-television, Phoenix, Ariz. Mr. Lane's remarks present a side of this issue that has received too little attention.

EDITORIAL BY HOMER LANE

Angry housewives throughout Arizona and the nation wonder why the price of beef suddenly has shot skyward. They wave protest signs suggesting that someone or some segment of our food chain is making a handsome and unfair profit at the expense of the consumer.

It would be nice if the situation were that simple, for then we could ferret out the greedy ones, bring sanctions of some sort against them and thus restore beef prices to their previous level. Unfortunately, however, the picture is much more complicated than that, and today's high beef prices may be the result of a combination of circumstances that cannot be easily remedied.

For example, much of this nation's cow country experienced a severe drought in the spring and summer of 1971. Ranchers who managed to carry their cow herds through that period did so at considerable extra expense and were rewarded with a calf crop that was light and late last year. Those who could not carry their herds through the drought had to restock. Again, this cost them extra money and gave them a light crop of calves.

An increase in predatory activity also took its toll of calves; and in the face of a rapidly expanding market, cattle feeders had to look harder and pay more for the animals they needed to fill their pens.

At the same time, as a result of an edict issued by the Federal Environmental Protection Agency, the use of Di-ethyl stilbestrol (DES) in feed no longer was permitted. In some instances, this increased by ten percent the amount of beef it takes to produce a pound of beef.

Also, effective this year, the U. S. Forest Service and the U. S. Department of Interior Bureau of Land Management increased grazing fees fifteen percent, thus increasing the cost of producing a pound of beef by about that same percentage throughout most of the western states.

To sum up all of this into one succinct

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statement . . . the demand for beef has outdistanced the supply, and that which is available on the part of this nation's livestock industry may remedy the situation. Waving protest signs and hurling angry accusations will not.

POLLUTION CONTROL

OF

HON. JAMES R. GROVER, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. GROVER. Mr. Speaker, the problem of waste water treatment is one of the most serious challenges to our environment. I am happy to make known an effort within my own district as set forth in *Business Week*:

POLLUTION CONTROL—IS OZONE THE WAY TO TREAT SEWAGE?

As every pool owner knows, chlorine is widely used in the U.S. to disinfect water. But the pungent, greenish yellow gas is highly poisonous in certain forms. It is one of the main constituents of mustard gas, for example, which took untold lives during World War I. As a result, Europeans prefer to purify their drinking water with ozone. Now a tiny American company says it can use ozone to clean sewage—and at an almost unbelievably low price. The company, Telecommunications Industries, Inc., of Copiague, L.I., is selling advanced waste-water treatment plants that says Angus D. Henderson, a Long Island consultant retained by TII, "provide complete tertiary treatment for the normal price of secondary."

This week, construction started on TII's first commercial installation, situated at Indiantown, Fla. This private community is paying less than \$500,000 for a showcase plant that will handle 500,000 gal. of effluent daily. "I admit they're getting a bit of a break," says Alfred J. Roach, TII's chairman. "But that's way below the going rate." A conventional tertiary plant of comparable size usually costs \$800,000 or more.

Even at that price, cleanup by conventional methods might not be as good. For more than a year, TII has had a 15,000 gal.-per-day pilot plant operating at Notre Dame University, and the equipment amazes even experts. Alton G. Cox, Jr., an engineer with Florida's Pollution Control Dept., inspected the pilot plant after Indiantown officials said they would use TII's system—voluntarily electing for tertiary treatment. "The quality of water coming out was unbelievable," exclaims Cox. "It was clearer than the distilled water used to calibrate the equipment."

POWERFUL CLEANSER

Scientists have long known that ozone, a hyperactive variant of oxygen, is a powerful cleansing agent. It has even been considered for sewage treatment before. Several years ago, the Environmental Protection Agency studied ozonation for water treatment, and several large corporations are currently researching it. But until now, no one has ever considered ozonation to be competitive with existing treatment techniques. And the market hardly seems ready for new tertiary systems when so many cities still cling to their old primary treatment plants.

Primary treatment is basically a sedimentation step during which solids settle out of the waste water. In secondary treatment, organic wastes are removed by filtration or by aeration, which cultivates bacteria that consume the pollutants. Often, a plant will then flood its secondary effluent with chlo-

rine for further purification. The tertiary step removes microscopic contaminants such as phosphorous, usually with activated carbon. The water from such advanced treatment plants is generally fit for recreational use, if not for drinking.

TII says ozone is economical enough for the tertiary step if it is coupled with ultrasonics. High-frequency sound waves rattle both microbes and dissolved particles, breaking them into sub-micron size. In this form, they are highly susceptible to ozone's strong oxidizing effect, so less ozone is required. It can be made from air with spark discharge equipment sold by such manufacturers as Welsbach Corp., Crane Co., and W. R. Grace. In effect, says TII, it will cost no more to use ozone than to buy chlorine, which does not provide tertiary treatment.

SOME UNKNOWN

The company also points out that ozone quickly reverts to oxygen once it serves its purpose. In contrast, chlorine lingers in the effluent and becomes a pollutant itself. Still, direct exposure to large quantities of ozone can be dangerous, and the EPA is backing studies in Michigan to determine whether there are any adverse side effects associated with ozonated materials. The agency is comparing ozone disinfection with straight chlorination combined with dechlorination, and it will make a cost analysis of the three approaches.

The EPA has no doubt that ozone works, however. About three years ago, the agency awarded Airco, Inc., a contract to build and operate a 50,000-gal.-per-day pilot plant to study tertiary treatment with ozone. Airco discovered that the chemical completely obliterated organic material, killed all bacteria, added oxygen to the water, and reduced odors, discoloration, and turbidity. In short, says Bradley S. Kirk, an Airco engineer who worked on the project, "the effluent was just as thoroughly treated as you can get, short of distillation." Airco has not tried to commercialize the process.

TII, a \$2.5-million company whose main product is a line of electrical surge protectors that it sells to telephone companies, first got involved with ozone in 1970, at about the same time Airco did. "I saw a demonstration at some show," recalls Roach, an enterprising man who has apparently made his fortune through such serendipity (he says he picked up the idea for his surge protectors at a cocktail party in Europe). "I bought one of the models and asked our lab to see what they could do with it," he says. "One of the engineers came up with the idea of ultrasonics."

With that, TII decided to demonstrate the system on Long Island. John M. Perlale, who was then a commissioner for the town of Islip, was impressed. He accepted Roach's offer to take over as vice-president in charge of TII's newly formed Ecology Div. At the time, Roach's son was attending Notre Dame. During a visit to the school, Roach mentioned his system to one of the professors in the Environmental Health Engineering Program. Notre Dame expressed interest, and the outcome was a research contract for the pilot plant.

Wayne F. Echelberger, Jr., Notre Dame's technical coordinator for the project, says the pilot plant indicates that TII's process will meet "all current state and federal water quality standards, as well as those that we can anticipate in the foreseeable future." Operating costs, he adds, may be less than with a conventional system, which would take up anywhere from 5 to 10 times as much space.

Notre Dame is now anxious to find out what else ozone can do. Morris Pollard, a noted professor of microbiology and director of the prestigious Lobund Laboratory, is studying ozone's effect on viruses. "It looks as though it is a very effective sterilizing agent," says Pollard. "It's about as destructive as anything I've seen."

SUPPORT MOUNTS FOR MASS TRANSIT HIGHWAY FUND OPTION

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, more and more members of the news media are joining the fight to permit cities to use their share of the Highway Trust Fund for mass transit, roads or a combination of the two.

I welcome all of the mass media who have joined with us.

It is reassuring to see organizations such as The Washington Post and KFWB of California recognizing our amendment as an efficient method of solving the cities' tremendous traffic snarls.

Both the Post and KFWB have prepared extremely cogent editorials in support of the Anderson amendment to S. 502. I am presenting their well-developed opinions so that all my colleagues may have the opportunity of reading them.

The material follows:

GETTING THE HIGHWAY FUND ON THE RIGHT TRACKS

The House is scheduled to take up the three-year, \$25.9-billion highway bill this week. The measure reported by the Public Works Committee has several noteworthy features, including important highway safety provisions and a refreshing absence of attempts to advance specific projects by circumventing environmental laws. But the key vote will come on the amendment, to be offered by Rep. Glenn Anderson (D-Calif.), which would permit cities to use their shares of a \$700-million-per-year urban systems funds for roads, mass transit or a mixture of the two. Although the House vote is expected to be close, the cause of flexibility in urban transportation has already had an impact in the House.

The first signs of change within the Public Works Committee, a panel noted in the past for its devotion to road-building and its tendency to emphasize the needs of rural areas. The committee rejected the Anderson amendment, 29-8, but did approve a measure fashioned primarily by Rep. Jim Wright (D-Texas) which comes remarkably close to serving the same goals. In essence, under the committee bill cities would be able to obtain new aid for mass transit projects in two ways: by turning back all or part of their urban systems grants, and by canceling controversial interstate projects which local, state and federal officials agree are not vital to the continuity of the interstate system. The federal funds released by either move would be returned to the trust fund for re-allocation elsewhere, and an equivalent amount would theoretically be made available for mass transit from general revenues.

The Public Works Committee has thus accepted for the first time the concept that cities should have the flexibility to devote a given quantity of federal aid to rail transit instead of roads. In this respect, the Wright proposal is a serious attempt to help the traffic-choked big cities without diverting money from the highway trust fund to projects which don't use roads. Aside from the administrative intricacies involved, the committee approach has only one big flaw—but that appears to be a fatal one: there is no guarantee that the mass transit aid from general revenues would really be available. The contract authority could all too easily be withheld, limited or stretched out by either the executive branch or the appropriations committees; this has already happened to the existing program of mass transit grants. Given the current state of the

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budget, the committee bill could thus enable cities to not build roads, but give them little help in building anything else.

In contrast to the uncertainties of the committee bill, the Anderson amendment is simple and sure. It would avoid the fiscal pitfalls and administrative snarls, by authorizing another use of trust-fund monies which—as the recent appellate court decision underscored—are virtually immune from impoundment. This feature should make the Anderson amendment especially appealing to advocates of fiscal sanity and bureaucratic sense.

Fortunately the House Rules Committee, pushed by Speaker Carl Albert, has paved the way for a direct, up-or-down vote on the Anderson amendment. The measure has the administration's full support and a similar provision has already been passed by the Senate. Given this chance to consider the alternatives squarely on their merits, the House should approve the Anderson amendment as a timely and useful reform.

FEDERAL GAS TAX MONEY FOR PUBLIC TRANSIT
(By Gordon Davis, vice president)

Representative Glenn Anderson, of Harbor City, is about to lead a major fight in Congress to open the federal gas tax fund for use in public transit systems.

Here's the situation:

The federal gas tax highway fund was started in 1956 to build our inter-state highway system. It now holds \$6 billion. The system is 80 percent finished and will be complete in 1979.

Meanwhile, as we build magnificent highways through mountains and deserts and farmlands, nearly every major U.S. city has begun strangling on a combination of automobile traffic and inadequate public transit.

Anderson and twenty-eight other congressmen want to split off one-ninth of the gas tax fund . . . \$700 million . . . and use it to help cities build transit systems.

Nearly half the House and a majority of the Senate support Anderson. But he still faces heavy opposition.

Fighting Anderson are lobbyists for the truckers, asphalt pavers, highway contractors, auto club, and the concrete, petroleum and automobile industries.

KFWB supports Congressman Glenn Anderson in his fight: the highway monopoly's hold on the federal gas tax fund should be broken.

The public's money should go where the public's problems lie. And the problems of transportation today do not lie between the wheatfields of Iowa or in the mountains of Western America. They lie in the cities, snarled and strangled with traffic, virtually helpless at times because millions find it so difficult to get from point to point.

THE ECONOMIC STABILIZATION ACT

HON. HAROLD V. FROEHLICH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. FROEHLICH. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the House of Representatives passed legislation providing a straight 1-year extension of the Economic Stabilization Act, after overwhelmingly rejecting all efforts to freeze or roll back prices, rents, and interest rates. This legislation would continue to provide the President with authority to control wages and prices, as he feels necessary, but it does not require mandatory controls or rollbacks such as those proposed in H.R. 6168, as it was

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originally reported by the House Banking and Currency Committee.

I opposed H.R. 6168, as it came from committee, and I felt that mandatory rollbacks would be nothing short of disastrous to farmers and small businessmen. I was, therefore, pleased to see that the substitute bill which was finally adopted contained no mandatory rollbacks.

I did, however, vote against the substitute bill, on final passage, because I favored a 2-year rather than a 1-year extension of the present law. As the legislation now stands, the act will expire on April 30, 1974, in the middle of an election year.

Inflation is a serious problem which crosses party lines, and which can be solved only by bipartisan efforts. It makes no sense to me to ask that this issue be made a political football, which is what the Congress is doing by allowing it to expire at that time.

WHY NOT END THE HIGHWAY TRUST FUND?

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, I have the privilege to represent a congressional district which is entirely urban. In fact, the overwhelming majority of Americans, 77 percent we are informed, reside in urban and suburban areas. To such people, one of the most vital concerns is effective mass transit. Today there is no such beast to be found. In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that as of this moment it is virtually impossible to move large numbers of people with economy, safety, regularity, and speed across urban and suburban areas. An occasional exception can be found, but they are almost always unique rather than part of any emerging pattern.

Here, then, is one of the major social needs of America today: reliable, low-cost, fast mass transit to serve heavily populated areas. Our cities are strangling on unsafe, uneconomical automobiles and the smog they pour out in vast quantities. We have no further desire to turn our cities and suburbs into parking lots at expense of people and other vital facilities they require. We note the problem, yet no real progress is made. People in our Nation's metropolitan areas have a right to ask why.

Certainly my own constituents in Brooklyn are asking that question, with excellent reasons and growing impatience.

One reason is that all of us are feeding, through user taxes, a sacred cow known as the highway trust fund. Federal user taxes, mainly paid out by city and suburban dwellers, continually pour into this trust fund, which is utilized solely to construct ever more interstate highways. It is misuse of such funds that allows the highway lobby to punch freeways through our cities and parks. It was this vast reservoir of cash, constantly replenished, that almost allowed the Three Sisters Bridge atrocity to be foisted upon

the Nation's Capital. New York City has fought off several similar attempts to punch commuter roads through viable neighborhoods. This in itself is serious enough. But there is much more.

We in the cities and suburbs pay the lion's share of tax in every way, be it to the Federal Government's general revenues or into the highway trust fund through gasoline and tire levies. My home State of New York, for example, pays in a minimum of \$23 billion annually to the Federal Treasury. We receive in return a maximum of some \$3 to \$4 billion annually for all purposes. Now we desperately require urban mass transit funds from Washington and have asked for them again and again. Yet each time we have been rudely rebuffed. Each time we are told it is impossible, to the growing frustration and outrage of urban and suburban taxpayers.

A powerful highway lobby exists here in Washington, making vast profits out of major "pork-barrel" undertakings such as interstate highway construction. Any raw materials supplier for roads belongs. Auto, tire, and oil interests, America's worst enemies in my opinion, are working day and night to maintain intact their coalition and privileges under this fleabitten sacred cow. It is a similar lobbying effort to that successfully undertaken recently by the auto crowd on weakening enforcement of antipollution standards.

To its everlasting credit, the Nixon administration has endorsed the concept of tapping this trust fund to allow local authorities flexibility in choosing urban roads or transit. The Senate has already approved "flexible use" of some \$850 million in urban roads money, on March 13 of this year.

Unfortunately, here in the House, the pork barrel bunch has a better chance of halting this greatly overdue, minimal reform. Our colleague, Mr. ANDERSON of California, has waged a heroic battle to gain adoption of an amendment allowing local governments to make their own choice between roads and mass transit. The House Public Works Committee bill emerges as a fraud on the cities and a slap in the face to their increasingly outraged requests for some of their own tax money for use in mass transit. The committee bill is a sham, only paying lip-service to mass transit. Under its terms, all we would receive is more detested highways, which my home city of New York needs as much as Greenland needs more ice and snow.

It is to the credit of our Rules Committee that it has cleared the way for the now inevitable floor fight over fair division of transportation funds. For a battle we shall have, and another one after that. And as many more as we shall require after that. Until we have won our point, our fight and our funding.

It is vital to point out that this is a bipartisan struggle. Much credit is due those members of the other party who have taken a courageous stand on behalf of a vital people's issue.

Insofar as the majority party of this House is concerned, a few words are in order here. It is my growing impression that in recent years the previously dispossessed and unheard have gained a stronger voice in our caucus and our councils. Cities and suburbs now contrib-

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ute the overwhelming majority of our membership in Congress. We have increasingly been reflecting their desires, often flying in the face of more established interests within our party and the Congress.

Some powerful Members see no reason to admit to the necessity for accommodating the essential needs of metropolitan areas and suburbs. Some feel free to consort with those very interests opposing alleviation of those same problems with which we are grappling. We come to them, oftentimes as supplicants, seeking compromise and recognition of the justice of a given cause. Each time our sole reply is a harsh rebuff.

Such a situation is intolerable. No vested interests, no matter how strong, can indefinitely oppose the will of the majority of our citizens whose pressing need is assistance in coping with everyday difficulties making their lives virtually impossible.

No more classic example can be found than in the case of this question of Federal aid to urban mass transit.

So frustrated are many people that a new alternative is being spoken of, and it is more than the unacceptable measure the Public Works Committee seeks to foist upon this House.

Why should not advocates of direct major Federal aid to mass transit ensure that no Federal aid to highways legislation clears this body? No mass transit; no roads. When we obtain mass transit aid funds with no strings attached, then there shall be adequate road funding.

Today, this concept is still a possibility. Tomorrow it may not be such an ethereal approach. Rather, it may become quite tangible.

Let the highway lobby take note that times have changed. Let them finally comprehend that the "good old days" and the "good old boys" are gone for good. Nor are they ever likely to dominate again.

Today it is not too late to compromise, and everyone will emerge with a significant portion of the loaf. If, however, the powers that be still insist on denying the overwhelming majority of Americans what they so obviously want, then inevitably and eventually, one party is going to emerge with most of the loaf, and it will be the mass transit interest.

DR. BILLY GRAHAM ON ABORTION

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to insert in the RECORD a statement by Rev. Billy Graham on the subject of abortion.

DR. BILLY GRAHAM ON ABORTION

Someone recently asked Dr. Billy Graham if the vacuum method was not a satisfactory solution to the abortion problem. His answer as printed in the *St. Paul Dispatch* (12-1-72) was as follows:

"Murder is murder, whether you shoot the victim with a revolver, or disconnect his life support mechanisms . . .

"Even if abortion were legalized, no law could take away the feelings of guilt which inevitably accompany it. You don't violate the sacredness of life with impunity. Any position which doesn't respect the rights of the unborn is a position which opposes those rights. As Deuteronomy 30:19 says, 'See, I have set before you life and death . . . choose life.'"

WELFARE SCANDAL—XIII

HON. VERNON W. THOMSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, adding to the ineffectiveness bred of the organization of this Nation's public welfare system is the stark fact that the system invites fraud. A recent study by two reporters for the Milwaukee Sentinel concluded that about 20 percent of the budget of the Milwaukee County Welfare Department is being wasted.

Welfare administrators in Milwaukee claim only 1 percent of the cases they handle involve fraud. Other jurisdictions report similar low figures. This has led some to conclude that the system is basically sound and that "Archie Bunker"-types who suspect welfare cheating is more widespread are just indulging their prejudices against poor people.

But there is widespread welfare cheating. The 1 percent figure for Milwaukee does not represent all cheaters. It simply represents those who are caught and convicted of welfare fraud. If the percentages of apprehension and conviction for welfare fraud run in the same magnitude as for other crimes, the 1 percent figure is a gross understatement of the problem.

This segment of the Sentinel series explores the way that public agencies have adjusted to the condition of continuing fraud. Unfortunately, the article does not show the steps being taken to eliminate the fraud which leads one to suspect that precious little is being done to improve this cancerous condition.

It is past time that Congress act to reform welfare and end this national disgrace.

The article follows:

WELFARE FRAUD: 20 PERCENT OR 1 PERCENT?

(By Gene Cunningham and Stuart Wilk)

Study after study indicates that the Milwaukee County Welfare Department's cases are riddled with fraud and administrative error.

How many millions of dollars in tax money are being wasted each year as a result?

Supervisor William E. Nagel says \$28 million was wasted last year and more than \$30 million will be wasted this year—20% of the total department budget, because 20% or more of the department's cases are on the welfare rolls through fraud or error.

Not so, says Arthur Silverman, welfare director. There is only 1% fraud, Silverman says.

He cites as a basis for his 1% figure "the number of court convictions" for fraud.

Yet, his own department official in charge of fraud investigation said that the bulk of discovered fraud cases never get to court.

Instead, said the official, agreements are sought for the repayment of the fraudulently obtained money.

The last study done of fraud and error in

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the department turned up a 20% figure—labeled “inappropriately spent funds.”

The percentage is “probably much higher than that,” said Nagel, chairman of the County Board’s Welfare and Human Resources Committee.

The 1969 study that turned up 20% was an investigation of cases of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), the largest single category of welfare payments in both numbers of cases and millions of dollars.

There is reason to believe that that margin of fraud and error extends across the other lesser categories of aid, according to Nagel. In fact, the 20% probably has grown even larger since 1969, Nagel said.

The experience of the Sheriff’s Department Fraud Squad substantiates Nagel’s belief.

The squad handles fraud cases—not administrative error—and the number of cases it handles is only a small percentage of the actual fraud, discovered and undiscovered, squad members said.

Still, the cases the squad has successfully investigated have increased in dollar amount from \$142,697 in 1970 to \$354,731 in 1972.

There’s more fraud now because “more money is involved and it’s easier to get,” one squad deputy said.

The welfare department’s own studies of various smaller categories of aid, done since 1969, support Nagel’s claim of 20% or more.

STUDY FINDINGS

A few of these studies done last year—some at the request of Nagel’s committee—showed that:

19.5% of general assistance cases studied were ineligible for aid.

There were administrative errors in 75% of those same general assistance cases—but the report of the study did not show whether those errors had resulted in overpayments or underpayments to the welfare recipients.

There were 14% ineligible cases in a study of eligibility of those receiving day care for their children through the welfare department.

32% of the affidavits given by new residents who got on welfare here could not be verified as to birth, employment or addresses.

A preliminary report of a study being made in compliance with federal regulations by the State Department of Health and Social Services further belies Silverman’s 1% fraud and error claim.

Fred Hinckle, deputy secretary of the department, told The Sentinel recently that the study will show that Wisconsin has a high rate of eligibles on its AFDC welfare rolls.

The rate, he predicted, will be above the national average of 6.8% AFDC eligibles. The eligibles are those who got on welfare by fraud or administrative error.

The state study is based on a field investigation of welfare cases in county departments across the state—most heavily in Milwaukee County.

OVERPAYMENT FOUND

In addition to a high rate of ineligible AFDC recipients, the preliminary report on the state study said that the state had found that the counties had overpaid 10.6% of the cases checked and had underpaid 9.4%.

The dollar value of this ineligibility, overpayment and under payment has yet to be determined.

The 1969 local study that turned up 20% fraud and error also showed that the division between the two was even—10% outright client fraud and 10% administrative error, Nagel said.

He translates this 20% into that same percentage of financial loss, a translation that even when applied to administrative costs can be justified in light of employee cheating on mileage and overtime, loafing and disappearing from the job, extended lunch

hours and the lost time and confusion that result from mismanagement.

Fraud, Nagel said, is an elusive thing. The 20% fraud and error can be pinned down, but there is fraud going on that no one knows about or suspects, he said.

Many clients move away when they find they’re being investigated for fraud, he said.

“These cases are never computed in anyone’s fraud percentages,” Nagel said.

ANOTHER KIND OF FRAUD

Nagel sees another kind of fraud that isn’t classified by the department as such and about which nothing is done. It’s the fraud involved in the client’s failure to pay those bills that the department has given him the money to pay.

“If you don’t pay your rent and utilities, that’s fraud,” Nagel declared.

“If I didn’t pay rent, I’d be out in the street,” he said.

Yet welfare recipients in quantity do not pay the basic costs of living for which the department gives them welfare grants, he said.

Last year, 1,587 welfare recipients did not pay their gas bills for which the department had given them \$88,133. The department ended up paying the bills a second time—with 100% county money instead of the usual federal and state sharing of cost.

The federal government and the state pay their share of welfare costs only once. Only the county will pay twice.

“The welfare rights people tell them (welfare recipients) they don’t have to pay. They say ‘don’t bother paying (a bill),’” because they know the welfare department will make a duplicate payment to pay it or else it will not get paid, Nagel said.

Asst. Dist. Atty. Alan Love, who handles welfare fraud cases for the district attorney’s office, cited another type of fraud the department ignores.

SPENT FOR OTHER THINGS

Getting welfare money for a refrigerator, stove or other specific special need item and then spending that money for something else is fraud, Love said.

One recipient whose case The Sentinel told of earlier received money for 10 refrigerators, 10 washing machines and 7 stoves in just over three years. She was given money for three refrigerators and two washing machines in less than four months.

The problem, Love said, is whether it is worth it to prosecute.

It can cost more than it’s worth to prosecute a woman for fraud, send her to jail, pay to keep her while she’s there and pay the cost of having her children cared for while she’s gone, he said.

The philosophy apparently is that since you can’t get the fraudulently obtained money back, why throw good money after bad by going to the further expense of prosecuting, jailing and paying child care cost.

Those who compile fraud statistics and those who investigate fraud ignore these cases.

Sheriff’s Department Fraud Squad deputies admit that they have to limit themselves to investigating only major cases. With 1,275 cases backlogged in their files and more turning up daily, there’s no way the five man fraud squad can get to all of them.

As a result, hundreds of fraud cases don’t even get investigated and countless others aren’t even discovered, they said.

ICC: A TOOL FOR BIG BUSINESS

HON. STEVEN D. SYMMS

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. Speaker, every once in awhile, big business crawls into bed

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with the government and spawns a monster. One more example of this undemocratic union has crossed my desk, and I want to share its results with my colleagues.

Last August, the Interstate Commerce Commission convened 3 days of hearings on applications filed by a small trucking firm in Idaho. The truck movements in question involved 300 loads of irrigation pipeline desperately needed by Idaho farmers before the spring planting season. Those materials are still sitting in Portland, Oreg., and the ICC judge who heard the case is yet to offer an opinion. If someone in this Chamber missed my point, I will emphasize it again—it has taken that judge 9 months already, and we still have no firm commitment from ICC that he is ready to rule on the case.

Once that judge does rule, though, we are still not through. Statutory regulations demand that the decision lay over for at least 80 days before a final order can be issued.

That means July 1973. For our farmers, that means fields standing dry and blistered. The piping they bought 1 year ago is going to do them darn little good.

As far as I am concerned, the ICC is serving only one purpose in this government. It is a tool for big business to push out the small, independent competition. This protectionism should be stopped—regulatory agencies should regulate—not dictate and protect.

MISUSE OF OEO FUNDS

HON. ROBERT J. HUBER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Speaker, in our continuing efforts to evaluate the performance of OEO and those to whom it gives funds, I call to the attention of my colleagues two recent articles from the Detroit News. One spells out how the OEO Nassau County agency on Long Island organized a protest rally here in Washington costing the taxpayers some \$50,000 and terminated the job of nine agency workers who refused to participate in the “March on Washington.” When inspectors for OEO began a probe of the affair, they found such lax accounting procedures in use that they felt the need to look at other agencies using OEO funds. The second article reveals how a \$279,560 grant to D-Q University to train migrant workers in marketable vocational skills was misused. Two Federal agencies, OEO and the Department of Labor, found that instead of receiving vocational training, the 138 men were made to work as farm laborers—on farms owned by a relative of an antipoverty agency official.

The articles follow:

[From the Detroit News, Mar. 21, 1973]

MISUSE OF OEO FUNDS CHARGED

(By Seth Kantor and John E. Peterson)

WASHINGTON.—Federal authorities are investigating the alleged use of Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) funds to sponsor rallies in Washington, protesting recent federal cutbacks in anti-poverty programs.

The investigation centers around the Economic Opportunity Commission of Nassau County (EOCNC), a Long Island, N.Y., anti-poverty agency that receives \$1.5 million a year in federal grants from the OEO.

OEO investigators said the Long Island agency, which operates 11 anti-poverty centers in densely populated (1.5 million persons) Nassau County, organized the first of several such protest rallies in the nation's capital Feb. 7.

More than 3,000 demonstrators from Nassau and adjoining Suffolk County made the 250-mile trip to Washington and OEO investigators estimate the rally may have cost the taxpayers nearly \$50,000.

OEO investigators also are probing the firings of nine EOCNC employees who refused to participate in the agency's "March on Washington." The nine—all with excellent work records—were fired without benefit of notice, two days after the protest.

The Feb. 7 protest was followed by a series of small protests that culminated with a big rally Feb. 20 that drew some 10,000 social workers and their sympathizers from anti-poverty agencies along the Eastern Seaboard.

Federal officials are afraid the Feb. 20 protest also may have been paid for with federal funds and indicate that as many as a half-dozen new investigations may be launched before the end of this month.

"If present indications prove correct," said one high-ranking official, "it's quite possible that middle-level bureaucrats who head these agencies have spent hundreds thousands of dollars earmarked for services for the poor in a gigantic lobbying effort to save their own jobs."

The OEO, now being dismantled by the Nixon administration, is the principal agency conducting various facets of the anti-poverty program. Some of its functions are being transferred to other agencies.

Investigators from the OEO did not begin their probe of the Nassau County agency's Washington rally until March 6, although they made an initial attempt Feb. 28.

But EOCNC's executive director, John Kearse, refused to let OEO investigators audit the agency's books at that time on the grounds "that we have to know the specific charges and the complainants."

"It really was an incredible situation," said an OEO investigator.

"OEO was supplying Kearse's agency with \$1.5 million a year and he refuses to let us see how he's spending it. They finally let us in a week later after OEO headquarters in Washington sent a telegram threatening to cut off their funds. With that kind of delay, we were lucky to find any books left to audit."

Even though OEO investigators termed EOCNC's accounting controls "practically nonexistent," they did manage to uncover a number of facts. Among them:

The Nassau County agency transferred \$50,000 from its operating account into a private "slush fund," a week prior to the Washington protest.

Shortly before the rally, EOCNC tapped the "slush fund" for \$28,000—allegedly to charter 68 buses and pay the living expenses of 80 of its employees who "volunteered" for the trip, 300 employees of the agency's delegate or subsidiary agencies and the nearly 2,700 other "sympathizers" it recruited from its poverty clientele and, in many cases, "just off the street," OEO investigators said.

All employees of OEO-funded agencies who made the trip (about 380 in all) were given the day (Wednesday, a normal working day) off with full pay. And the agencies were shut down.

The nine employees of EOCNC who refused to make the trip were fired without notice two days later.

It was the firing of the nine employees who declined to go on the trip to Washington that eventually brought the OEO investigators into the picture.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

One of the employees fired, a woman supervisor in charge of training new employees, took her case to James Davis, the president of the Glen Cove chapter of the NAACP.

"It didn't take me long to determine that the nine had all been fired in direct violation of their civil rights," Davis said.

"For one thing, the 1967 amendments to the Economic Opportunity Act clearly forbids OEO employees to be paid for lobbying. And, for another, it's highly unconstitutional to fire anyone—particularly from a government job—for refusing to support a certain political persuasion."

Davis quickly sent a letter demanding a full-scale investigation of the matter to Angel Rivera, executive director of OEO's Region 2 in New York City.

When Rivera didn't respond, Davis contacted OEO's headquarters in Washington. The investigators it dispatched searched for three days before they found Davis' initial letter to Rivera—a letter Rivera says he never saw.

"I heard later that Kearse had some real close friends in the Region 2 office that headed off trouble for him," Davis said.

"It's a funny thing that my letter finally blew the whistle on the Economic Opportunity Commission because originally we (the NAACP) were all for the lobbying trip to Washington.

"In fact, we and a number of other organizations offered to donate funds to help pay for the trip but Kearse turned us down. He said he didn't need any money and that they weren't going to charge anyone that went.

"We did help them recruit demonstrators, though. They hired 68 buses and they wanted to fill them—for a while they were taking kids out of school . . . picking up winos off the street, anyone they could get."

Davis said he would have been more suspicious but Kearse told him that EOCNC had received some "large donations from a number of private sources," and that he shouldn't worry.

"I do know that OEO has been investigating them for several weeks now and some real heat is being applied," Davis said, "George Jackson, who was chairman of EOCNC, and Kearse's boss, resigned last week."

EOCNC officials, while refusing to talk about the \$50,000 "slush fund," have been quite open in commenting on the reasons for firing the nine and their motives in making the Washington trip.

"All commission staff members who did not attend the rally and didn't have a prior excuse were terminated," said EOCNC's public information director, Nat Trammel, in a statement to the press the day after the firings (Feb. 10).

One of the fired employees, Mrs. Nancy Reimer, of Rockville Centre, N.Y., said she had no warning about her dismissal until she picked up her paycheck on Friday afternoon (Feb. 9).

"Inside my check was a small note that said, 'you are being terminated because you failed to demonstrate concern and agreement with the agency's philosophy.'

"I was really shocked. I worked for them for six years, never had any criticism about my work and was rarely sick. Then just like that—goodby."

Three days after Trammel's initial statement, Kearse called a press conference and denied firing the nine because they had refused to participate in the Washington protest.

"We were belt-tightening and they just weren't productive," he said. "But their failure to attend was one of the factors and may have been the final indicator in our decision."

Last week, however, Kearse said the firings "are no one's business, but our own."

"That —— Nixon is slashing our funds and these people didn't even care enough to go down there on a free trip and demon-

strate," he said. "Now they can find out what it's like to be on welfare."

One of the OEO officials brought in to dismantle that agency and transfer its more effective programs to other departments said he runs into similar attitudes quite often.

"We're all for helping the poor," he said, "but, when you ask some of these professional do-gooders to open their books and show you how much of their grants have actually gone to the poor, they get this arrogant attitude and just about tell you to go to hell."

"The situation in Nassau County has prompted us to take a close look at other agencies present at the demonstrations here. Once our investigations are completed, you can be sure we will take appropriate action."

"Appropriate action," he said, could mean cutting off federal funds, giving agencies probation time to shape up or even lead to requests that the Justice Department prosecute individual officials for fraud and other crimes.

"I wouldn't bet on getting many convictions, though," he said, "because the accounting conditions have been so lax at many of these agencies that it's often downright impossible to find out where any of the money went."

A call to the EOCNC yesterday evoked this answer from a switchboard operator.

"No one's here today; you'll have to call back tomorrow."

"Where is everyone?" she was asked.

"Oh, they've all gone to Albany to lobby," she replied. "But they'll be back tomorrow. You call back then."

EOC "TRAINNEES" WERE USED AS LABORERS

(By John E. Peterson)

In its stated aims, at least, the federal government's "war on poverty" promised to raise the nation's poor to a level from which they could work their way into the economic mainstream.

So federal officials said they had every reason to believe that a \$279,560 grants to D-Q University to train 138 California migrant workers in marketable vocational skills last year would be money well spent.

It didn't quite work out that way.

Two federal investigations—one by the Labor Department and the other by the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO)—revealed that the 138 migrant workers were learning their marketable vocational skills in a rather familiar place—the fields of a farm owned by relatives of an anti-poverty agency official.

"Instead of vocational training," the Labor Department report read, "the enrollees in the program were made to work as farm laborers . . ."

Although the grant was part of the Labor Department's "anti-poverty" funds, its misuse was discovered in an investigation of the OEO, which also funded D-Q University with a \$200,000 grant last year.

The OEO files contain both the Labor Department and OEO investigative reports on the migrant vocational program.

The report also noted widespread administrative and fiscal deficiencies in the program.

A spokesman for the Labor Department in Washington declined to comment on the case because it is still under investigation and no final determination has been made.

But an official in the OEO's Western regional office said OEO investigators found more than \$100,000 of the grant had not been accounted for on the agency's books and had raised serious questions about how the remainder was spent.

OEO terminated its investigation when it was discovered that the Labor Department had undertaken its own investigation on the basis of complaints from the same source.

The \$279,560 grant originally went to D-Q University (DQU), which began operations on a 620-acre desert site outside Davis, Calif., in the summer of 1971.

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The site was a former Army Signal Corps communications center abandoned shortly after the Korean conflict ended.

The federal government deeded the land to DQU on April 2, 1971, after a seven-month occupation by local American Indian and Chicano militants who demanded the land be given to the university.

The university, whose purpose is "to continue the struggle of the oppressed in an academic atmosphere that preserves and honors our cultural heritages," has about 90 students enrolled.

The "D" and "Q" in its name stand for Degawidah, an ancient American Indian divinity, and Quetzalcoatl, one of the most powerful Aztec gods.

The \$279,560 grant was just one in a series of grants totaling \$2,600,000 that DQU received from the Labor Department to conduct vocational training programs for migrant laborers in 1972-73.

That particular grant was subcontracted to an anti-poverty agency called Trabajadores Adelante (TA)—Spanish for "workers forward"—located in Gilroy, Calif.

Gilroy is in the agriculturally rich Salinas Valley and federal investigators found that migrants enrolling in TA's vocational program—ostensibly to learn air conditioning and auto mechanics trades—were put to work as laborers on a farm belonging to a close relative of a TA official.

"It was a pathetic situation," said a Labor Department investigator in San Francisco.

"Here these people—most of whom couldn't speak English—signed up for the program to escape the agonies of stoop labor under a bolling sun, and the next thing they know, they're back in the fields."

The 138 migrants were employed picking celery, lettuce and artichokes, the Labor Department investigator said.

Mortimer Lewis, DQU's comptroller, who handles both the university's and the migrant program's books, expressed dismay when told of the federal report.

"We subcontracted a number of these grants," he said, "and we have had nothing but good evaluation reports back from the federal government. It's my opinion that we've been making straight A's."

Overall, Lewis said, DQU retained about 550 migrant workers in 1972-73.

"We gave these people a nine-month program in either air conditioning or auto mechanics," he said.

"The idea was to help them get out of the transient migrant stream and into the mainstream. I know we succeeded in placing quite a few of those who completed the courses."

BIRTHDAY OF GIOVANNI DA VERRAZANO

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, as an Italian-American, it gives me great pleasure to join with millions of my Italian-American brethren in celebrating the birthday of the great navigator and explorer, Giovanni da Verrazano.

Verrazano, who lived from 1480 until 1527, was a truly remarkable man for his time. While sailing under the French flag in 1524, Verrazano completed the first recorded exploration of the eastern coast of the United States. His voyage, which stretched from South Carolina to Newfoundland, was highlighted by the discovery of New York Harbor and Narragansett Bay. Both of these areas played

a crucial role in the early commercial life of the United States.

Numerous memorials have been erected in deference to this great Italian-American in recent years, including the construction of the most impressive bridge spanning the borough of Staten Island in New York, a bridge which bears his name. In addition, a commemorative stamp has been issued in his honor.

Mr. Speaker, this year's celebration of Verrazano Day is somewhat tainted by the deteriorating state of the once great New York Harbor, which he discovered. Let us hope in 1973 that efforts will be undertaken to correct these conditions, and restore New York Harbor to its former prominence. This would represent the most fitting tribute we could offer to Verrazano's memory.

Let us join with millions of Italians throughout the world in commemorating the birthday of the great explorer, Giovanni da Verrazano.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, in light of the recent quandry over inflation and rising prices, the former Governor of the great State of Indiana, Hon. Edgar D. Whitcomb, has brought to my attention an editorial written by Tom Conner of the Seymour, Ind., Daily Tribune. I believe the following editorial captures the true picture of our monetary problems and, therefore, merits publishing here:

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Thursday night the President of the United States delivered a most unique message to the people. It dealt with the Vietnam situation, food prices and the importance of the United States in the world today. Following the talk the TV people were interested in only the Vietnam position and how this message would affect the U.S. in the world today.

In our opinion the TV critics missed the most important political first in our nation's history. Mr. Nixon's reference to increased prices directly placed the responsibility upon the federal government. He stated that the United States citizens had to make a decision of whether they wanted more services with more taxes or more inflation.

The President made it clear there was no choice. In our memory this has been the first time any political leader has stated this. Normally political figures find other scapegoats upon which to lay the blame—either business or labor—depending upon their political dependency.

Mr. Nixon, for the first time of any major political office holder, laid it on the line. What does the public want—increased taxes or increased inflation. He offered the correct alternative—sensible government spending. He has advocated this and incurred the ire of the Congress by vetoing major spending bills which will add to inflation. He has challenged Congress on this point and made it perfectly clear that the irresponsible spending of the Congress will not be tolerated.

Congress, mostly, has not seemed to have received the message. They still seem to think that we can spend, spend, spend, inflate, inflate ourselves out of any problem. They seem to refuse to accept Pres. Nixon's idea that programs which have at least 75

cents out of every tax dollar going to administrative costs and salaries, should be eliminated.

We are proud that the United States has achieved peace with honor and did not abandon our POW's and the free people of South Vietnam as the liberal doves of Congress urged. But we are more proud that Pres. Nixon has called a spade a spade and has said that inflation is permanently caused by the government spending more than the government takes in. In our recollection this is the first time a President of the United States has ever correctly blamed the federal government for inflation.

With a stable dollar, high prices by manufacturers and high rates by labor will soon be eliminated by competition. We urge you to write your Congressman and Senators very demanding letters asking that a sensible federal spending program be adopted—a program which will not add to taxes or inflation. There is no other solution.

It is your choice—you, the voters of the United States. Don't scream about the price of meat, the price of homes, the price of cars to each other—scream to the men who cause it. And the men who cause and can control it are those men you elect to the House and Senate of the United States. They are the ones who overspend and are the real villains of inflation—not the carpenter, not the auto worker, not the steelworker, nor the farmer, nor the manufacturer, but those in Washington who still think they can buy votes for re-election by spending more than they earn. Can you do it? Ask the collection bureaus.

JANE FONDA'S LOVE AFFAIR WITH NORTH VIETNAM

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, millions of Americans in all sections of the country, and all walks of life, were outraged by Jane Fonda's love affair with North Vietnam, while our troops were being killed on the battlefields of Southeast Asia. We are certainly even less enchanted with her lame-brained assertions that our prisoners of war fabricated the stories of their torture and mistreatment, as well as the accompanying bruises and scars. Paul Evans, a young man in my Congressional District in La Jolla, Calif., recently wrote to express his personal disgust and I would like to share his letter with my congressional colleagues:

SIR: I've just heard the news of the probable fate of our pilots who were shot down over Laos. This, on top of the recent torture stories told by our returned P.O.W.'s, makes up my mind on two points. First, no aid money to North Vietnam. I have the highest respect for President Nixon. But I can't agree with him on this issue. I also feel that he may be changing his mind. Drop bombs on the Reds, but never money.

Second, something must be done about Jane Fonda. I understand that she's entitled to free speech, but Hanoi Jane has gone beyond the limit. After all their suffering and humiliation, must our returned P.O.W.'s receive the added insult of seeing a Jane Fonda movie advertised in local newspapers? And, not only that, but to be called hypocrites and liars by that infamous woman.

Miss Fonda, is a public figure, (alas for America), earns her money through a public medium, and is therefore subject to public opinion.

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Mr. Wilson, you've served in Congress longer than any other Congressman from San Diego. I regard you as a great patriotic American. I ask you now to help take action against Jane Fonda.

Let's stop the subsidizing of her efforts with American money. Let her go to North Vietnam to make movies. I can imagine that millions of Americans must feel as I do. The cause is here, it needs only a method, a leader to spark a national drive.

Millions would sign petitions. I believe this! Also, let's pressure the American film industry to stop hiring her. Here is an address if you wish to write.

President Aubrey Schenck
Producers Guild of America
8201 Beverly Blvd.
Los Angeles, California 90048

I understand that these gentlemen decide what films will be made, and who will star in them.

In the meantime, until there is an organized campaign against her, Americans like myself will write, and phone, any theatre or television station, in protest, which displays her films.

Mr. Wilson, I appeal to you as one American to another. Remember our P.O.W.s! Take action against Jane Fonda! Many Americans would thank you.

PAUL L. EVANS.

MASS TRANSIT: RAIL OR BUS

HON. JOHN P. HAMMERSCHMIDT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. HAMMERSCHMIDT. Mr. Speaker, since the House will be voting Thursday on the important highway bill, I would like to share with my distinguished colleagues an article by Francis C. Turner printed recently in the American Road Builder magazine. As the former Federal Highway Administrator, his credentials as one of the Nation's leading transportation experts are well established. This article is timely and highly germane to the current debate on the 1973 Federal-Aid Highway Act. I strongly endorse Mr. Turner's conclusion that the highway program must be continued and our present uses of the network substantially improved:

MASS TRANSIT: RAIL OR BUS?

(By Francis C. Turner)

The following are excerpts of a recent speech to the Road Gang, an informal group made up of public and private executives whose main interests are broadly related to highway transportation. One of the reasons the group can usually attract top-notch speakers is because everything said is off the record.

(The rule was waived with Mr. Turner's permission and the American Road Builder is proud to bring its readers parts of that talk, one of his first since retiring last June as Federal Highway Administrator.)

Recent newspaper articles seem to have attempted to bring on a fight between the so-called "highway lobby"—classified as the "bad guys"—and the "good guys," classified as environmentalists, the Highway Action Coalition, Big City Mayors, and the "public." If there is such a thing as a "highway lobby" it is in my opinion the vast majority of the public which daily uses and is dependent upon an effective highway transportation system for virtually every part of its very existence.

I may have been under a mistaken impres-

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sion for many years, because we in public service always thought that as public officials, we were representing the "public," and I mean all of the public, and not just one or another special interest group whether for or against highways as a large general question or a particular stretch of road from point "A" to point "B".

However, a number of individuals and groups, by self-appointment, have decided that only they represent the public. One might properly ask: who appointed them protectors and by what qualifications and training are they to be adjudged of more competence and devotion to the overall public interest than those who have dedicated their whole lives to trying to improve the lot of their fellowman? I will stand up my own service and devotion to the public interest against any and all of these self-chosen "public ombudsmen."

But this is no time for a fight, nor is name-calling a proper way to make decisions about any major question, especially the highway program which is so vital to our country, its present, its future, and generations, yet unborn. Unfortunately, however, I have seen too many decisions made in my 43 years of public service as the result of a fight, and it is the basis for some of the policy decisions now being advocated by some individuals.

One side to the debate offers simplistic solutions contrived by critics whose only training is from reading the accounts of some erstwhile prophet of doom and whose knowledge of the subject (highways) is derived from having skimmed a few articles and books by others who have done equally shallow research and study. But actions of those of us who are highway advocates must continue to be based on facts—and nothing but facts, and objective analysis of those facts. Although critics are unwilling to give them credit for having done so, highway people over the years have done more than anybody else to analyze the voluminous data that are available about highway usage and then to use that information in arriving at decisions on which to base their important actions. These facts will clearly prove to any who will read them with an open mind that our transportation needs in this country require us to continue at a high level of effort to constantly maintain and upgrade our highway transportation system including both its vehicles and its roadbed, together with the manner of using those facilities.

The main argument of the antihighway people is the alleged harmful effects to individuals in our society of a continued dependence on the automobile, particularly in our urban areas during the morning and afternoon commuter hours. Their quick and easy cure-all suggests that we just quit building and modernizing our highway systems and by so doing this will somehow force people and their goods movement to immediately, and with certainty, transfer itself to mass transit, which usually means, in their terms, a fixed rail network feeding into and out of the central business district (CBD).

This simplistic solution of doing nothing except transferring all, or any part of the highway funds to rail transit construction is not the answer either for now or the future. It completely overlooks the question of moving freight and it also overlooks the question of how you are going to provide for those utility, public and business services which depend entirely on the highway and street network; services which are life-supporting to all of our people whether they're downtown or in suburbia or in-between our cities?

But even if we were to do away with further highway improvement and transfer all highway program dollars to rail networks, the assumed benefit would turn out to be of negligible amount. Remember I am emphasizing only the rush-hour commuting activity because that is the only part of transportation that these critics are really talking and writing about, and in so doing,

they assume that this 5-day-a-week movement represents all of highway transportation. If by some magic we built a full system overnight, without public participation in its planning, or all those other procedural steps which the critics insist on as the way they want us to build and plan highways, and then suppose all these trains run on time, and with complete safety, you would have affected only about two percent of the problem.

This figure (two percent) represents that relatively small part of the enormous total highway transportation of this country that deals with the commuter traveling to and from the central business districts in all of the cities in our country. I don't believe it's good business to severely cripple a proven highway program to hopefully satisfy those who are dedicated to building a doubtful and costly transportation system that at best could assist only two percent of the problem.

That's why I am opposed to diverting highway monies to mass transit activity and "busting the highway trust" in order to provide the revenues for that kind of solution. It simply won't work.

Let's take Washington, D.C., as a representative example of the kind of situation we can expect. Construction is now underway for a rail transit system at a presently publicized cost of about \$3 billion for 98 miles of line, including its extensions into the Virginia and Maryland suburbs. Would you believe that that \$3 billion dollars is just about the same total number of dollars that has been expended on roads and streets in the whole Metropolitan Washington area since the beginnings of the road and street network in this area almost two centuries ago, long before the auto was even invented? This (\$3 billion) works out to a cost of about \$4,000 for *every household in this entire area*. What a huge capital expenditure to provide for the movement of about five percent of the transportation load referred to above within Washington's metropolitan area! (This 5% includes the 2% movement to the CBD during the peak hours plus all the other trips to and from the CBD in all the remaining hours of the day and night.) The remaining 95% will have to move on existing road and street systems. Is this approximately 20 to one ratio a good investment of *anybody's* money? Whether the needed money comes from the Highway Trust Fund, the general fund, or "pennies from heaven," in my judgment it simply is not a good investment. And that's why I believe that we should not permit the diversion of badly needed highway monies for this kind of "solution" to the problem. These travel figures are not concoctions of mine to make my argument look good; but they are the *actual* figures measured from years of traffic counts and trip analyses; and they are the same figures that Metro also is using in its ridership forecasts.

Furthermore, reports indicate that the fare on Washington's Metro will be about \$.50 per rider but estimates show that it will actually cost about \$1.50 for Metro to provide that ride. Where will the other \$1 of needed income come from? It can only come from the public, either out of the Federal treasury or some other public source, or out of the Highway Trust Fund, as some have recently proposed. Subsidizing a deficit operation, in my view, is not a wise expenditure of Highway Trust Fund monies, particularly when there are other cheaper and better solutions available.

Metro may pay its way on day-to-day operational costs out of the fare box, but what about interest on the debt, recovery of initial capital costs, provision for maintenance, extensions, and replacement, and other costs involved in keeping a business enterprise functioning. I strongly suspect, too, that the \$3 billion figure now being used will increase substantially by the time the system is fin-

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ished in 10 or more years, for many inescapable reasons.

For the purpose of easy arithmetic, let's take the \$3 billion Metro cost estimate and multiply it by 6% (instead of the actual rate of 7.3% recently paid on the sale of the first \$225 million of Federally guaranteed bonds). This totals \$180 million in annual interest cost alone.

At current prices, \$180 million would buy about 5,000 new buses *every New Year's morning* for the whole life of Metro. That's more than twice as many buses as the total being included in the current takeover of area bus lines and transferred to public ownership under Metro as authorized under the most recent legislation.

And I repeat, \$3 billion dollars original capital cost (at least), plus more than \$180 million in annual interest, plus operating costs is the price to obtain a 98-mile rail line which will carry only five percent of our people transportation in the Washington metropolitan area when it is all finished. Again, these are not just my figures but they are the facts which should be used by all those who are trying to provide answers to the transportation needs of this Nation.

As one citizen and taxpayer in this community, I believe it's time to thoroughly review the Metro rail transit project. The courts have recently ordered a review of a highway project that has been in the planning and development stage for less than 10 years. Highway critics have proclaimed loudly that any highway project 10 years old should be completely reviewed to see if it's needed at all. Well, I agree, but if such a review is needed for a \$100 million highway project, why isn't it needed, even more, for the \$3 billion Metro whose planning and authorization is now about 10 years old? Are its concepts still as valid today as in the early '60's and is the system the best that \$3 billion can buy for the community?

Such a review, I feel sure, would show that the desirable course would be to go ahead and complete the present first stage increment of about 25 miles in downtown and just across the Potomac River into Arlington, Virginia, because this is the high traffic density and high earnings mileage of the Metro, as projected. At that point, further Metro rail construction should be suspended while substituting for the remainder of the proposed 73 miles of rail lines a good bus system. The savings in capital outlay needed for the remaining miles could then be used to own and operate a top quality feeder and distributor bus system. If, after a 10 year period, we find that it would be better to complete the rail system as originally conceived we still can do so. If not, we will have saved a very large pile of our money. At least the decision could be made on experience rather than a collection of speculative assumptions which are all that is available to us now.

Such a fair, reasonable and workable solution is readily available and since it revolves around the use of buses as the major mass transit movers and they are quickly available to us, we could have the full network (and money) available to the whole community by the time that the first 25 miles is finished instead of waiting till 1990 or beyond for it to become available. It is important to realize that the Metro system already depends very heavily on a bus collector and distributor system and that a *majority* of the contemplated riders will use a bus or private car for some portion of their total trip. There is no question but that some kind of relief to the daily commuter hour congestion is needed and needed quickly. Not only in Washington, D.C., but in the central business districts of all other major cities as well. Better utilization of the existing and proposed future highway-street network will do the needed job.

Another idea which we must accept and

use is to force the greater use of car pools to substantially increase the average number of occupants per car. But we are not going to achieve any significant change in car pooling until an acceptable way is found to control CBD parking. My solution is to use parking as the control mechanism to force increased car pool ridership by assigning a major portion of the total available parking spaces in the CBD to some kind of centralized authority. Spaces therein would then be *allotted only* on a permit basis to car pools of three or more persons. This would still leave enough spaces available for cars with fewer than three persons or for business vehicles which cannot reasonably meet the three occupant requirement, on shopping and other individual trips similar to those which now occur.

Success in the promotion of car pools that would raise the average occupancy to three per car would have a dramatic effect. In fact, it more than likely would solve the problem by this act alone. There never is any problem in driving to the CBD during the rush hour when large numbers of Federal or other downtown employees do not come to work, especially on days where long weekends are involved.

Parking controls should certainly start within the Federal government, the city's largest employer. Agencies need to change their control methods over parking place assignments for their own employees. They need to utilize their computer equipment to match riders who live near each other and who have common working hours and destinations. Pick-up time and fastest trip routes also could be worked out for the car pools. Not only would this reduce the number of cars, but also the number of vehicle miles for each trip could drop significantly. Parking cannot be substantially nor fairly controlled merely by levying a large daily charge. The correct way to do it in equity to all persons—rich and poor—is to put sufficient off-street parking space under public control and assign it to car pools at appropriate rates.

Another device that should be developed is the use of large numbers of intermediate size vehicles: such as the suburban or van types which can carry 10-12 people. One way of making this work would be to require the bus mass transit operator (in this case Metro) to make available a fleet of these intermediate size vehicles for lease (without a driver) just as auto rental firms now do. The rental contract would require the renter to use the vehicle basically for rush hour commuting and to carry a minimum passenger load of ten people (or some other number). This concept if it used only about 5,000 vehicles could replace more than 30,000 passenger cars which now try to use the street network during rush hours. This number of cars removed is equivalent to about 30% of the rush hour volume, a quantity sufficient to free up present congestion to a level which would permit almost free-flow conditions. These "mini-buses" also could substantially reduce the cost to the rider, to a figure about half to one-third of present bus fares. Large private employers could even do the same thing with their employee groups just as they now pay for employees' parking costs, by acting as the leasing and parking space controller for their own employees.

These are a few of the ways we can be innovative in finding quick solutions at lower costs, and avoiding the necessity to mortgage our own future and that of future generations. Any scheme will require some changes in our thinking and our approach, together with our willingness to cooperate.

I believe the public would accept car pooling, and other innovations of the kind I have suggested, over other proposed costly and less efficient solutions, if the facts were made known to them.

Published capacity figures for rail lines,

particularly those for New York City, are calculated on the basis that only one rider in six has a seat while other commuters have to stand. But in the new 5,000 bus fleet that I referred to, all the commuters that would be going downtown to the CBD and back home during rush hours would do so in comfortable seats.

And even more importantly, the total annual operating cost of such a fleet of buses would be in the general range of *just the annual interest cost alone* to own the \$3 billion rail system.

Public ownership of any mass transit facility is almost certain to mean that the community will have to pay a subsidy. Demands on the facility for better and more service are likely to increase rather than reduce cost. So we must be prepared to pay an operating subsidy regardless of the kind of system we choose. But if we are going to have to pay a subsidy then why shouldn't we choose the system that provides the best service, requires the least amount of such a subsidy, and has the greatest flexibility to meet the unknown and changing needs of the long future. That choice, without question, is the bus system and perhaps also with other innovations such as those I have suggested.

People can be sold on bus transportation as evidenced by the Shirley Highway project in Washington. It may even be desirable to expand the exclusive bus lane concept to an *entire separate bus street* during the rush hours. Acknowledging that such things are difficult to enforce, it's even more difficult to do some of these other things under consideration such as depriving ourselves of needed highway improvements, or buying a real millstone to hang around our necks in the form of a tremendously costly, fixed investment, such as a rail network of the kind now contemplated.

Why do I so strongly favor a highway type solution to the problem? Because in my analysis of all of the facts, I can come to no other conclusion. Also, I am confident others will do the same if they will but go through the same exercise and put into the equation all of the facts that those of us in the highway planning operations have been doing for many years.

The highway program must be continued and the way we use the resulting highway network must be substantially improved. Diversion of resources needed for the highway program to other partial or "no solution" schemes will only waste our inadequate resources.

During the last Congress, the Administration committed itself completely to "busting the highway trust." Their aim is to provide Trust money for rail transit systems, and their failure to achieve this goal will only strengthen the determination to do it in the new Congress.

I sincerely hope that the effort will fail again because it simply is not the best approach. There is no denying that a real problem exists in large and frustrating dimensions. But the Administration's approach is not the right one.

Highway legislation already provides for specific assistance to bus type mass transit, and substantial further enlargement of these authorizations is advocated by all of the so-called highway interest groups.

The notion that rail transit is cheap public transportation is widespread but totally erroneous. In fact, it is about three times *more costly* than normal bus-type mass transit and *about the same cost* as the typical auto commuter cost. And that cost includes car ownership, gas, insurance and parking charges, even with less than two persons in the car.

Of course, in those half-dozen cities where rail networks already exist, common sense requires that consideration be given to their continued operation—at least until or unless something better and less costly is found.

But in the case of most American cities, rail networks cannot effectively nor economically compete with bus mass transit and at the same time meet the changing character of our cities—especially the trending away from defense center city core areas which were typical of the past century.

Federal funds already are available for assisting the seven rail transit cities with UMTA funding in larger amounts than ever before provided. And highway interests have in the past and will continue in the future to support demonstrable needs for further Federal aid for rail purposes.

By all means, let us find a solution—for find one we must—and quickly. But it must be a solution that meets the test of overall effectiveness, cost-benefit scrutiny, and public acceptability by the majority. Also it must be fundable, be possible of being made available quickly, while providing a maximum of flexibility to meet the unknown and variable needs of the future.

We cannot allow the crusading emotionalism of any individual group—on either side of the issue—to force upon the American public an unwise course of action just simply to win an argument.

CLEANER CARS—BUT THEY ARE FROM JAPAN, NOT DETROIT

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I believe that all Americans are concerned with the problem of air pollution and its effective control. I, therefore, submit for my colleagues' interest and information, two articles—one from the Honolulu Star-Bulletin by Harry Whitten, the other by Dan Fisher of the Los Angeles Times—which concern the achievement of the 1975 air pollution standards and the 1-year extension which has been granted by EPA Administrator William Ruckelshaus to the automobile manufacturers.

As director of the California statewide air pollution research center at the University of California, Riverside, Dr. James Pitts' comments on the attempts by the Detroit manufacturers to meet these standards are a telling indication of the commitment by one sector of the public to achieving cleaner air as soon as possible.

The article follows:

(From the Honolulu Star-Bulletin, Mar. 17, 1973)

CLEANER CARS FROM JAPAN

(By Harry Whitten)

Detroit automobile manufacturers have been telling the Environmental Protection Agency this week that they cannot meet the standards for 1975 as set up in the 1970 Clean Air Act.

The major reason they can't meet the standards is that they chose the least promising of four possible systems, according to the director of California's Statewide Air Pollution Research Center.

James N. Pitts Jr., professor of chemistry and head of the research center based at the University of California, Riverside, also coordinates smog research work on other campuses of the University of California system.

He was in Honolulu for three days this week lecturing to classes at the University of Hawaii.

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He explained that the National Academy of Sciences appointed a committee of engineers and scientists to study if ways could be devised to reduce automotive pollutants.

The committee reported that four systems showed promise in meeting the standards for 1975, which require automakers to reduce levels of carbon monoxide and hydrocarbons by 90 per cent, compared with the level allowed for 1970 cars.

The least promising system involved use of catalytic converters, and this was the system chosen by American automakers.

In the meantime, two Japanese cars, using other systems, have shown they can meet the 1975 standards and can almost meet the 1976 standards, which provide for reduction of oxides of nitrogen in emissions.

The Honda, using a stratified charge engine, doesn't need a catalyst. It successfully passed the 50,000 mile test, Pitts said.

The Mazda, with a Wankel engine, used a thermal reactor and also met the 1975 standards.

The fourth system in the Academy of Sciences committee report involves the diesel engine; 1975 standards can also be met with it, Pitts said.

"If the two Japanese cars can meet the standards now, why can't American cars?" Pitts asked.

He said that fuel economy with a catalyst is very poor, and this also should be a major consideration.

Ford and General Motors representatives told the EPA on Monday that there would be a marketing "catastrophe" if they are forced to install the catalytic converter devices on their 1975 models.

On Tuesday, a Chrysler engineer said that out of a total of 20 test cars, eight had converters that had melted or otherwise disintegrated in less than 25,000 miles; at the end of 25,000 miles, only one of the 20 test vehicles still met pollution control standards.

Chrysler officials followed GM and Ford in asking EPA to postpone the 1975 standards for one year. S. L. Terry, Chrysler's vice president for environmental and safety relations, told EPA that if given a year's respite, Chrysler would lobby Congress to change the 1970 Clean Air Act.

"Chrysler gave away its game plan by saying it will try to change the law," Pitts said. "That's exactly what I'm afraid of."

He said a year's delay in enforcing the clean air standards could be accepted if it would result in a better system, but there is no assurance of that.

He said he doesn't want to see a major dislocation in the U.S. automaking industry that would cause loss of many jobs but "the public has a right to expect something better" from the car makers.

Pitts said he is certain that automobile emissions will be controlled in time and pointed to control systems that have caused carbon monoxide and hydrocarbon levels to drop in South California.

He warned that technology can only do so much and that pollution control involves land management, economics, population planning and many other things.

"If we reduce pollution by 50 per cent and double the population, we are worse off than before," he said.

The research center he heads in Riverside is the oldest air pollution laboratory in the United States, having been set up in 1961. It employs about 90 people, including 40 on the technical staff.

(From the Sunday Star Bulletin & Advertiser (Honolulu), Mar. 18, 1973)

BY THREE FOREIGN COMPANIES—AUTO ANTIPOLLUTION SOLVED

(By Dan Fisher)

The U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, which has spent much of its brief life trying to prod the automobile industry into meeting

stringent 1975 antipollution standards, has a tough new problem because it has succeeded—at least in part.

Three manufacturers have shown they can get the job done.

You would think EPA would be delighted—and it would be if the manufacturers were named General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler.

But instead they're named Honda, Toyo Kogyo, and Daimler-Benz—and that puts both Detroit's big three and EPA behind the 3-ball.

Detroit's giant auto firms say they can't switch to new engines in time, aren't inclined to do so even if they could, and that they want more time to develop the expensive gadgetry needed to make their present powerplants conform.

Government clean air experts and many scientists agree it's too late for an engine switch by 1975, but they also see Detroit's clean air approach as a poor compromise—one that will add unnecessarily to car prices, increase maintenance costs, decrease performance, and boost fuel consumption.

They'd like to see Detroit commit itself to a better approach, even if it would take more time, but they're afraid that even if EPA grants the industry more time, Detroit will continue on its present course and any real solution to the problem will be simply postponed.

It all adds up to what the National Academy of Sciences described as a "major quandary."

The quandary could turn into a stalemate, particularly if nothing new comes out of a set of EPA hearings held in Washington this past week. Their purpose: to determine whether Detroit should be granted an extra year to meet 1975 auto antipollution requirements. The agency's decision is expected by April 11.

There's also the matter of those three auto companies with the exotic names.

Government tests indicate that Honda, Toyo Kogyo, and Daimler-Benz can not only meet the 1975 deadline, but do so without most of the adverse side effects cited for Detroit's approach.

But collectively, they can produce fewer than 10 percent of the cars Americans buy every year. Even if they could supply enough cars, the U.S. balance of payments problems would turn into a crashing disaster. Two of the companies are Japanese and the third is German.

Japan's Honda is better known for its motorcycles than its cars, but in December, EPA reported that three Honda automobiles equipped with a new type of engine not only met the 1975 standards, but "achieved lower emission levels than any other gasoline fueled engine without add-on control devices" ever tested by EPA."

Honda calls its powerplant a "Compound Vortex Controlled Combustion" (CVCC) engine, and says it will be introduced in Japan next year and in the United States by 1975. It is called a "stratified charge" engine in which the air-fuel mixture tends to form in layers in the cylinder. The result is said to be more efficient combustion.

Toyo Kogyo is the Japanese manufacturer of rotary engine Mazdas already sold in the United States. Earlier this month, EPA reported that two prototype 1975 Toyo rotaries also passed preliminary government tests.

Germany's Daimler-Benz makes Mercedes automobiles. One model already sold in America—the 220—has a diesel engine which "met the requirements for 1975 easily" when tested repeatedly at low mileage by EPA. In the United States, diesel engines are more familiar as truck power-plants, but General Motors also offers an Opel model in Europe powered by a diesel.

The trouble is these three manufacturers sell fewer than 1 per cent of all cars now purchased every year in the United States.

The manufacturers which sell the other

99 per cent of the new cars here—the four U.S. producers and most importers, including the major ones (Volkswagen, Toyota, and Datsun)—opted long ago for a different clean air approach.

They're trying to purify a relatively conventional internal combustion engine with "add-on" devices. The favored "add-on" system is a catalytic converter, which chemically changes noxious emissions into harmless substances.

EPA thinks such systems will meet 1975 requirements, as long as the regulations are applied to the "average" car produced, and not mandatory for each individual vehicle. (Only Honda would have a chance of complying without "averaging," an EPA report concluded.)

However, many scientists, including those of the prestigious National Academy of Sciences, say that use of such catalysts is the worst possible approach. They contend:

It would add at least \$250 to the cost of a new car.

Lead-free gasoline is required for catalyst-equipped cars, and a switch from current leaded fuels will cost at least \$1 billion in new refinery and distribution equipment, according to government estimates.

Catalysts aren't very durable, and if they don't work, a car equipped with them may spew more pollution than a car with no clean-air hardware at all. Owners will probably have to replace catalysts every 25,000 miles—at a cost estimated by one U.S. manufacturer of \$76 per replacement on a typical car.

The country would need a nationwide inspection network at a cost of billions of dollars, the NAS scientific report indicated.

The favored catalysts use precious metals, like platinum, available mainly in South Africa. Importing the materials will worsen the U.S. imbalance of payments.

Catalyst-equipped cars will use up to 30 per cent more gasoline per mile than today's vehicles, putting more strain on an already tight supply of U.S. energy resources. The only solution in sight will be to import more oil from the Arab countries, again adversely affecting the U.S. balance of payments.

Engine performance may deteriorate further. The NAS report noted "concern that poor performance of such cars will make them unsafe in certain circumstances, for example, if the vehicle stalls when accelerating into fast-moving traffic."

With their unconventional approaches, Honda, Toyo Kogyo, and Daimler-Benz can forego catalysts—at least, to meet 1975's required 90 per cent reduction of hydrocarbons and carbon monoxide.

In 1976, federal standards call for a similar reduction in the third major auto pollutant—oxides of nitrogen—and it's still uncertain if the three companies can meet that regulation without the chemical device.

EPA said all three have "significant potential" for meeting the 1976 standards, however—which was more than it could say for anybody else.

NATIONAL SECRETARIES WEEK, APRIL 22-28, 1973

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, for the 22nd consecutive year, the last full week in April has been designated as Secretaries Week. In 1973, the week is April 22-28, with Wednesday, April 25, highlighted as Secretaries Day. Secretaries Week was originated by The

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National Secretaries Association—International—in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Commerce, to honor all secretaries. The theme again will be, "Better Secretaries Mean Better Business."

Special committees are established throughout NSA to formulate programs to make Secretaries Week ever more meaningful to secretaries and to the business community. In keeping with the professional objective of the association, chapters of NSA sponsor special educational activities such as seminars, workshops, and study groups—available to members and nonmembers alike. Additional recognition is gained for the secretarial profession during the week through public appearances of NSA members at meetings of civic, educational, and professional groups, as well as through open meetings for all secretaries.

This then, is Secretaries Week, 1973—a time for secretaries to look back on past accomplishments and ahead to future progress.

A letter follows:

NATIONAL SECRETARIES WEEK, APRIL 22-28, 1973

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington.

National Secretaries Week is a useful reminder for all of us to recognize and express our appreciation for the diligent and industrious men and women who form an essential backbone of every organization and ensure its efficiency and order.

It gives each of us the opportunity to acknowledge the intensive preparation of our nation's secretaries in skills which most of us consider indispensable to the performance of our daily work.

On behalf of all Americans, I salute the vital role of the secretary in our society.

RICHARD NIXON.

DEATH OF ARIZONA STATE SENATOR HAROLD C. GISS

HON. JOHN J. RHODES

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. RHODES. Mr. Speaker, the death of Arizona State Senator Harold C. Giss, April 15, was a shock to State leaders and officials of both political parties. A highly respected 25-year veteran of the Arizona Legislature, the Democrat senator's death is certainly a tragic loss to the State.

Senator Giss was first elected to the Arizona Legislature in 1948 as a State representative. Two years later, he was elected to the State senate, where he has served since that time. He was majority leader in the senate for 12 years until the Republicans came into power in 1966. Since then, he has served as minority leader.

Harold Giss was considered a parliamentary expert whose counsel, skill, and knowledge for moving bills through the legislative machinery was sought by Republicans and Democrats alike. His power and ability were so recognized that the State senate was once described as a body of men surrounded by Harold Giss.

His public service to Arizona held

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priority over his private business. As an Arizonan first, Senator Giss was not afraid to criticize his own party leaders when he disagreed with them. Recently, he termed the Democrat party's decision to force a recall election on Republican Governor Jack Williams, an emotional miscarriage.

His long experience of being both in the majority and minority offers a lesson in the legislative process. In his words:

The role of the minority is more difficult. The majority goes through the process of pure power; the minority must work harder, study more diligently, and sell its bills better. The majority can do with power what the minority must do with persuasion.

The death of Senator Harold Giss is a personal loss to me and I extend my sincere sympathy to his bereaved family. His life had a profound effect on the State of Arizona, and his death is a tragic loss to the State and its people.

THE WASHINGTON EVENING STAR ENDORSES MASS TRANSIT PROPOSAL

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased that the Washington Evening Star has endorsed my efforts to open-up a portion of the highway trust fund for the purchase or construction of bus or rail rapid transit.

This influential newspaper has time and time again endorsed programs and policies that are fiscally responsible, and that are designed to meet the needs of the country—not just the Washington Metropolitan area. And again, the Star has taken a far-sighted position which recognizes the need for the funding of mass transit out of the Trust Fund in order to reduce our dependence on the pollution-belching, gasoline-consuming automobile.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD the editorial appearing in the April 17, Washington Evening Star so that my colleagues will have the benefit of this persuasive argument in support of my proposal.

The article follows:

THE HOUSE'S TRANSIT TEST

With the nation facing a fuel shortage, on top of its auto-exhaust pollution troubles, about everyone in Congress is speaking kindly of mass transit these days. But this week we'll see how deep the commitment goes, for the House will vote a Senate-approved proposal to make just a small portion of the highway trust fund available for financing urban bus and rail transit systems.

We hope the House, which refused to concur with the Senate last year on a similar plan, will give its assent this time around. This won't be easy for many of the representatives, especially those from predominantly rural districts whose residents still plead for road improvements that are justified in many cases. There is a powerful core of resistance to using the highway trust money—derived from levies on road-users—for non-highway purposes. But the times demand it. The trust fund is incredibly opulent, while the problems of swelling auto use inflict ever-larger social costs that cannot be

alleviated simply by building more highways with every last penny of highway revenues.

It seems to us that the fund has a partial obligation to other concerns. Cars are creating much of the air pollution, and much of the fossil-fuel shortage, which must be remedied in large degree by mass transit. As lawmakers begin to appreciate the astonishing dimensions of the country's energy problem, they should bear in mind that five times as much energy is required to move a passenger by car as by bus. And a great many auto commuters would gladly switch to public transit if adequate service were available. Moreover, if rural areas are hit by gasoline shortages—as seems likely—it will be due in some measure to the lack of sufficient mass transit, which forces millions of urbanites to rely excessively on automobiles.

The hard fact is that the effort to control air pollution is exacting heavier fuel penalties than most people expected, and aggravating the energy-depletion dilemma. Some observers now say that Congress shouldn't have passed the 1970 clean-air law without launching a major federal mass-transit program at the same time. In any case, a sizable program at last is getting underway, and committee-approved legislation in the House provides a rather hefty authorization for mass transit. But there is too much uncertainty whether all or even most of this money would ever be appropriated, or spent by the administration, since it would have to come from the Treasury's general fund. Urban areas desperately need the assurance of being able to use a portion of their regular federal highway funds to help finance mass transit, and cover its operating losses in some cases.

To achieve this, the House will have to approve amendments that are contrary to the wishes of its Public Works Committee, and in line with the Senate's approach. We hope a majority in the House can summon the foresight and determination to do that.

MRS. RAYMOND N. KLASS

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, at a time when many are doubting the commitment of our National Government to the needs of our citizens, it is heartening to hear of an individual who has shown a lifetime of devotion to both individual and community needs. Mrs. Raymond N. Klass is one person who has devoted herself unselfishly and unstintingly to the service of her community and to the betterment of conditions for all mankind. Mrs. Klass was honored earlier this month at a dinner sponsored by the Temple Judah, Hadassah, B'nai B'rith and Sisterhood organizations in Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to make the many contributions Mrs. Klass has made to society a part of our permanent national record. Though her activities and contributions are too numerous to mention, I would like to single out just a few. Mrs. Klass is a founder and past president of both Temple Judah Sisterhood and Hadassah in Cedar Rapids. She has given her efforts as a past president of the Arthur School PTA.

Mrs. Klass has also shown her leadership capabilities in Salvation Army and

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Community Chest drives. She has supported many other community service organizations in Linn County. She was active on behalf of women's status and the needs of the aged before these became the visible issues that they are today.

This remarkable woman also found time to raise two children, Rosanne and Philip, who have succeeded in becoming successful as authors and editors. All citizens of Iowa feel great pride in the many accomplishments and inspiring example of Mrs. Klass.

THE FARMER'S STORY

HON. DAN DANIEL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. DAN DANIEL. Mr. Speaker, in these days of mounting prices, all sorts of statistics are being offered in an attempt to rationalize what is happening in the American economy. The truth of the matter is that inflation is fast becoming our greatest economic enemy and we can only hope that it will not ultimately do to this country what it has in numerous other nations around the world.

Inflation inflicts cruel punishment on us all but the burden is greatest upon those whose income remains virtually stationary, at a low rate, while living costs continue to rise. This is true of those who live on pensions, on life's savings and on very meager wages. Among those who work for a living, no group in our society has found the way any harder than the small farmer—those who operate small family farms, or those who tend farmland owned by others.

The burden seems to be greater among those whose labors cannot yield volume production and most of the farms in my congressional district come in that category. Those are the people who produce relatively small crops and who have found the pinch of inflation forcing many of them to seek other means of earning a living.

Within recent days, advertisements have appeared in both Washington papers, under the sponsorship of Pen-Mar Co., Inc., which show some very interesting figures in support of the farmers' cause. For instance, these figures show that although farm income has risen 6 percent in the past 20 years, overall wages in the country have gone up over 184 percent. In the same period, the ad shows that installment debt has risen 867 percent; housing costs, 79.6 percent; medical costs, 149.7 percent; hospital daily service, 480.8 percent; wholesale food prices, 20 percent; retail food prices, 43 percent; and new car prices, 33.2 percent.

Compared to this, all farm costs have risen 109 percent, although the farmer's income has gone up only 6 percent. Farm taxes have jumped 297 percent; farm labor wages have gone up 141 percent and farm machinery prices are up 100 percent.

It is obvious where this leaves the man who has a small farm, who has no other source of income and who must pay for

his family the same prices that his city counterpart pays when he goes to the store to buy such things as clothes, food and other essential items.

In the April 11 edition of the Enterprise, of Stuart, Va., in my district, there was a very fine article written by Mr. E. Lyle Clerk, Jr., in the letters to the editor space which I feel is worthy of wide attention. In very cogent terms, Mr. Clerk sets down what seems to me some logic that the economists would do well to consider. I would like to include his letter herein with my remarks and commend this to the reading of the Members of the House.

The article follows:

[From the Enterprise, April 11, 1973]

THE FARMER'S STORY

DEAR EDITOR: During the past 20 years the price farmers receive has risen slowly, making a sizable gain only in the past few months. But look what has happened to all the items the farmer and his family must purchase! I certainly share the concern of these "irate housewives" for the rise in food prices but who is to blame? Is it the farmer, the processor, the distributor, or the grocer? You can find people who blame higher food prices on any of these or a combination of the aforementioned groups.

The purpose of this letter is to remind your readers of the real culprits of higher food prices. First, let's take the federal government. Since the early days of World War II we have had deficit spending by our government except for two years. At this time over 20 cents of every federal tax dollar goes to pay interest on the national debt. This deficit spending has caused inflation to spiral and our leaders have not had the courage to take the needed measures to stop it. None of you could spend more than you make for 30 years, except for 2 and still be in business, yet that is exactly what our government has done.

Second, we are pricing ourselves out of the world market. Our products in this country have become too costly to export at competitive prices. We are in serious difficulty in our export-import trade balance and the dollar has been devalued twice in recent years to try to reverse this trend, but with little success.

Third, we have allowed labor unions to become such a dominant force in our economy and in our legislatures that they have destroyed the workers' incentive, and wages and other benefits have risen at an alarming rate.

During the past 20 years the above factors have been instrumental in farmers having to pay higher and higher prices for all their supplies. Items essential to farming such as machinery, milking equipment, sprays, building supplies, steel and trucks are produced in union plants and each wage increase in those plants has resulted in an increase in cost of those materials to farmers.

The middleman or processor came into the picture because the farmer could no longer afford the cost of distribution and because of laws that were passed to protect the consumer. Some of these laws were needed, some are questionable. Did you know that I cannot sell milk at my farm? I can use it and the people who work for me can drink it, but I cannot sell it directly to you. We have federal and state inspectors who regularly visit our farm. We must conform to stricter requirements on the water supply that our cows drink than the water supply that serves the residents of the Town of Stuart.

The grocery store owner has also had to face increased costs to provide food for you. Due to increased labor costs he had to modernize his store into a self-service operation or go out of business. He, like the processor and farmer, is governed by stricter laws that add to his costs. One such law prevents him

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from storing or cutting meat as a service to his customer who might have raised and slaughtered this animal on his farm. You the consumer have requested your legislators to pass these laws. Some are needed, many are questionable and some are just plain stupid, but all of them add to the cost of the groceries. So don't blame the farmer, processor or grocer for them.

Finally, there is another factor that should be of grave concern to the consumer. The average age of a farmer is now about 53 and is increasing at a steady rate. The average age of a farm worker is slightly higher. With the long hours, work that must be done seven days a week, high costs and diminishing returns, young people are not turning to farming as a career. With the high investment needed to begin farming, the only way a young person can afford to become a farmer is to inherit a farm, as I did or marry the daughter of a farmer who has no sons.

I would suggest you people who are "boycotting meat" and are concerned about food prices, take a long hard look at the problems facing these people who are working seven days a week to produce this food for you. You should be very concerned about this average age of farmers. In 10 years who is going to be producing enough food to feed a nation with a growing population such as ours? All signs point to a food shortage in this country by that time. If you people think that your food prices are high now, what will they be in 10 years, that is, if you are lucky enough to be able to walk into a store and purchase them without having to stand in line for certain items or have them rationed?

In the beginning of this letter I pointed out some conditions that are adversely affecting farmers. Rather than a boycott of meat you could better expend your energy by doing all you can to correct the abuses of our economic system before the farmers are dead or retired and their farms have been dismantled. If these abuses of our economic system are not changed, within 10 years there will not be many of us left.

This letter may sound cynical to some of you and pessimistic to others. It is an honest effort on my part to tell it like it is. I enjoy the independence of making my own decisions, of seeing young calves grow into mature cows and seeding and harvesting crops in spite of the long hours. This letter is an attempt to point out the serious condition our country faces with its food supply. I invite any of you readers to visit my farm and I will gladly share my information that will enable you to see the problems facing us.

Sincerely,

E. LYLE CLARK, Jr.

TORRINGTON, CONN., GIRL SCOUT
SELECTED FOR MEXICAN TRIP

HON. ELLA T. GRASSO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mrs. GRASSO. Mr. Speaker, residents of the Sixth District in Connecticut are proud of Miss Patricia Beyer, a Torrington resident, who has been selected as one of 12 Girl Scouts in the United States to take a Scout-sponsored trip to Mexico.

Patricia has been a Girl Scout for 10 years. She is now both president and treasurer of the senior troop and represents all senior Girl Scouts on the Connecticut Council Board. Throughout her experience as a Scout, she has proven herself to be not only a strong leader but also a truly considerate person.

Patricia attends Torrington High School. She is an excellent student and an active participant in many school clubs and functions ranging from the school band to the Spanish club of which she is president.

She does not, however, limit her activities to those of the school and the Scouts. She has done extensive work with the YWCA and the underprivileged children in her hometown. It is the totally unselfish attitude with which she undertakes these special efforts that demonstrate a sincere desire to help others. Patricia has the rare combination of talent, gregariousness, and generosity that makes her a credit to her town and to the Girl Scouts. We are delighted that Patricia now has this wonderful opportunity which she so thoroughly deserves. We know that her trip to Mexico will be a splendid experience.

**HON. JOHN J. RHODES TELLS IT
LIKE IT IS AT CUMBERLAND LAW
SCHOOL**

HON. JOHN BUCHANAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, it was my pleasure to introduce our distinguished colleague from Arizona (Mr. RHODES) when he spoke last weekend during Law Day ceremonies at Cumberland Law School of Samford University in Birmingham, Ala., the city which it is my privilege to represent in the Congress.

Cumberland was established in 1847, more than 125 years ago, and is the largest law school in the State of Alabama. Included among its many distinguished graduates are numerous members of the Federal and State judiciary, including Justices of the Supreme Court of United States, State Governors, several of our colleagues in this body and in the Senate, and public officials at all levels. Included in this year's graduating class is JOHN RHODES' fine son, Tom.

I believe our colleague's thought provoking message on our current budget controversy will be of value to every Member of Congress and, indeed, to every American and I include it here-with:

ADDRESS BY REPRESENTATIVE RHODES FROM
ARIZONA

In the opening scene of Stuart Ostrow's musical *1776*, the audience is greeted by John Adams observing that, "One useless man is called a disgrace, two are called a law firm, and three or more are called a Congress."

Certainly those definitions are not particularly kind to the profession which you have chosen, or to either of the professions I have followed. Of course, surrounded here by the fine traditions of the South, and shielded by the 125 years of distinguished service Cumberland has provided the legal profession, we can easily discount Adam's view of a law firm as the intellectual myopia of a New England practitioner. But, I'm afraid there may be times we would have more trouble refuting the description of Congress.

You are all quite aware that from the Law School Admissions Test to graduation, legal education is designed to test and develop our

ability to view a factual situation—to identify and address the pivotal issue. However, Congress, as a collective body, does not undergo such testing or training. It, therefore, often has a great deal of difficulty sifting through a problem situation and identifying the cause.

Case in point:

We are all hearing a lot about impoundments and the resulting confrontation between Congress and the White House due to the impounding of funds.

It all goes together to present a factual situation, in which Congress has been unable to identify the real problem.

Capitol Hill has turned into a volcano of highfalutin talk about the checks and balances provided by the Constitution. The volume of the charges has been turned up by a few fanatical disciples, but what we are hearing is really nothing more than a replay of the spending-limit debate of the closing hours of the last Congress.

Congress agreed then that there was an important job to do—limit spending. It also became clear that bound by its current procedural deficiencies, Congress is entirely incapable of doing that job. But the majority leadership in Congress insisted that in order to protect its prerogatives it had to prevent the Executive from taking the required action. Now, I submit that in a whole encyclopedia of citations from the Founding Fathers, you will not find one of them which upholds so childish a position.

The squabble that has developed between the two branches of government reminds me of the little boy who was asked if he knew the meaning of the word budget, "Yes," he said, "it means a family quarrel."

Just as in many other quarrels, a fit of Congressional pique is hiding the central issue and impairs the possibility of effectively straightening out the problem.

Certainly the erosion of Congressional power is no trifling matter. The trend definitely is disturbing. Clearly, no administration can be left entirely to its own devices, unchecked by other official scrutiny. Just as clearly, Congress is apparently unequipped or unwilling to supervise the activities of the Executive Branch. But the point is that the source of this erosion is not Executive power-lust but Legislative irresponsibility.

If you listen to the cries coming from Congress you would believe the President's impounding of funds is frustrating the intent of Congress. It is further being charged that the Executive is substituting "his judgment for the judgment of Congress."

I submit to you, if there is any frustration felt in our budgetary crisis, it is felt by those who try to figure out exactly what the "intent of Congress" is. As a matter of simple logic, it should also be noted that the Executive cannot substitute his judgment for judgments Congress *never* makes.

Perhaps this will surprise you, but the fact is that Congress never makes a rational decision as to whether the operations of the Government are to be deflationary or inflationary. Congress at no point in its deliberations addresses the question of whether there should be a balanced or unbalanced budget. Nor does Congress ever make a decision whether to propose higher taxes or let the Government operate at a deficit. In addition to this, Congress never makes a decision as to whether its fiscal activities strengthen or weaken the dollar in international money markets, or in its acceptability at home.

Clearly these are decisions which have to be made by somebody. Since Congress doesn't make them, the President does it and has done it for years.

There is no question about the authority of Congress to control spending if it has the will to do so. It has absolute authority over revenues and spending; not one penny can be spent unless authorized by the Congress.

The trouble is—Congress has been authorizing and appropriating spending authority

with an abandon that is far beyond either our capacity or willingness to pay, except through borrowing. Spending is out of control.

Congressional procedures provide no way to determine the level of revenues and expenditures that are consistent with the present needs of the country, economically and socially.

Congress does not address the point of priorities, either assuming that it is not necessary, or that somebody—namely, the President—will do it.

By failing to do so, Congress has abandoned its authority and abdicated its responsibility.

In 1921, Congress passed the Budget and Accounting Act, making it the President's responsibility to submit the spending requests of the Executive departments and agencies. The President combines these spending requests with the estimates of expected revenues, and sends the budget to Congress each January.

Once the President's expenditure budget is submitted, Congressmen make speeches about it, but most of Congress and most of the committees then ignore the expenditure budget. What happens is this—

Congress starts to work on the President's expenditure budget.

It assigns the various parts of the budget to the Appropriations Committee and its subcommittees. The individual subcommittees usually work for several months, reviewing, analyzing, and finally recommending an appropriation level for the parts of the budget within their jurisdiction. When the subcommittees complete their work—and I want you to realize they do not finish at the same time—their report is made to the full Committee which, in turn, reports the approved bill for Floor action.

Individual appropriation bills approved by the House are then referred to the Senate, which then sends them through the Senate's committee process.

If the Senate makes no change in the House-approved bill, then it is sent on to the President for signature. If the Senate has amended the House bill, the differences must be worked out in a conference committee; then the compromise must be approved by the House and Senate before being sent to the President.

The work done by the various committees in individual appropriations areas is generally good work. But it is fragmented—the committees deal with only one part of the budget at a time. The House as a whole and then the Senate as a whole only deal with one part of the budget at a time—no one looks at the total picture. In fact, there is currently no structural way for Congress to watch effectively what the total appropriations add up to.

So you see, Congress' current approach to fiscal matters is confused and uncoordinated. You've heard that a camel is a horse made by a committee. Well, the result of the Congressional review of fiscal matters is not a budgetary stallion, but a broken down, camel-like unicorn.

What we have is not an impoundment crisis. What we have is the pathetic sight of a branch of our government—the Congress—flaying about, spewing out political press releases and strangling in its own procedural red tape. Congress never addresses the fundamental budgetary questions.

This is not because of a lack of concern on the part of the Legislative Branch, it is because of our own chaotic rules and processes.

Congress' inability to define economic priorities has forced the President to take the long fiscal view. After all, as the distinguished minority leader of the Senate said, "If the Congress can't add, the Executive must subtract." This is the essential case for Presidential impoundment of funds. It is also the reason why Congress must cease the

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chorus of agonized screams over the frustration of Congressional intent and related political rhetoric.

The need for impoundments is dictated by Congressional errors. And let's not forget the political reality that the current impoundment "issue" is being presented by a Congress which is not aligned with the Party in the White House. The cries of "one man rule" and "royalty" in the White House come from a Party seeking headlines, a Party seeking a national constituency.

Congressional PR is leaving the impression that the current \$8.7 billion impoundment level is unprecedented and that most of these impounded funds are comprised of money from the area of human resources.

The fact is, impoundments at the end of January comprised a smaller share of total expected outlays than for any fiscal year since 1960. Currently 3.5 percent of the budget is being withheld. This is equal to only 62 percent of the average level of impoundments relative to total outlays for the past decade. President Kennedy withheld about 8 percent of the budget in 1961.

In 1966 President Johnson cut back federal spending by \$5.3 billion in order to meet the inflationary effects of the Vietnam War. And President Johnson's cutbacks were in the areas of transportation, housing and urban development, education, agriculture, and health and welfare. Yet now, if you listen to the screams and hollers of President Nixon's attackers, you would hear that in an unprecedented exercise of Executive power, the President is impounding funds in order to eliminate scores of President Johnson's Great Society and social welfare programs.

It should be made clear that, contrary to the impression that has been created publicly, large-scale withholding of appropriated funds has not occurred in the areas of human resources. Impoundments in the areas of community development and housing, education and manpower, health and income-security amount to only 9 percent of total impoundments.

You should also bear in mind that impoundment is not a new practice. It was not even started by the Democratic Presidents of the early Sixties. It has been imposed upon the appropriations process of every President in my memory. I well remember the celebrated fight between the late President Harry Truman and the Republican 80th Congress concerning the size of the Air Force. In that instance, the Congress appropriated funds, and the Executive impounded them. I think in that instance it is also well to note that impoundment came as a result of a Presidential disagreement with the Congress concerning the size of the Air Force, and not because the Executive felt that the expenditure of these funds would hurt the economy, cause an unbalanced budget, or hurt the dollar on the monetary markets. In other words, Harry Truman frustrated the expressed and clear will of Congress much more than Richard Nixon ever has.

Nevertheless, with an eye to the media, many of my colleagues are screaming as if gored by a penny-pinching bull. Instead, they would be well-advised to put our legislative house in order. Until we get a handle on the piecemeal, fragmented, narrow and inefficient fiscal processes of Congress, we cannot even make a rational decision as to whether impoundments are necessary or not. Without a sound fiscal policy, Congress jeopardizes the programs it establishes and directs the Executive to carry out.

Congress must devise a procedure whereby it establishes a legislative spending ceiling for each fiscal year, and means to keep an accurate accounting of how Congressional appropriations measure up against that established ceiling. And, if Congress rationally decides it necessary to exceed the ceiling, it must work out a method of increasing its revenues to pay for those increases.

Fortunately, Congressional procedures for handling matters outside the fiscal area are not quite so confused and bifurcated. Therefore, Congress has a means to deal more effectively in those areas. Currently several things are being considered in committees which will affect the Judicial Branch, and are thus, of interest and direct concern to the legal profession.

Late last year, as I'm sure you are aware, the U.S. Supreme Court released the Federal Rules of Evidence. These Rules embodied the most sweeping rule changes to come from the Court since the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure. Now those Rules of Evidence are before Congress for review.

Congress is having to address the multitude of questions raised, including privileges we are all familiar with. Should, as the new Rules state, the husband-and-wife privilege be limited to criminal cases? Should the doctor-patient privilege be abandoned? Should a wider use of hearsay evidence be admitted?

In the House Judiciary Committee these questions are being thoroughly studied in the sequence presented by the Supreme Court. The seventh subcommittee session on this took place this last Monday. The Chairman hopes to have his report ready in July.

Another very substantial reform before Congress is the pending legislation designed to revise federal criminal law and the jurisdiction of federal district courts. Essentially, this proposal stems from the 1971 Report of the National Commission on the Reform of Federal Criminal Laws. Upon receipt of the Commission's report, the President established a special section in the Department of Justice to prepare legislation, and this has been done.

Currently, the Senate Committee on the Judiciary is studying this legislation and its effects on Federal criminal jurisdiction, culpability, complicity, legal defenses, and sentencing.

Of course, Congress is also taking a serious look at the substantive criminal law problems involved in the area of drug abuse.

The President has requested Congress to reorganize the federal law enforcement effort against drug abuse pursuant to recommendations of the General Accounting Office, an American Bar Association task force, and the Drug Abuse Council. Congress is looking to centralize responsibilities now vested in nine different agencies for maximum effectiveness.

We are also looking to establish more realistic criminal provisions for drug offenders.

We are attempting to remedy this situation with legislation which would establish mandatory minimum terms of imprisonment for those convicted of trafficking in heroin or morphine or of possession of a large quantity of these narcotics. The bill would also restrict pretrial release to cases where the court found that release of those charged with trafficking in heroin or morphine would not pose a danger to the persons or property of others and eliminate the possibility of release pending sentencing or appeal.

Clearly, all these are matters that deserve the most serious consideration. Congress will not act hastily—and I am hopeful the result will be legislation that assists the Judicial Branch, and the legal profession as they continue efforts to assure justice to our citizens.

You are future members of the Bar. As such, you will be officers of the court. The court system is badly in need of dedicated professionals in the private practice—men and women who remember their responsibility as officers of the court.

I am sure you will enter the practice with high standards and great zeal. Keep your enthusiasm and perspective. The service of dedicated practitioners is the basis of our system of justice. It depends on you.

CENSUS DATA AND TITLE I ESEA—
INACCURACY COMPOUNDED

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, when the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 was passed, an important aspect of the bill was title I, designed to distribute funds to schools with children from low income families with special educational needs. The established basis for identifying the schools with a concentration of these children was the use of 1960 census data. Unfortunately, the census data provided a number of built-in problems.

Census data become obsolete very quickly, especially in relation to relatively small geographic units such as counties or cities as compared to States or regions. Even now 1960 census data are still being used to distribute title I allotments because the 1970 census figures were not available at the beginning of fiscal year 1973. This means that the 1960 figures are now 14 years out of date.

The ceiling of \$2,000 used to define a poverty level family is no longer an acceptable poverty level figure. The maintenance of this figure for 1970 census data would mean that many school districts which have come to rely on title I money would lose much of their funding, since many of their poverty families make more than \$2,000 per year.

I believe that the importance of providing money to assist the educationally disadvantaged cannot be minimized. For this reason I have introduced H.R. 5163, the Educationally Disadvantaged Children's Act of 1973, which would distribute title I money not on the basis of economic need but on the basis of educational need. Educational need would be established by the administration of national criterion-referenced tests in the areas of reading and mathematics to a sample of children aged 5 to 17. These tests would provide a direct measure of educational need that cross-cuts economic levels. While many children whose families are economically poor are educationally needy, there are also large numbers of children who are not from economically deprived homes who have critical educational needs.

When I introduced H.R. 5163, which is designed to amend the existing title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, I raised the problems in using census data to distribute title I money that I have just reviewed. Since then I have encountered yet another weakness in the use of census data to determine the number of children from poverty families.

By the Census Bureau's own estimates the population groups which tend to be undercounted in the census most frequently are those in innercity areas and isolated rural areas. This would necessarily include a large number of minority group members and low-income white families. The following chart graphically illustrates the percentage of underenumeration by age, sex, and color in the 1960 census.

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TABLE 1.—ESTIMATED AMOUNT AND PERCENTAGE OF NET UNDERENUMERATION OF THE POPULATION BY AGE, SEX, AND COLOR, IN THE 1960 CENSUS¹

Sex and age	White, 1960 (April 1)		Nonwhite, 1960 (April 1)	
	Amount (thou-sands)	Per- centage ²	Amount (thou-sands)	Per- centage ²
Male, all ages	2,256	2.8	1,218	10.9
0 to 4	177	2.0	124	7.7
5 to 9	205	2.4	78	5.7
10 to 14	194	2.5	59	5.2
15 to 19	233	3.8	114	12.5
20 to 24	209	4.3	133	17.5
25 to 29	208	4.2	150	19.7
30 to 34	167	3.1	138	18.0
35 to 39	142	2.5	107	14.5
40 to 44	97	1.9	82	12.8
45 to 49	77	1.6	69	11.5
50 to 54	159	3.6	97	17.8
55 to 59	15	0.4	25	5.9
60 to 64	97	3.0	31	9.7
65 and over	276	3.8	11	1.8
Female, all ages	1,297	1.6	924	8.1
0 to 4	102	1.2	101	6.4
5 to 9	126	1.6	66	4.8
10 to 14	108	1.5	47	4.2
15 to 19	144	2.4	91	10.1
20 to 24	121	2.4	75	9.6
25 to 29	68	1.4	67	8.7
30 to 34	32	0.6	46	5.9
35 to 39	-11	-0.2	47	6.2
40 to 44	-11	-0.2	42	6.4
45 to 49	35	0.7	52	8.4
50 to 54	194	4.2	103	18.2
55 to 59	62	1.6	45	10.0
60 to 64	151	4.2	50	14.1
65 and over	176	2.1	92	12.2

¹ Reprinted with permission from Jacob S. Siegel, "Completeness of Coverage of the Nonwhite Population in the 1960 Census and Current Estimates, and Some Implications," in David M. Heer (Ed.), *Social Statistics and the City* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press for the Joint Center for Urban Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard University), 1968, table 2, pp. 42-43.

² These percentages were computed in the following manner: For a particular sex-color-age category, let C represent the census-reported count and let E represent the "corrected" population count. Then, the percentage is $(E-C)/E \times 100$. The numbers in the "Amount" columns are the values of E-C. Footnote 2 on p. 16 of Siegel gives the sources for the E values.

You will note that in the age groups between 5 and 15, the census error in 1960 for nonwhites ranges between 4.2 percent and 5.7 percent. For whites the error range was between 1.5 percent and 2.5 percent. Since title I moneys are still being distributed based on 1960 census data the effect of 1960 undercount is still a serious problem.

The figures for 1970 are not yet available. The Census Bureau has indicated that there has been some improvement in the percentage of undercount for minorities in 1970, but the exact improvement is not yet known.

In a report of the Advisory Committee on Problems of Census Enumeration entitled "America's Uncounted People," published in 1972, they discuss specifically the inequitable funding distribution for Federal programs that occurs because of census undercount. The report states:

The impact of underenumeration on the allocation of lesser sums by cities, counties, school districts, or other communities may be very strong, and its consequences most serious. (P.20)

... substantial underenumeration of particular categories of a state's population could affect the distribution of federal money, but the most serious effects would probably be felt in instances in which a state's internal redistribution formula followed the federal pattern closely. (p.22)

When one considers that current title I moneys are specifically mandated to serve children with special educational needs who are from low-income families,

the use of census data is almost ironic. The very measure designed to insure a fair and equal distribution of money insures an unfair and unequal distribution of funds.

An article in the Washington Post on December 26, 1972 discusses this problem of undercount for welfare cases as it affects the distribution of Federal revenue-sharing money. I think it clearly illustrates the seriousness of the problem for ESEA title I as well as general revenue sharing. The article follows:

U.S. CENSUS MISCOUNT IS CLAIMED
(By Michael J. Sniffen)

NEW YORK Dec. 25.—City officials and Rand Corp. researchers claimed today that the U.S. Census undercounted the number of welfare cases in New York City by 39 per cent, which could cost the city some federal revenue-sharing money. A Rand official said the error probably was repeated in other cities.

A report by the New York City-Rand Institute also said the census undercounted total welfare payments for the year by 41.1 per cent. The institute is a nonprofit organization founded by the city and Rand in 1969 to study city problems.

"There's a good chance that census data are significantly underestimating the number of poor families and poor individuals in the big cities of the country, and as a result they would be short-changed in federal aid," said Edward Blum, institute vice president.

New York City now gets just over \$200 million a year in federal revenue sharing, based in part on census data about its overall population and percentage of poor people.

"A very crude estimate would be that New York City could lose between \$10 million and \$40 million each year in revenue sharing because of this error," Blum said, "but it has to be a crude estimate because the Treasury says it has changed the published formulas and won't tell us the changes. But we do know it contains a bonus for added population and a bonus for more low-income people."

Dr. Bernard R. Gifford, president of the institute, said that in addition to revenue sharing, money from the Model Cities program, the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Department of Health, Education and Welfare could be affected by the error. And he added, "If undercounting of individuals is significant there could also be an impact on legislative redistricting."

"Either the Bureau of the Census simply failed to locate some welfare recipients because they were too mobile, or people on welfare failed to tell the census they were on welfare in 1969," said Peter Rydell, who conducted the study.

Comparing adjusted data from the city's Human Resources Administration and from the 1970 census, the institute found the census concluded there were 291,000 welfare cases in 1969 to which the city paid out roughly \$520 million while the city Department of Social Services had some 477,000 cases on its rolls and paid out more than \$883 million in that year.

As evidence the error might have been repeated elsewhere, Blum cited a letter from Census Bureau Director George H. Brown, commenting on a draft report. Brown wrote that a study by a census researcher showed the census estimate of total welfare income in many states to be off by as much as 30 per cent, Blum said.

Census officials were not immediately available today to comment on the institute report.

I am in no way suggesting that the undercount figures reflect failure on the part of the Census Bureau to deal with this problem. Especially in the 1970 cen-

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sus the special efforts they made to seek out and count inner-city residents and isolated rural citizens were herculean.

WHY THE WAR ON POVERTY HAS FAILED

HON. EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. ESHLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, many of us are concerned about the President's plans for phasing out the poverty program. I am convinced that the President is on the proper course, and some work being done in my district proves that worthwhile programs serving the poor can be retained, while bureaucratic overhead is abolished.

A constituent of mine, Daniel L. Hall, presently is working at OEO headquarters here in Washington, where he has been assisting Acting Director Howard Phillips in the phaseout operation. In a memorandum directed to me, Mr. Hall explains why he feels the war on poverty failed, and why the elimination of the OEO-CAP bureaucracy will result in more, not less, opportunities for this Nation's poor.

The comments in this memorandum should be considered in light of the fact that Mr. Hall is black and a former CAP Board Member, Executive Director and volunteer. It is an eloquent statement from a man who has the experience to know a great deal about what he is saying..

I am including Dan Hall's memorandum in the RECORD at this point for the information of my colleagues.

APRIL 13, 1973.

Memorandum to Congressman E. Eshleman. From: Daniel Hall.

Subject: Why the War on Poverty has failed.

There has been a classic statement for centuries that America is the melting pot of the world. America's goal is evidenced on the pedestal of the Statue of Liberty, "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breath Free, the wretched refuse of your teeming shore. Send those, the homeless, tempest tossed to me. I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

Unfortunately, many socially conscious people, who are involved in the War on Poverty, nevertheless, feel that these truisms that are inherent in America's growth process should be changed. All segments of the community should be involved in the planning of human resources programs. More often than not the pseudo-humanitarians and the poor are left to their own devices to initiate and carry out programs, thus alienating the rest of the community.

We must redirect our efforts toward people, not power, political or otherwise. There is every reason why the present Administration's approach to anti-poverty can work. Businessmen, leaders of industry, and politicians have been excluded in the planning and implementing of socio-economic programs in the community. There seemed to be a systematic attempt on the part of poverty program employees to alienate business leaders and politicians who really had the knowledge and power to initiate positive action.

It is a fact that the majority of people living beneath the federally established economic guidelines are also beneath the ac-

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cepted socio-academic level. While access to those statistics were available to most employees of poverty programs, they appeared to disregard the need to educate people, except in a limited fashion, thus, perpetuating the dependency of the poor.

Jobs are created and sustained through our system of free enterprise, yet, businesses were not consulted in planning programs to alleviate poverty. It was ironic that some employees of poverty programs were saying that poor people should be the sole planners of their lives while disregarding the fact that poor people are an integral part of the community and a scientific approach to community planning is necessary.

President Nixon has not said that there is no poverty in America. He has said that the poverty program, as it is operating now, is not working. On that point many of us agree. It is time for all Americans to care that some Americans are poor. People must join hands and together work to make things happen not let things happen.

EASTER THOUGHTS OF ST. CYRIL

HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, today it was my good fortune to receive "Easter Thoughts of St. Cyril" from Adm. Hyman G. Rickover, who is, to me, one of the most intelligent and dedicated men to ever serve in the U.S. Navy.

Without the benefit of his thinking, planning, dedication, and driving dynamic forcefulness, our nuclear submarine fleet would not have been an acutality for years.

I submit that a fourth star for this distinguished admiral is long overdue.

I include "Easter Thoughts of St. Cyril."

EASTER THOUGHTS OF ST. CYRIL, WHO WAS CONSECRATED BISHOP OF ALEXANDRIA IN 412 AD

Cyril wrote each year of the centrality of the resurrection to announce the date of Easter, and frequently drew a lovely parallel between the new life of spring and the resurrection of Christ:

"It is springtime. The earth is bursting with new life, the gloom of winter is gone, bright rays of sun break forth, lighting up mountain and forest, wood and glades. Fields are crowned with flowers. The shepherd rejoices, blowing his flute as he leads his flock to freshly sprouting grass. The grapevines shoot forth new sprouts like tiny fingers reaching for the sun. The meadows are resplendent with color which gladdens the husbandman. However, it would be nothing to praise spring for these things alone, for what makes spring more worthwhile than any other season is this: along with nature, the nature of the one who rules over all things, I mean man, is raised up. For springtime brings us the resurrection of our Savior, through whom all are reformed to newness of life, fleeing the alien corruption of death. . . . In this time of his love for us, when he became man on account of us, he reformed the whole nature in himself to newness of life, and transformed it to what it was from the beginning."

In another paschal homily he develops this further:

"The gloomy threat of winter has ended, the bad weather and darkness is past; gone for us are the rains and the rage of savage winds. Days of springtime have come upon us. They awaken the vinedresser from his

stupor and unreadiness, and the farmer as well, calling out that it is now time to go to work. The meadows sprout again with all kinds of blooms. On the mountains and in the gardens plants bring to life their sprouts as though in birth pains, and they generate from their loins the power of their own nature. Young shoots come out, a reminder of the philanthropy of God, as it is said; he gives fodder to the beasts."

CRIMINAL ABORTION TRIAL IN MASSACHUSETTS

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, I have earlier inserted excerpts from the testimony in the criminal abortion trial Commonwealth against Brunelle held in the State of Massachusetts. Today I would like to include further commentary on this testimony by Dr. Herbert Ratner.

TESTIMONY BY DR. HERBERT RATNER

This new human being goes through an historical, spatio-temporal process of growth and development which is customarily delineated as stages in its life history and is successively referred to zygote, embryo, fetus, infant, child, pubescent and adolescent. Man since he is mortal is capable of death at any point or stage of his growth and development. When death occurs, whether from natural or unnatural causes, what dies is not simply a cell, a collection of cells, a blob of protoplasm, a mass of tissues, but a human being. To speak of the live fetus—the target of the abortionist—as a little blob of protoplasm is no more accurate than to speak of the live adult as a large blob of protoplasm. And to speak of feticide or infanticide as different from homicide is equally inaccurate; both are kinds of homicide which refer to the killing of human beings at different stages of individual human life.

That this is the common understanding of biologists as distinguished from propagandists is readily confirmed by reference to the scientific literature dealing with life before birth. Several examples should suffice.

Dr. George W. Corner, one of the most eminent embryologists in the United States, in the Terry Lectures given at Yale University and published under the title, *Ourselves Unborn*, uses the following language in talking of man's intrauterine existence:

"The development of the human being during the first week is unknown. No one has yet seen the embryo during its journey from the ovary through the Fallopian tube, until the time it becomes implanted in the uterus.

"I hope that the human being whose biography during the first weeks of life is being sketched herewith is already something more to the reader than a diagram in a book. This is your history I am telling and mine, and that of my own child and yours. Here in the laboratory we can of course study and depict for you only those whose lives have been interrupted, and yet our experience trains us to think even of them as witnesses of life and growth.

"Realize, then, that man even in his earliest weeks faces unconsciously the unending problem of getting along in his world. Life is a paradoxical career in which the individual must both accept and contend with his environment, at once struggling for independence and adapting himself to cooperative action. Before birth this effort and adjustment are a matter of physiology alone;

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only later is the struggle complicated by problems of mentality and social custom and by those workings of the spirit through which a man must pilot his individual life to success or failure in his community, to achievement or martyrdom, to turmoil or inward peace." (p. 37)

Corner's final conclusion makes clear that the fetus is not part of the mother as some argue, but a completely distinct whole—another individual:

"In summary, then, and subject to certain technical reservations, nothing gets through the placenta from mother to child unless it is capable of being carried in solution by the blood and of passing through the walls of the villi and of their blood capillaries. . . . There is no other means of communication between mother and child. In particular it should be emphasized in capital letters that there is no connection between their nervous systems. Not a single nerve fiber crosses the placental barrier. . . . The infant is in fact completely shut off from its own mother save for the exchange of simple chemical nutrients and wastes through a screen so fine that it will pass nothing but the smaller molecules of matter."

Dr. Ashley Montagu, in *Life Before Birth*, similarly writes of human life existing from conception to birth. The following quotations make this evident.

"The basic fact is simple: life begins, not at birth, but at conception. This means that a developing child is alive not only in the sense that he is composed of living tissues, but also in the sense that from the moment of his conception, *things happen to him*. Furthermore, when things happen to him, even though he may be only two weeks old, and from another world than a human being, and his birth date is eight and a half months in the future, *he reacts*. In spite of his newness and his appearance, he is a living, striving human being from the very beginning."

• * * * *

"During the prenatal period—that is, the nine months between conception and birth—a human being is.

• * * * *

"A developing child, especially during the first twelve weeks of his life, when his major organs are being formed.

• * * * *

"Since a child who is only two or three weeks from conception can respond to his environment.

• * * * *

"When a human being begins his life, he is smaller than the period at the end of this sentence. He is a single cell, barely visible to the naked eye.

• * * * *

"It is the first third of pregnancy that is most important in the child's development.

• * * * *

"By the time the baby—no longer an ovum, but now properly called an embryo—is fifteen or sixteen days old, he is.

• * * * *

"By the end of eight weeks, he graduates again: properly speaking, he is no longer an embryo but a fetus. This word comes from a Latin word meaning 'offspring' and the change in labels at this stage symbolizes the child's growth from a rudimentary being to a recognizable human being.

• * * * *

"Birth is not a beginning: we have seen again and again in the course of this book that the true beginning is at conception. Nor is birth an ending. It is more nearly a bridge between two stages of life [which] a child crosses slowly."

Montagu's conclusion is, perhaps, more striking than he intended:

"Three facts stand out clearly above the mass of hypotheses, figures, conjectures, conclusions, and recommendations: Things happen to children before they are born. Most of these things are good; some can be harmful.

A prospective mother can determine to a large extent what will happen to her child."

It should be added that Montagu, in the context of the abortion issue—he is ardently pro-abortion—subsequently attempts to deny that these patently clear passages signify the presence of inviolable human life. On the contrary, he insists that only the functionally human have a right to life and he states this belief in the following words:

"The embryo, fetus and newborn of the human species, in point of fact, do not really become functionally human until humanized in the human socialization process. Humanity is an achievement, not an endowment."

What a Pandora's Box this opens! Such dangerous nonsense not only justifies infanticide, but an entire spectrum of imposed euthanasia: the mentally retarded; the incurable mentally ill; the poor when socio-economic conditions irremediably prevent human socialization; hardened criminals; alienated and neurotic people of all categories; and masses of socially deprived indigents found in undeveloped countries such as Vietnam. It conjures up the whole spectrum of the Nazi program directed at "social undesirables." To contravene man's inalienable rights by substituting the quality of a person's attributes for the person himself overturns civilization's arduous progress toward the just recognition of the intrinsic dignity and rights of every human being. The future holds a treacherous road should we forego established biologic criteria of human life for academically or governmentally decreed social and cultural criteria of humane performance. No amount of denial or rationalization in whatever context, however, can negate the persuasive and critically important message of *Life Before Birth*.

Again we have H. Margaret I. Liley's book entitled, *Modern Motherhood*. Throughout, it speaks of the individuality and personality of the fetus. Dr. Liley, a pediatrician, is the wife of the famous New Zealand fetologist, Arthur W. Liley, M.D., who developed and performed the first lifesaving intrauterine transfusion in 1963 to demonstrate to the world that the fetus is a treatable patient. Two passages from her book establish the fetus as more than "a potential human being."

"The unborn baby is an active, lively, independent human being long before his mother feels his presence.

• * * * *

"The fetus is quite beautiful and perfect in his fashion, active and graceful. He is neither an acquiescent vegetable nor a witless tadpole as some have conceived him to be in the past, but rather a tiny human being as independent as though he were lying in a crib with a blanket wrapped around him instead of his mother."

Even William Harvey in the seventeenth century and Aristotle in the fourth century B.C., incomplete as their embryologic knowledge was by modern standards, clearly recognized the existence of the human being in the uterus. Harvey states: ". . . before a man attains to maturity, he was a boy, an infant, an embryo." Aristotle states:

"As to Man's growth, first within his mother's womb and afterwards to old age, the course of nature, in so far as man is especially concerned, is after the following manner."

In Aristotelian embryology, which dominated embryologic thinking through the eighteenth century, the woman, in the generative process, only supplied the passive matter—the retained menstrual fluids—upon which the active agent in the semen worked in the fashion of a carver working on wood. (The "semen's" counterpart, the human egg, was not to be discovered until the early nineteenth century.) For Aristotle, this meant that although the generative process was initiated with copulation, a period of weeks passed before a new human being, a fetus, was actually generated. This concept of the process was not unlike the generation

of Pinocchio from a block of wood. Just as Pinocchio did not come into existence until the features of a boy emerged in the carving, so, also, in Aristotelian embryology, the fetus did not come into existence until the distinguishing visible feature of sex had developed. The additional criterion for the generation of a living human being, independent of the sex of the fetus, was animation detected by quickening. It was with this twofold distinction in mind that Aristotle approved of "abortion." His approval was limited to the period prior to the emergence of an intrauterine human being whether detected by the human morphology of the fetus or by animation. He stated:

"When couples have children in excess, let abortion be procured before sense and life have begun; what may or may not be lawfully done in these cases depends on the question of life and sensation."

Parenthetically, it may be added that the derision directed at Aristotle, and those following him, for his alleged mystical belief that the male form or soul came into being at 40 days and the female at 80 days reflects the ignorance of the critics rather than the ignorance of Aristotle. Aristotle, the father of biology and one of the keenest observers of nature in the history of biology, based his conclusion on a sound biological principle which he combined with accurate embryologic observations. In the absence of knowledge obtained after the discovery of the microscope, he defined the point of emergence from matter of female and male by the following criteria: "The 'womb' is a part peculiar to the female; and the 'penis' is peculiar to the male." Accordingly, he believed that the male form or soul did not come into existence until the penis did, and the female form or soul did not come into existence until the womb did. (Today, of course, we know that male or female is determined at fertilization—the zygote stage—with the allocation of the Y chromosome.)

Aristotle described the embryologic observations which led to this conclusion:

"In the case of a male embryo aborted at the fortieth day . . . if the membrane be pulled to bits the embryo is revealed . . . and all the limbs are plain to see, including the penis. . . . But the female embryo, if it suffer abortion [i.e., miscarriage or spontaneous abortion] during the first three months, is as a rule undifferentiated; if however it reach the fourth month it comes to be subdivided and quickly attains further differentiation. In short, while within the womb, the female . . . accomplishes the whole development of its parts more slowly than the male."

The scientific accuracy of these observations may be ascertained from any standard text on the intrauterine development of the child. Rather than archaic, Aristotle's fourth century B.C. knowledge of macroscopic embryology is clearly superior to that of some pro-abortion physicians and college students and graduates who, like prescientific medievalists, keep thinking and talking of first trimester abortion as the extraction of "menstrual fluids" or "embryonic juices."

Contrary to the unscientific claim of Hall and Tietze that the fetus is only a potential human being, nineteenth and twentieth century advances in embryologic knowledge have actually supported the Aristotelian conclusion that in early pregnancy there is actual human life *in utero*. Modern embryology, with the advent of the microscope, simply extends the presence of human life from the time of quickening—which is only a subjectively perceived sensation on the part of the mother—backwards to the time of fertilization. The position, therefore, that these defense witnesses maintain finds no justification in the scientific tradition whether it be the incomplete Aristotelian embryology of an earlier age or the more complete embryology of a later age.

The position of modern science is most tersely expressed by Planned Parenthood—

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World Population. In the 1963 edition of its widely distributed pamphlet entitled, *Plan Your Children for Health and Happiness*, it states,

"An abortion kills the life of a baby after it has begun. It is dangerous to your life and health. It may make you sterile so that when you want a child you cannot have it."

Planned Parenthood—World Population—and Drs. Hall and Tietze, who are professionally affiliated with this organization—are today leading proponents of easily obtainable abortion, despite the fact that there have been no scientific studies or discoveries since 1963 which alter the truth of the above-quoted passage.

STOLAREVSKY'S NEW PLANS

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, the McKeesport community which is part of the district which I represent as Congressman is justly proud of the variety and importance of its many industries.

And it is proud, too, of the cultural life which it has developed with increasing success in recent years—a life of good music, art, and live drama. Its accomplishments in this field are considered outstanding for a community located so close to, and once culturally dependent on, a larger metropolis—in this case, Pittsburgh.

My interest in this matter today has to do with the man who has done the most to build the McKeesport Symphony Orchestra into an organization of great local acceptance and growing recognition in musical circles elsewhere. He is Mihail Stolarevsky, the orchestra's conductor and musical director.

Mr. Stolarevsky took over the orchestra in 1959, finding time from his other duties of playing with the world-renowned Pittsburgh Symphony and teaching to organize and lead it in annual concert series which have won widespread support. Now, having reached his 70's, he has decided not to cut down on his work but to concentrate it on a fewer number of things.

Mr. Stolarevsky is leaving his chair with the Pittsburgh Symphony, where he has been a member of the viola section for 28 years, and, fortunately for McKeesporters, will spend more of his hours with the McKeesport Symphony which has become his No. 1 interest. He plans now, with the orchestra's board, to increase the number of McKeesport concerts in future years which is a matter of good news certainly for the McKeesport music lovers.

I am happy, on the occasion of Mr. Stolarevsky's schedule change, to congratulate him and to express, as a Congressman, the thanks of my district for the enormous contribution he has made to the enjoyment of our people and our cultural advancement. May the years ahead provide for him the opportunity to fulfill the new goals he has set for himself and for the orchestra which so brightly bears his mark.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

REMARKS ON THE EPA IMPLEMENTATION PLAN FOR THE CLEAN AIR ACT OF 1970

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, in light of the approaching vote on the highway trust fund, I believe my colleagues may be interested in the comments of Dr. James Pitts, head of the Statewide Air Pollution Research Center in Riverside, Calif. As a distinguished scientist and researcher in the area of photochemical air pollution, Dr. Pitts is highly qualified to comment on the Environmental Protection Agency's proposed technological controls for emissions.

As laymen in this critical and highly technical area, I would urge my fellow Members to weigh Dr. Pitts' recommendations carefully:

REMARKS ON THE EPA IMPLEMENTATION PLAN FOR THE CLEAN AIR ACT OF 1970

(By James N. Pitts)

I. INTRODUCTION

The EPA proposal for meeting clean air standards for 1977 has shocked many southern Californians from all walks of life. To date, attention has been focused on gasoline rationing with little discussion on the other control strategies which are key elements of the overall plan. These are crucial because the more they can be made effective in controlling hydrocarbons, the less stringent the need for gasoline rationing becomes.

Thus, today, while I am opposed to gasoline rationing for several reasons, both societal and technical, I shall not directly address this subject. Instead, as a researcher in photochemical air pollution, I am pleased to respond to your request and comment on the scientific and technical bases for several of the proposed technical strategies in your initial plan for control of reactive hydrocarbon emissions.

My discussion will center on the technological controls outlined in the "Compilation of Control Strategy Effects on June 30, 1977." These summarize the reactive hydrocarbon emissions projected for 1977 under existing control measures and the projected hydrocarbon emissions after the EPA-proposed controls are implemented. A copy of this EPA-generated table is attached.

II. RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN AMBIENT LEVELS OF REACTIVE HYDROCARBONS AND PHOTOCHEMICAL OXIDANT

The EPA plan for meeting the oxidant air quality standards in 1977 is based on its assumed linear relationship between the levels of reactive hydrocarbons and oxidant in ambient air. No consideration is given to the possible companion role of oxides of nitrogen in producing photochemical oxidant. To this extent, the EPA "model" for photochemical smog formation differs significantly from that accepted for some years by the State of California Air Resources Board and the Los Angeles Air Pollution Control District. Their strategy of reducing ambient oxidant calls for reducing both reactive hydrocarbons (HC) and oxides of nitrogen (NO_x) to prescribed levels.

I shall not dwell on this matter here, but simply note that scientists at the EPA, ARB, in industry, and, indeed, those of us at the Statewide Air Pollution Research Center are deeply involved in studies which hopefully should resolve this critical issue.

TABLE 1.—COMPILE OF CONTROL STRATEGY EFFECTS ON JUNE 30, 1977

	Tons per day	Percent of total reduction due to each control
Stationary source emissions without control strategy	140	
Expected reductions:		
(a) Dry-cleaning vapor recovery	-6	1
(b) Degreaser substitute	-25	5
(c) Other stationary rule strengthening	-45	9
Stationary emissions remaining	64	
Motorcycle emissions without control strategy	30	
Expected reductions	0	
Motorcycle emissions remaining	30	
Aircraft emissions without control strategy	35	
Expected reductions	-11	2
Aircraft emissions remaining	24	
Mobile emissions from on-highway light- and heavy-duty vehicles and from gasoline marketing operations without control strategy	486	
Expected reductions:		
(a) Gasoline marketing vapor control	-37	7
(b) VSAD and PCV retrofit	-13	2
(c) Inspection and maintenance	-28	5
(d) Vehicle evaporative control retrofit	-19	4
(e) Gasoline fuel conversion	-8	2
(f) Oxidizing catalyst retrofit	-70	13
(g) Gasoline rationing	-269	51
Mobile emissions remaining	42	
Total emissions without control strategy	691	
Total reductions	-531	100
Total emissions remaining	160	

I should, however, stress one additional point. As an atmospheric chemist, I am concerned that so little attention has been paid to NO_x emissions in 1977 and the possibility that the EPA strategies might significantly increase them. Surely, it would be counterproductive to introduce additional very strict control measures for reactive hydrocarbons from major stationary sources or from retrofit devices on used cars, which, while reducing HC would raise the already excessive levels of NO_x emitted into our atmosphere.

Recommendation 1: I recommend that the revised EPA plan present a detailed evaluation of the possible effects on oxides of nitrogen emissions in the South Coast Air Basin that would occur as a result of their proposed control strategies for reduction in emissions of reactive hydrocarbons.

III. EMISSION INVENTORY FOR REACTIVE HYDROCARBONS AND OXIDES OF NITROGEN

There is a clear and most urgent need for a far more accurate emissions inventory, particularly of emissions of reactive hydrocarbons and NO_x, than now exists for the South Coast Air Basin. Without such an inventory, the major question arises as to the relative contributions of reactive hydrocarbons from motor vehicles versus those from point and multiple stationary sources. Extremely stringent measures are being proposed in the EPA plan with regard to controlling motor vehicle emissions, but it is not evident in the published initial EPA plan that such very strong regulatory actions are planned to reduce emissions from the stationary sources, such as industrial plants, solvent users, etc.

Recommendation 2. a) I recommend that a far more accurate and comprehensive emissions inventory, particularly of reactive hydrocarbons and oxides of nitrogen, be developed for the South Coast Air Basin at all possible speed consistent with reliability.

b) I further recommend that, on the basis

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of this inventory strong consideration be given to the implementation of even stricter controls on emissions of reactive hydrocarbons from both multiple and point stationary sources.

IV. REACTIVE SOLVENTS AND RULE 66

Rule 66, for the control of reactive hydrocarbons and other photochemically reactive organic solvents, as currently being implemented in Los Angeles County and as projected in the EPA plan, is first of all confusing, as it is now stated. Secondly, it does not appear to give the degree of control of photochemically reactive hydrocarbon and chlorinated or oxygenated hydrocarbon solvents that must be achieved if we are to approach the air quality standard for photochemical oxidant.

Thus, on close examination, Rule 66 appears in some respects to be, in fact, a relatively weak rule, and its adoption (as currently written) could result in solvents still being a significant source of photochemically reactive emissions in 1977.

For example, Rule 66, as I read it, apparently excludes from control toluene, a seven-carbon aromatic compound which is a frequently used solvent and highly photochemically reactive. Also, it excludes benzene (C_6H_6) from control, but this is not a serious omission because benzene, in contrast to toluene, is not photochemically reactive.

Recommendation 3: I recommend that the entire question of control of photochemically reactive solvents in the South Coast Air Basin be reexamined in detail and a new set of control regulations promulgated proportional to the degree of the problem we are facing. The industrial solvent user should have to make sacrifices parallel to those of the citizen using his motor vehicle.

V. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TOTAL OXIDANT VALUES AND ACTUAL LEVELS OF OZONE AND NITROGEN DIOXIDE IN AMBIENT AIR

For a variety of chemical, biological, and medical reasons, we should all recognize that an oxidant value does not necessarily correspond to the actual level of ozone (O_3) in ambient air. "Total oxidant" represents those compounds present in ambient air which oxidize potassium iodide to give free iodine. It generally consists primarily of ozone, but it also includes such compounds as nitrogen dioxide (NO_2) and peroxyacetyl nitrate (PAN), both of which also oxidize potassium iodide solution. The efficiency of this oxidation varies from compound to compound, but for three key components of photochemical oxidant, it is 100% for ozone and approximately 15 to 20% for both nitrogen dioxide and PAN. The following points should be noted.

(A) PAN levels on smoggy days generally fall in the 5 to 50 ppb range. These levels are so low in relation to ambient O_3 and NO_2 that they do not significantly affect the observed total oxidant value.

(B) NO_2 levels can approach those of ozone (although generally not concurrently). Thus, in an extreme case, if one has 0.5 ppm of NO_2 in ambient air (a high, but not impossible, level), one will see a total oxidant reading approximating the air quality standard for oxidant 0.08 ppm—yet no ozone (the crucially toxic substance) is present! The ramifications of these facts are clear.

Another aspect of the complex chemistry of photochemical smog should be considered. Ozone reacts very rapidly with nitric oxide to form NO_2 . Thus, in areas of southern California where there is a high concentration of O_3 , the concentration of nitric oxide would be expected to be low, and, conversely, high levels of nitric oxide emissions will result in low levels of ambient ozone, and, hence, of total oxidant. The situation can arise that, if only "total oxidant" is determined, high ambient concentrations of nitric oxide will lead to an overall reduction in the value obtained for total oxidant. This could be construed as representing a decrease in

photochemical smog, which, however, on a basin-wide consideration, it is not.

Such a situation could well be existing at present in southern California. The level of "oxidant" in downtown Los Angeles has decreased within the last several years. Farther to the east, however, the oxidant levels have increased. Given data of this type, it is not easy to assess the true effectiveness of control strategies and whether the overall air pollution picture is really improving throughout all of southern California.

Recommendation 4: (a) I recommend that ambient air quality data be taken, not just on total oxidant and total oxides of nitrogen, but also specifically for ozone and nitrogen dioxide. Several commercial instruments are now available for such measurements.

(b) I further recommend that such instruments for measuring NO_2 and O_3 be put into use as soon as feasible at all air monitoring stations in the South Coast Air Basin, along with the existing total oxidant meters. This is crucial if we are to have a truly accurate basis for evaluating the chemical, biological, and medical quality of our air, and the true effectiveness of our emission control strategies.

VI. OTHER ASPECTS OF THE EPA PLAN

(A) The EPA plan calls for annual inspection of all light- and heavy-duty, gasoline-powered vehicles, with the emissions tests being done under "load," which simulates actual driving conditions. Furthermore, they state that vehicle owners must maintain their cars to certain prescribed levels of pollution control.

Recommendation 5: I heartily support this proposal and urge its implementation in California on a maximum urgency basis. It is of the highest priority.

(B) In the EPA plan, oxidizing catalysts are required on all 1966- to 1974-model-year motor vehicles.

Recommendation 6: I endorse this proposal; however, only on the condition that the use of such catalysts, while reducing emissions of reactive hydrocarbons, must (1) not increase emissions of oxides of nitrogen, or (2) generate other undesirable pollutants, such as ammonia and aldehydes.

(C) The EPA proposes that all 1971-1974 fleet vehicles be converted to "gaseous fuels." With some qualifications, I support this proposal for the use of CNG or LNG (methane fuels). My reservations arise in part from consideration of very recent and conflicting data regarding the hydrocarbon reactivity of emissions from vehicles fueled with LNG. If true, one would question the true effectiveness of LPG as a so-called "clean fuel."

Furthermore, a recent EPA paper states that engines fueled by LPG, CNG, and normal gasoline have essentially the same emissions of NO_x when the engines are tested under conditions of maximum performance with the three fuels.

Recommendation 7: (a) The issue of performance versus pollution for the gaseous fuels (LPG, CNG, and LNG) versus regular gasoline should be evaluated in depth on a most urgent basis by the EPA and its conclusions on pollution versus performance should be presented to the public in understandable form.

(b) I further recommend that any motor vehicle which meets the 1975 emissions standards and shows reasonable performance and durability under realistic test programs may be legally used as a fleet vehicle in place of a vehicle powered on gaseous fuels.

VII. COMMENTS ON IMPLEMENTATION OF THE 1975-76 EMISSION CONTROLS ON MOTOR VEHICLES

I would like to make one other major point highly relevant to the prospects of gasoline rationing in 1977—new car emission controls for 1975-76. If the current request of the American automobile manufacturers is granted and these controls are deferred, the need for gasoline rationing and

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other very stringent measures will become even greater for southern Californians! Thus, I am firmly opposed to any extension of the date for implementation of the 1975-76 emission controls for motor vehicles.

Although this is a major subject and beyond the scope of my brief comments, I would only note that according to a recent National Academy of Sciences' report, two foreign manufacturers already have developed I.C. engines, fueled with gasoline, which already meet the 1975 standards. Furthermore, they show reasonable fuel economy and performance characteristics. Thus, Honda vehicles with a 2000-cc stratified charge CVCC engine and cars produced by Toyo Kogyo with Wankel engines equipped with a "rich thermal reactor system" have been successfully tested to 50,000 miles by the EPA. If foreign manufacturers can meet the 1975 standards today, why can't ours?

Also relevant is the fact that, according to the NAS report, the present dual catalyst approach taken by the American manufacturers is the least satisfactory of the four systems that appear to be capable of meeting the 1975-76 standards.

Recommendation 8: I recommend that the EPA not grant an extension of time to the automobile industry for implementation of the 1975-76 emission controls, as specified in the Clean Air Act.

VIII. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In conclusion, I should like to stress that while I have discussed several areas of atmospheric chemistry that are critically involved in any strategy for the reduction of photochemical oxidant, and thus are clearly related to the gasoline rationing question, I do not believe we should "wait until all the research answers are in," before taking further action.

Thus, for example, we must act now to implement the development of (1) mandatory vehicle inspection and maintenance programs, (2) new "pollution-effective" and relatively straightforward mass transportation systems, such as those involving buses and freeway express bus lanes, (3) incentives to encourage car pooling, (4) effective land-use management, (5) new and unique propulsion systems for pollution-free cars, and (6) other feasible and acceptable strategies.

But, we must have such actions accompanied by a continuing, high-level, well-conceived, well-funded, mission-oriented research program on all air pollution fronts. Such a two-pronged attack will insure that five years from today we will not be asking ourselves the same technical questions that I have raised today, with little additional reliable evidence upon which to base our conclusions.

PASSOVER

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, today, millions of Jews in the United States and the world over will celebrate the holy feast of Passover. This day commemorates the deliverance of the Jews from bondage in Egypt in the 14th century B.C.

Passover is a holiday filled with special tradition. It is a time when Jewish families reflect on the value of freedom, through the reading of the sacred written word and the eating of symbolic foods.

This Passover is filled with special meaning, since this year marks the 25th

anniversary of the creation of the sovereign State of Israel. Yet as many Jews are joyously celebrating this feast, countless thousands of their brethren are still seeking the fruits of freedom. Let us fervently hope that the year 1973 will bring freedom for Jews living in the Soviet Union.

Mr. Speaker, at this time I wish to extend to all Jewish people my sincerest wishes for a happy and holy Passover.

WHITE HOUSE TURNS ITS BACK ON HANDICAPPED

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, according to official Government figures, there are at least 7 million, and perhaps as many as 12 million Americans who suffer from a variety of disabilities which can be termed crippling.

I have reference to the severely handicapped, blind, and deaf persons, and those suffering from spinal cord injuries, brain damage, and nervous disorders, to name just a few of the afflictions in question.

For some 52 years now, the Federal Government has worked in harmonious partnership with all the States to turn these people into self-supporting individuals. Grants to States have been made for vocational rehabilitation programs, which have scored significant successes in turning helpless people into largely independent citizens.

It is also my understanding that in the more than half a century that this non-controversial program has been in increasingly successful operation, no meaningful opposition ever developed against it in either House of Congress. In fact, up until a year or so ago, no vote had even been recorded against the endeavor.

Bipartisanship was the order of the day in response to this program. Further, all concerned agreed that here was perhaps the most useful program underway in the Nation.

Today there is no vocational rehabilitation program. Last year the President vetoed it. This year he did so again. And the other body did see fit in its wisdom to sustain the veto of the President. So this quite constructive, unoffensive undertaking today lies in ruins, and the gentlemen across the aisle and their conferees in the other body are doing a victory dance of political partisanship over its still quivering form.

Some dance. Some victory.

The argument advanced by the President and his congressional cohorts is that the measure was inflationary. "Budget-busting" was the phrase used, I believe.

A little fact is in order here. First, the vocational rehabilitation bill was not a spending measure. Rather it was an authorization measure, establishing certain vocational rehabilitation programs and setting ceilings for subsequent appropriations. That butchered bill did not man-

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date the outlay of a penny of taxpayer money.

It authorized \$700 million for fiscal 1973 and \$800 million for fiscal 1974. The President's own budget contains approximately \$600 million for this purpose for fiscal 1973 and \$610 million for fiscal 1974.

The President and his supporters in Congress chose to turn this innocuous and excellent work into a political football. They won the battle, but the handicapped people of this Nation lost the war.

Our office was visited by many of the handicapped people who lobbied the Congress in a desperate, vain effort to push the bill through. None of them were welfare chislers or cheats. Here were people with physical handicaps trying to present their case for retraining programs.

Republicans backed the bill in the Senate by a 35-to-2 vote. Curiously, many switched their votes in the veto battle. This administration really showed those lame, sick, blind, deaf, and retarded people who was boss and President.

We are regarded by much of the developed world with amazement and dismay already as a result of our social backwardness. Our medical care and delivery system is a scandal. Our drug industry is a disgrace. Product safety is a joke. And now, not content with adjourning reform, the President and his cohorts have taken a perfectly fine and useful national endeavor and mangled it beyond recognition.

What will happen to the millions of disabled Americans now? Where will they be retrained and rehabilitated? Where will the money come from? From private charity? Not enough. From the States? They have not the money. From their personal savings? Funny if it were not so sad. From revenue sharing? Try and get it.

This is the cruellest, most heartless action ever taken domestically by an administration in my congressional service. Any further attempt to pass a new vocational rehabilitation measure will have my support, provided it does justice to these poor people, whose only crime, it seems, was to be handicapped.

AMENDMENT TO BE OFFERED TO HIGHWAY BILL

HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, I intend to introduce the following amendment to S. 502, the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1973, when it comes to the floor of the House:

**AMENDMENT TO S. 502, AS REPORTED
OFFERED BY MR. RAILSBACK**

Page 133, line 5, strike out "route" and insert "routes".

Page 133, line 8, immediately before "A" insert the following: "(1)"

Page 133, after line 13, insert the following:

(2) A route from Kansas City, Missouri, or its vicinity, to Chicago, Illinois, or its vicinity, so aligned as to cross the Mississippi River at a point between Nauvoo, Illinois, on the north, and Hannibal, Missouri, on the south.

CEREMONIES COMMEMORATING THE 152D ANNIVERSARY OF GREEK INDEPENDENCE

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, on March 25 I had the pleasure of taking part in the ceremonies in Philadelphia commemorating the 152d anniversary of Greek independence. At this time I enter into the Record the statements made by John S. Kokonos, Esq., the master of ceremonies; Mrs. George P. Pavlos, president of the Philadelphia Federation of American Hellenic Societies; Anthony Nomikos, counselor of the Royal Greek Embassy; Gov. Milton Shapp of Pennsylvania, and my own remarks:

SPEECH DELIVERED BY JOHN S. KOKONOS, ESQ.

Reverend clergy, Counselor Nomikos, Governor Shapp, Congressman Eilberg, Deputy Angel, other honored guests, all other ladies and gentlemen with us at Independence Square in Philadelphia, Pa. (and on television), a most sincere and warm welcome to all of you on this celebration of Greek independence day. On this 25th Day of March, 1973, celebrations commemorating the 152d year of Greek independence are taking place in cities and towns of many countries throughout the world.

Citizens of different nations who are also descendants of Greeks always gather together on this occasion to celebrate, and give thanks to God, just as many of us here today did in Greek Orthodox Churches throughout the Delaware Valley, for that momentous day, March 25, 1821 when after more than 400 years of oppression, tyranny, ravaged lands, terrorism and enslavement at the hands of the Turkish Ottoman empire, the Greek populous rose in rebellion and declared themselves free Greeks and fought their Turkish conquerors for eight years against overwhelming odds until Greece was declared a free and independent nation by the signing of the Treaty of Adrianople, September 14, 1829.

It is a great privilege and honor to celebrate Greek Independence Day at Independence Hall where our beloved country, the United States of America, declared its independence on July 4, 1776. All Americans should be proud of their ancestral heritage. Other than the American Indian, our ancestors come from England, Scotland, Ireland, Italy, Scandinavia, Asia, Africa and other parts of the globe. An American who is proud of his ancestral heritage makes him a better American. Our country's heritage of freedom is founded in the spirit of 1776. Our Greek ancestors' heritage of freedom is founded in the spirit of 1821.

The Greek spirit of 1821 was the driving force of freedom loving Greek soldiers who fought against the Kaiser's armies on the same side as the American soldier in World War I. The spirit of '76 and the spirit of '21 again fought as allies in World War II when in the cause of freedom and independence, the Greeks smashed the fascist armies of Mussolini and instead of cringing from fight, Greece then became one of the first of the smaller countries who fought and destroyed much of Hitler's powerful armies be-

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fore falling to a glorious defeat in the true spartan tradition on the battlefield but not in their hearts and souls because the flame of 1821 always burns brightly within every citizen and descendant of Greece just as the freedom flame of 1776 burns within every American.

The same spirit of '21 motivated Greece to put down a Communist inspired civil war following World War II. Again, the Greek Army distinguished itself fighting side by side with the American armies to preserve the freedom of Korea, and more recently, Greece aided the American cause in Vietnam. One of the most inspiring communications ever made with respect to Greek independence day was sent by Great Britain's Prime Minister, Winston Churchill, who sent the following words to Prime Minister Tsouderos on Greek independence day in March, 1943, at a time when Hitler's army still occupied Greece. The following are some excerpts from that communication:

"While Greece is groaning under tyranny, her people are more conscious than ever of their historic greatness and remember the glories of their war of independence. Today the people of Britain salute the heroes of the new war of liberation now being fought in the mountains, cities, and villages of Greece. . . . The night of slavery will pass . . . When the hour strikes—and you will be given warning when it is time to act as one man—Greece will drive the barbarous usurpers from her soil. Then, united in victory as in suffering, Greece will take her place among the free peoples of the world. Victory is sure."

May the spirit of 1821 and 1776 remain embedded in the hearts and minds of free and independent Greeks and Americans not only on Independence Day but every day.

REMARKS MADE BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE PHILADELPHIA FEDERATION MRS. GEORGE P. PAVLOS

Mr. John Kokonos, Honorable Anthony Nomikos, Governor Milton Shapp, Members of the mayors cabinet, Members of the city council, Consuls of various nations, Members of Congress, Members of the Judiciary, military personnel, clergy presidents of the church communities, ladies and gentlemen and last but not least the children in their colorful costumes add beauty to this occasion.

As President of the Philadelphia Federation of American Hellenic Societies and on behalf of the entire American Greek community of greater Philadelphia, I wish to express to each and every one of you, my sincere gratitude for sacrificing some of your valuable time to come here to these hallowed grounds to help us celebrate the most important ethnic holiday, the 152nd anniversary of Greek independence.

To all those city of Philadelphia officials who always have been so kind and cooperative in our efforts: to Police Commissioner Joseph O'Neill, to Captain Joseph Cifelly and his band, to our soloist Mrs. Evelyn Springs, to the V.F.W., Girl Scouts and leaders, church communities and all the organizations who helped in making this affair a success, by heartfelt thanks.

We, Americans of Greek ancestry cannot but be proud of the accomplishments of our forefathers, and by this simple ceremony today, want to show the world that besides being good Americans, we can never erase from our hearts that tender spot we have for those who valiantly fought so freedom and democracy will live forever. Thank you.

REMARKS OF ANTHONY NOMIKOS

Reverend Fathers, Hon. Governor Shapp, Hon. Congressman Ellberg, Deputy Rep. Angell, Ladies and Gentlemen, Talking in front of the Independence Hall in Philadelphia is for me a unique experience. Particularly in celebrating the 25th of March 1821, the Day of Greek Independence. There could not have been a more appropriate place.

I feel therefore a great honor and pleasure

for my wife and myself to be here in this historical city and in front of this historical place to address a greeting to you on this auspicious day.

The privilege was granted to me through the inability of H.E. the Greek Ambassador John Sorokos to be present himself, which he deeply regrets, as he had to attend similar ceremonies in Washington. The Ambassador has asked me to convey to you his cordial greetings on this occasion, and represent him at this wonderful celebration. May I express here my heartfelt congratulations to the organizing Committee and particularly the Chairman of the Philadelphia Federation of American—Hellenic Societies, Mrs. Pavlos, the Co-chairmen, the Rev. Fathers and Chairmen of the Societies, on the perfect way everything was conducted. One cannot fail to see the energy, enthusiasm and devotion with which the program was carried out.

A word of deep appreciation should also be addressed to the Authorities of this State and this city for their warm participation and their contribution to the success of this Celebration.

Following the solemn Doxology earlier this morning was a moving experience for my wife and myself. That was the beginning of the celebration honoring the great anniversary which is cherished in the hearts of all men dedicated to the ideal of Liberty.

On the 29th of May 1453 this liberty was torn away from the Greek nation, the nation on whose soil it was born. On that ill-omened day was staged the most passionate drama that history has ever known. The Byzantine empire fell, an empire that for more than one thousand years developed a remarkable civilization based on the solid foundation of the hellenistic-christian spirit.

On that sinister day the Greek nation sank into a terrible slavery. Darkness covered the Greek horizon.

But in spite of the shadowed days and the nights of fathomless darkness, the flame of Liberty kept burning. In the moonlight and in the candle-light one generation after another received this burning flame of Liberty. And the enslaved Greek soul awaited with patience and perseverance the rising of the sun! After nearly four hundred years of slavery the day started to break!

On the 25th of March 1821 in the historical monastery of Aghia Lavra the Archbishop of Paleon Patron Germanos raised the banner of the Revolution with the cry: "Liberty or Death". This cry echoed and spread all over the enslaved land. With a fever of enthusiasm the whole Greek nation embarked upon a fierce struggle for the most sacred ideal of man: Liberty!

This struggle, undertaken under highly unfavourable conditions, by so few against so many, is a remarkable phenomenon. It was practically, a handful of brave men and women—and History records the heroic deeds of Greek women, like Boubouliana—without arms, who had the courage to challenge a most powerful empire. But this struggle for independence and the confidence in its outcome is due to the faith of Hellenism in the eternal ideal of Liberty.

Victory crowned that hard and unequal war, which lasted seven years and was fought under terrific hardships, but with unfailing faith in the result. The modern Greek state was rebuilt on the sacred soil of ancient Hellas. It is therefore appropriate for us to celebrate today the anniversary of 1821 and honor the memory of those who fought with a passion for liberty and self-sacrifice in order that we may today be free.

152 years have passed since that day. And as it goes every year farther into the depths of History, so it becomes stronger in the hearts of men. The heroic achievements of our ancestors of the generation of 1821, who proved themselves worthy sons of the heroes of Marathon and Thermopylae, of Salamis and Psara, will march down to posterity with divine honors.

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The 25th of March 1821 will remain a symbol of dedication to the highest ideals of man. But the spirit of 1821 is not limited to the geographic boundaries of Greece. It is universal. Our American friends who are preparing the celebrations of the bi-centennial of the Independence of this land, are doing so in the same spirit. The bell which is kept in this Hall conveys the same message to mankind, the message, to say it with Benjamin Franklin, the illustrious son of this city, of "Virtue, morality and Liberty". That is why I am profoundly moved by the fact that we are today celebrating the Independence Day of Greece in the most appropriate setting, in this city which has proved, over and above its great historical importance, its particular interest in the arts, philosophy and the sciences.

It is known—and that I can say in all modesty—that the world owes a lot to Greece. But I can also say that the generation of 1821 owes a lot to the generation of Patrick Henry, that generation of men so lavishly endowed with patriotism. His message "give me liberty or give me death" reverberated not only on the green plains of Virginia and Pennsylvania, but also echoed on the arid mountains of Roumeli and the Peloponese.

And this message was also conveyed in a concrete form through the actual participation of Americans in the Greek war of Independence. It is interesting to read what Douglas Dakin records in his book "British and American Philhellenes during the War of Greek Independence." J. P. Miller and Dr. S. G. Howe took part in the war and became well-known philanthropists. Dr. Howe returned in 1828 to the Greek island of Egina where he employed the poor to build the American mole. In March 1829, he began the task of organizing the agricultural colony of Washington, the village of Hexamilia, some three miles from Acrocorinth on the Isthmus. He returned to the United States to take up the important post of Director of Dr. Fisher's Institute for the blind. But his love for Greece made him revisit that country later when he was given a most touching welcome in Washington.

Another American, Getty, a somewhat eccentric doctor, as Dakin says, used to stroll around with an old Kentucky rifle over his shoulder. Another interesting story is told of the American volunteer, the seaman George Wilson of Providence, Rhode Island, who had gone to Greece in March 1827 as gunner and boatswain and who had displayed such bravery in the battle of Salona that Admiral Cochrane had given him a special toast at a dinner held to commemorate this victory. Wilson married a Greek wife and raised a family and was given the post of custodian of the Protestant Burial Ground in Athens.

I have mentioned only a few names of those numerous Americans who helped in the liberation of Greece. By doing so I intended to stress the universality of the spirit of 1821 and to underline the dedication of the Americans to the high ideal of Liberty.

May I be allowed now to say a few words in my mother tongue.

(The following is a translation of the Greek portion of the statement:)

I spoke already, dear friends of Greek ancestry, about the role which our Church played in the splendid struggle of 1821. It was not accidental that the declaration of the Revolution by the Archbishop of Paleon Patron Germanos was made on the 25th of March, the day of Annunciation. In the long history of the Greek Nation, the Greek Orthodox Church has always taken the lead.

But the inestimable contribution of our Church was mainly proven during the four hundred difficult years of slavery of our Nation. The "secret school", where the priest, in the moonlight and the candle-light, gave the children, from generation to generation, the knowledge that kept alive the flame of

Liberty, maintained intact the sacred deposit of the traditions of the Greek race. Thanks also to the invaluable contribution of our Church, our heroic ancestors of the brave generation of 1821 proved how well they knew to respect and esteem the high ideals of the Greek Nation. For this reason we get together every year wherever we are to celebrate this great Day and to pay tribute to those who created the Eighteen-twenty-one.

The celebration of our historic anniversary assumes however a particular significance abroad where the emigrant Greeks maintain a remarkable dedication to the traditions and customs of the Greek Nation. But also because they are reminded of the important contribution of the emigrant Greeks in the years of slavery but also at the time of the Revolution.

I am therefore greatly moved and pleased that we celebrate today our splendid anniversary, because you, who are today citizens of this great and hospitable country of the United States of America, do not cease to keep unmitigated your faith in the Greek spiritual ideals.

Particularly I congratulate you of the area of historic Philadelphia—who constitute a lively part of the Americans of Greek descent—on the excellent organization of the anniversary today, with which you have enthusiastically shown the expression of gratitude to our heroic ancestors of 1821.

(End of translation.)

We follow your achievements with profound interest and great admiration. And I can say that, as the emigrant Greeks of the years before the Revolution of 1821 played an inestimable role in moving the world public opinion for the just cause of the Greek struggle for Independence and substantially helped their motherland, you also contribute immensely to the projection of the cultural and spiritual ideals of Greece and to the strengthening of the bond of friendship which so happily unite the two countries.

With these thoughts and in this spirit let us all rejoice at the commemoration of the great anniversary of 1821.

REMARKS BY GOV. MILTON J. SHAPP

Greece came under rule of the Ottoman Empire in 1453 and on March 25, 1821, the Greek war for independence from the Turks began.

I am honored to be part of the commemoration services to honor a Greek people who overcame a foreign power occupying their homeland, a people who were oppressed for more than 300 years but never lost their spark of nationalism, of pride, of a desire to be free.

The entire history of the Greek nation has been one of battle against outside occupation. First it was the Romans in the second and first centuries B.C.

In the fourth century A.D. Greece became part of the Eastern Byzantine Empire and then in 1453 part of the Ottoman Empire.

We are here today to commemorate those people who rose up and freed their homeland from the Turks 152 years ago.

It was on this day in 1821 that the Greek national flag was again flown over Athens and the Greek people determined they would no longer accept Ottoman rule in their home country.

Despite the odds, and despite the power of the Ottoman Empire, the Greek determination to be free proved to be the ultimate factor.

Though ill-equipped and lacking supplies, the Greek people were victorious in their war for independence. Although the fighting took better than eight years, the Turks were defeated and driven from Greece.

The bravery and determination of these Greek patriots who fought and died for the freedom of their homeland, serve as an inspiration for all of us.

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REMARKS OF REPRESENTATIVE JOSHUA EILBERG

I want to thank all of you for allowing me to celebrate the 152nd anniversary of Greek independence with you today.

This is a day when we recall that throughout history Greeks have fought for freedom and democracy.

In ancient times Greek heroes defended Greek independence from the Persians.

During the 19th century, Prince Alexandros Ypsilantis, his brother Dimitrios, Theodoros Kolotronicis and Archbishop Germanos of Patras were responsible for the events which we remember and honor here, today.

In more modern times the Greeks have fought to remain independent even though they have been attacked by both the forces of the left and the right.

In 1940 the Facists demanded that the Greeks surrender. On October 25, they replied "Okhi" or "No" and that day is now celebrated as a holiday.

Following the Second World War, Greece was attacked by the Communists and once again the Greeks managed to maintain their freedom.

The continuing struggle of the Greek people to remain free and independent is a source of inspiration to all of us and you as Greek-Americans are justifiably proud of your heritage.

Greek civilization is remembered for many things, art, literature, philosophy, and architecture. But, as a lawyer, and a Congressman, I am most conscious of the great men of the law, such as Draco, Solon, Cleisthenes, Pericles and Lycurgus who are responsible for many of our most basic legal concepts.

Because ancient Greece was governed under the rule of law, these men were honored and esteemed. Their teachings and examples are not forgotten today.

When members of the House of Representatives go from their offices to the floor of Congress to debate and vote on the laws of our country, they pass sculptures of men such as Solon and Lycurgus.

These busts and reliefs are not placed there just for decoration. They are reminders of the men and traditions which law makers must follow if they are to fulfill their obligation to all the people.

It is the impartial rule of law and close adherence to its principles which makes a country great. If the United States is to maintain its position of world leadership, we will have to continue to follow the basic principles set down years ago by the ancient Greeks and followed by the Greek-American community of today.

Thank you.

FREEDOM TREE DEDICATION

HON. JERRY L. PETTIS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues the fine citizenship that has been displayed by a group of young Americans in the community of San Bernardino in my State of California. The children of St. Anne's Catholic Grammar School organized a special Freedom Tree Dedication day honoring Cmdr. Roy Bowling, a native of San Bernardino, Calif., who is listed as missing in action in Vietnam. For their concern for all American servicemen, especially those captured or lost, and their enthusiasm for the value of freedom, good citizenship, and brother-

hood, I commend these fine, young citizens. I would like to share with my colleagues the following theme they have chosen for their Freedom Tree Dedication:

A tree is so fitting a reminder of what freedom is. A tree struggles to grow, so does freedom. If a tree does not struggle, it will die. So, too, Freedom. This is alive, and so is Freedom.

DIM OUTLOOK FOR LIBRARIES

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the Federal library program has done much to bring library services to people who were either poorly served before or served not at all. Millions of people have had better access to books and reading materials, because of the extra Federal dollars available to local library systems.

Unfortunately, it looks as if this Federal role may be coming to an end. We understand that President Nixon will ask for no new funds this year for libraries. The program for public libraries authorized under the Library Services Act, will be eliminated entirely. And so will the Education Act programs that provide funds for school and college libraries.

In the Twin Cities, we estimate that the public libraries will lose close to a half million in Federal money, because of these budget cuts. Elementary and secondary schools in the metropolitan area will lose another half million dollars in library aid.

These programs are by no means a heavy drain on the Federal Treasury. Last year, for example, the total Federal expenditure for libraries across the Nation was under \$150 million—or less than the cost of 10 F-14 fighter planes. Faced with this kind of choice, the administration apparently is opting for the military budget. The defense budget will rise by several billions in the President's proposals while this library aid is ended.

I insert the following vivid article by Colman McCarthy which appeared in the Washington Post on April 13, 1973:

DIM OUTLOOK FOR LIBRARIES

(By Colman McCarthy)

It is National Library Week but instead of taking pride in their work librarians are taking cover. They see themselves and the nation's 12,000 libraries as harassed targets of budget cuts proposed by the Nixon administration. For 1974, the Library Services and Construction Act is scheduled to receive zero funding. This blackout applies as well for library programs under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the Higher Education Act. Like nickels and dimes for overdue books, the Nixon administration is calling this money back, a total last year of \$140 million. At the same time he is getting out of the book business, Richard Nixon says—in a message to the librarians at the start of their unhappy week—that "an efficient and readily accessible library system" is essential to the Republic.

The differences between a politician's eloquent talk and his actions are nothing new to Washington, but librarians in the neighborhoods have no way of fighting back. Mil-

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ton Byam, director of the District of Columbia's public library, reports that "We have felt the proposed cuts in two ways. We have four model cities storefront branches and two bookmobiles that may disappear. These are in poor areas, in the city's northeast section. In addition, the proposed zero funding of the Library Services and Construction Act endangers the whole attempt to give services to the blind, the physically handicapped, the home-bound and the citizens in hospitals and prisons. They'll have no books or services. We've been promised that revenue sharing will take care of this but we see no way that this will be true."

According to administration testimony before the House Education and Labor Committee, libraries will be eligible for money under general and special revenue sharing. "That sounds fine when you hear it out of context," says Eileen Cooke director of the Washington office of the American Library Association. "But put it into context. Under general revenue sharing mayors control the money. This means that libraries must compete for limited funds with other vital services such as police and fire protection, sewage disposal and public transportation. Under the proposed special education revenue sharing, the state could fund school libraries but the money would have come out of programs for school lunches, adult education, vocational training, aid for the handicapped and efforts like that.

The librarians do not disdain getting into the gritty scramble for dollars but they are realists who know that local budget offices put low value on books. "It's ironic" says Miss Cooke. "Go back and read what Mr. Nixon said in his inaugural where he paraphrased John Kennedy and said the citizens should begin asking what they can do for themselves. But what symbolizes this self-help more than a good neighborhood library? If the public is going to make the wise decisions of citizenship that the President asks for, how can they do it without adequate libraries and current information? It is obvious the President has received poor advice about libraries from his budget people."

Oddly, the administration says the library programs have succeeded, and that this success means the libraries can make it without federal money. Thus, in its social programs, the administration is having it both ways: the libraries can be abandoned because they succeed while other programs, like Community Action, can be scrapped because they are said to fail.

Even before the Nixon administration decided to save money by walking away from libraries the situation was strained. For the last six months of 1972, for example, the University of Michigan library was unable to buy any books. Nearly 40 per cent of U.S. elementary schools still lack libraries. In some states as many as 95 per cent of the elementary schools have no libraries. In the last budget proposals for school libraries—before zero funding was proposed—the money would have purchased only one-third of a book per school child. As for public libraries, some 20 million citizens live in neighborhoods where none exists. In communities that do have libraries it is clear they are valued. Last May when the "experts" predicted a taxpayer revolt, citizens in four New York counties—Nassau, Suffolk, Westchester and Rockland—voted in favor of most library budgets, not against. In some communities school budgets were rejected while library budgets passed.

Against this background librarians are calling the actions of the Nixon administration "tragic" and "disastrous." The American Library Association has begun a program to let the public know that libraries are now on the endangered species list. On May 8, libraries across the country will dim their lights, a symbolic gesture whose theme is

"Dimming The Lights On The Public's Right To Know."

With no direct federal support for libraries—as such support has been present since 1956—it is clear that in the librarians' cry of wolf, a wolf truly is at the door. The association speaks with precision when it says the public's right to know is at stake. Countless citizens use libraries not only for books, recordings and other services but also for magazines and daily newspapers. How enjoyable it would be for the Nixon administration to see libraries closed that spend money for books and publications critical of administration policies. Can any other way of silencing critics be more effective than closing down libraries?

Until now the phrase "the public's right to know" has had a narrow interpretation used by editors and journalists who refused to be scared off by grand juries and possible jail terms. Now, however, with libraries under seige, individual citizens are no longer passive witnesses to the exchange of fire between the press and the government; they are being fired on too. Some citizens already understand this. Mrs. Lee Leibowitz of Rockville has been blind for 10 years. She has been using her local library for its Talking Books program. "Libraries are crucial," she says. "How much TV and radio can we consume? I feel personally insulted by the Nixon administration in cutting back funds for libraries. I'm blind. And now I'm being told that I may have to get along without a library. Go shift for yourself is the message. It's very frightening."

It is also cause for wonder. Officials of the Nixon administration tell the public that its budget cuts for social programs mean that public money is being saved. Saved for what? The reason people send in their tax money, aside from fear of the IRS, is that they know some part of it, all too small a part, goes for such benefits as libraries. But if libraries disappear, where are the benefits? History has seen governments that have burned books or banned them; the Nixon administration is not trying this but the effect may be the same: the smothering of information.

A chance exists that libraries may be salvaged through action by Congress. If rallied by the public, the politicians may fight to reject the proposed cuts. Even then if Congress does restore the money for libraries, the administration may not spend it. If this happens, the lights that are to be dimmed May 8 may well stay dimmed.

MANPOWER REFORM LEGISLATION

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, unfortunately, the Rules Committee passed a rule that would not allow the House to work its will on total manpower reform legislation. Tomorrow the majority will attempt to bring to the floor, H.R. 4204, the so-called Emergency Employment Act. I rise today to speak to the House to urge that they amend the rule to allow our bill, H.R. 6710, to be in order. This can be done if the Members will vote "No" on the previous question to the rule. If the vote on the previous question fails, I urge you to defeat the rule on H.R. 4204. We simply should not extend one more categorical program. The Education and Labor Committee should in the next 3 months face squarely the problem

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of total manpower reform and not enact piecemeal legislation. This can only be done if we defeat the rule.

Although this legislation is not due to expire for some 2 months, this bill has been pushed through the Rules Committee and we find the House Members being asked tomorrow to vote on legislation without having full time for analytical consideration. Indeed, the rule itself asked for a waiver of the 3-day provision which is there to provide for orderly process. The more responsible procedure would be to defeat the rule on H.R. 4204 if we cannot consider total manpower reform at this time.

I have long shared the belief that transitional public service employment ought to be one of the tools available to State and local government for carrying out a comprehensive manpower program geared to meet local needs and changing conditions. I have long believed that it should be part of a total program addressed to the real needs of the more than 5 million unemployed in this country. However, the bill we will have before us tomorrow, H.R. 4204, is fatally defective for a number of reasons, among which are the following:

First, the authorization figures are unrealistic in light of budgetary constrictions. The Emergency Employment Act was originally enacted in July of 1971 as an emergency measure to help deal with a high national unemployment rate—6 percent—that threatened to move higher. At that time, the 2-year aggregate authorization was set at \$2,250,000,000. Now, at a time when the national unemployment rate is at 5 percent and appears to be moving down, this bill proposes to extend an emergency program with a 2-year aggregate authorization of \$4,500,000,000—double that of the original act.

Second, there is no real need for this bill. The existing EEA authorization does not run out until June 30, 1974. In addition, should the national unemployment rate fall below 4.5 percent for 3 consecutive months, most of the funds under the committee bill would be triggered automatically. And it was only last week that the Department of Labor indicated it will spend over \$800 million between March 15 of this year and June 30, 1974, for the continuation of EEA, and have already advocated these funds to more than 650 cities, counties, and States.

Third, the original act was passed and signed by the President in the understanding that it was a transitional program and not designed to provide permanent employment of individuals on public payrolls. To assure that the act would remain transitional in scope, the authorization was limited to 2 years. This further extension would defeat and would be contrary to that purpose.

Fourth, this act purports to serve a confusing and often conflicting set of purposes—helping young people and veterans; welfare recipients; and migrants; the non-English speaking; and the unemployed technical and professional personnel. Frankly, I believe that this act is unsuited for these individuals in a time of rising employment opportunities. The fact is that only a little more than a third of all persons employed under this

act can be described as disadvantaged and more than 60 percent are at least high school graduates. Only about 12 percent have been welfare recipients and less than one-third have been veterans who served in Indochina. Many are technicians, paraprofessionals and professional personnel who were unemployed because of temporary or purely local dislocations in the economy and are the first to find regular jobs as unemployment declines. As economic conditions improve, the needs of the unemployed shift more and more to skilled training and basic education, which this act is most certainly not designed to accommodate.

Mr. Speaker, it is my firm belief that enactment of H.R. 4204 would make more remote the achievement of a decategorized, decentralized, comprehensive manpower authority which virtually every expert on the subject agrees is an urgent national priority in the field of manpower development.

Accordingly, I have introduced a substitute bill, H.R. 6710—the Comprehensive Manpower Act, the principal features of which have been the subject of extensive testimony before the Select Labor Committee, of which I am ranking member, over the past 3 years. It is unfortunate that the route has been chosen of simply extending the Emergency Employment Act in the face of overwhelming evidence of the need for extensive reform of the near-chaotic network of manpower development programs which the Federal Government has created over the last decade. It is a system which does not serve well either the national interest or that of the unemployed or underemployed person.

Perhaps the most impressive testimony to date on the absurdity of our present system is the brilliant illustration of mass chaos and confusion in the District of Columbia's manpower programs found in the GAO report submitted to Congress this past January.

Therein is described a wild blur of competing programs—such as JOBS, MEDHIC, EFEC, PIC, PEP, PAM, PRIDE, CEP, CLIC, CREATE, WIN, WICS, WREST, and WOW, not to mention Project Build, Project Open, and Project Option. And to quote from this study:

No one knows how many people are being trained, where they are being trained, for what occupations they are being trained, or the impact of the training on the demand for skilled workers.

Unfortunately, for the unemployed throughout the country, GAO correctly surmised that the manpower situation in the District is fairly typical of urban areas and the report made findings and conclusions as follows:

GAO's study of the 17 Federal manpower programs revealed a maze of local systems for the delivery of similar job training and employment services to the same group of District residents. The providing of such services on an individual program approach resulted in a complex, confusing, and uncoordinated effort to assist those persons in becoming gainfully employed. The multiplicity of Federal programs and the confusing network of delivery systems . . . are persuasive evidence of the need for simplification . . . To achieve as comprehensive manpower delivery system for the District and the Na-

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tion, congressional action is needed." (Emphasis supplied.)

The report, in effect, stated that in an effort to help relieve the burdens of the unemployed what we have actually done is to create a monster that serves to confuse the person in search of training and a meaningful job and oftentimes lead that person in the wrong direction. The bill before us, H.R. 4204, ignores not only the advice of one of the few instruments Congress has in assisting it to make policy, it has also ignored the advice of the Nation's Governors, county officials, and mayors, who, while not opposing EEA extension have urged that priority be given to total reform.

As Gov. Patrick J. Lucey of Wisconsin, testifying on February 27, 1973, before a Senate Subcommittee on Manpower and Poverty, stated:

I believe virtually all governors would agree on a basic set of principles which any new federal manpower policy must embrace. . . . We want the kind of manpower reform legislation which will decategorize programs, make a specific sum available to state and local government on a formula basis, and allow us to plan for the use of that money based on state and local needs. In short, we agree with the President that there is a need for a newly defined federalism in America, that narrow federal program requirements frequently get in the way of good administrative policy and meaningful and effective action at the state and local levels.

Gov. Francis W. Sargent of Massachusetts, and Gov. Calvin L. Rampton, of Utah, supported these views in the same hearing, and all three requested a significant State role in the planning and execution of manpower programs.

The Honorable Patricia Sheehan, mayor of New Brunswick, N.J., testifying before our Select Subcommittee on Labor on March 6, 1973, on behalf of the National League of Cities and the U.S. Conference of Mayors reiterated the need for "enactment of manpower reform legislation which embodies the basic principles of program decategorization, program decentralization and program consolidation and which would provide for the creation of permanent public service employment opportunities."

Then Mayor Sheehan added this comment which is extremely pertinent to the consideration of the bill before us and the Comprehensive Manpower Act. Said Mayor Sheehan:

From the very beginning I want to make a critical aspect of our policy clear. We believe that the reform of national manpower policy MUST include both comprehensive reorganization of existing manpower training programs and commitment to permanent public service employment. It is not an either-or proposition.

Mr. John Klein, the county executive of Suffolk County, N.Y., testified before the Select Subcommittee on Labor on March 21, 1973, on behalf of the National Association of Counties, and submitted a strong endorsement for reform. As Mr. Klein stated:

Our first preference with respect to public service employment is that it be a part of a comprehensive manpower bill. It is our conviction that public employment should be part of the arsenal available to local sponsors to use in meeting locally determined priorities. We do not wish our hands tied with

strings that have no bearing on our particular situation. We can understand the need for national priorities. But in many instances these national priorities are passed on to the local level in the form of inflexible guidelines. PEP (the acronym for the program authorized by the Emergency Employment Act) allows us some flexibility, but if we are going to be able to respond adequately to the needs of our citizens hold us accountable for, we need greater flexibility. Only comprehensive manpower reform legislation can give us the flexibility which includes the option of transitional public sector employ-

ment.

Mr. Speaker, the testimony of these representatives of our Nation's States, cities, and counties, have convinced many here that there is a need not to go with a simple 2-year extension of EEA, but for a comprehensive bill that meets the needs of those millions who would not benefit under a PEP program.

Accordingly, I have introduced a Comprehensive Manpower Act, designed to reduce the confusion of our present manpower program and to provide a system for the States and localities to meet their needs. This legislation provides for comprehensive manpower training and related services, including public employment programs, under a State plan approved by the Secretary. Under the plan, the State would designate "prime sponsors," which can be a unit of government or any combination of governments, which will have the "prime" responsibility for administering the program with passthrough dollars.

However, the mayors in a prime sponsor area can veto the State plan for their area, and any difficulty in resolving a plan with the State will be decided by the Secretary.

A second key provision is a requirement that institutional training be provided or approved by the State agency administering the Vocational Education Act. I believe that it is time that we recognize that our vocational education programs ought to be administered through the State agencies and should be coordinated with the State's manpower efforts. Title II of this bill authorizes a transitional public service employment program to be administered at the discretion of localities. Salaries for PEP employees would be limited to \$12,000 per year and the Federal Government share of the cost is held at 90 percent.

The bill authorizes \$2.5 billion for fiscal year 1974, and for each of the succeeding 2 years, a figure slightly above fiscal year 1973 spending for all manpower programs and including the \$800 million carryover for EEA. Seventy-five percent of these funds are for the State grants and PEP programs; 25 percent is reserved for national emphasis programs such as PEP, Indians, bilingual instruction, migrant and seasonal farmworkers, middle-aged and older workers. A special \$450,000,000 set-aside is authorized for "Manpower Programs for Youth"—in section 306—to include NYC and other youth employment programs.

Other special Federal responsibilities include manpower research and development, a national computerized job bank program, employment opportunities for the disadvantaged, occupational upgrad-

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ing, and an emphasis on Vietnam veterans.

Lastly, title V establishes a National Institute for Manpower Policy to conduct studies and make future recommendations for a coherent manpower policy.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation addresses squarely the issue of whether or not it is sound policy to proceed separately with an extension of the Emergency Employment Act as opposed to the inclusion of a public service employment component in comprehensive reform legislation.

The fact is that the Emergency Employment Act in its existing form, and as it would be extended by H.R. 4204, authorizes a narrowly categorical manpower program to be added to those funded under other legislation. Funds made available to governmental units under this act may be spent only for public service employment, although they may be very much needed for other types of manpower training services. Conversely, funds made available under other legislation for other programs may not be utilized for public service employment even though special circumstances or needs in a locality require an expansion of such employment beyond that permitted by funding under this act. This is precisely the kind of binding inflexibility State and local officials find so unrealistic.

Moreover—unlike the public service component described in title II of the substitute bill—the major portion of this program—section 5 of the act—is temporary. It is triggered automatically if the national unemployment rate falls below 4.5 percent for 3 consecutive months—as may well occur in the next few months if present trends continue—leaving only a program authorized under section 6 for areas which have had an unemployment rate of 6 percent or above for 3 consecutive months. There is a degree of uncertainty in this program which makes it an undependable component in any manpower program.

Nor can the extension of this act be regarded as an answer to the problem of unemployment emphasized in the views of the majority. At the peak of the program in July of 1972, 185,000 persons were employed in it as compared with national unemployment of 5,000,000—or 3 percent of the total unemployed. This represents no more than the amount of fluctuation which might typically occur from one month to the next in the number of unemployed in the Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that the Congress should set to work on developing national manpower policy expressed in comprehensive legislation. Otherwise the major policy decisions will continue to be made in the executive branch by regulation. The extension of narrow, categorical program authorizations—particularly when there is no immediate threat of the expiration of the program—seriously undermines this position and further postpones a long overdue congressional initiative.

We simply must take a coordinated systems approach to meeting manpower needs, one which is client oriented. We need to be able in every manpower market area to determine for any given time the job opportunities available and to make reasonably accurate forecasts of changing demands. We should be able to determine the real potential of unemployed and underemployed persons seeking help and to provide effective employment counseling, as well as the opportunity for job experience or temporary jobs through public service employment.

WHY NOT A "STATE OF THE PEOPLE" ADDRESS

HON. BILL ALEXANDER

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, since January, we have been periodically exposed to mimeographed notices of the President's view on the state of the Union. Today, I would like to share with you and my colleagues the state of the Union from another point of view—the people's.

I think you will find Mr. Courtney's column much more entertaining and probably just as realistic as some of the messages passed down from the White House:

CASUAL CHAT

(By Bill Courtney)

(Lately, most of the communication between government and the people is going one way. They're telling us about the State of the Nation, but aren't listening to the State of The People. So let's write them a letter.)

Dear Government: We got your message about beating high food costs by cutting down on the amount we eat. But we cut down a long time ago, when meat went over a dollar a pound. I don't rightly see how we can quit doing something we're already not doing.

Tell your economists to quit blaming the price of steaks on the price of cattle. A lot of us cattle raisers would be glad to trade incomes with the people who butcher the cattle, even though we know the government regulates wage increases. If you would regulate farm prices like you regulate labor, all of us farmers would need Swiss bank accounts, and we could buy Switzerland as well.

We also heard your talk about the "energy shortage." We've been around long enough to know this means you're going to get the gas and electric companies to raise their prices and allow gasoline to go to 50 cents a gallon. We know there's an ocean of oil in Alaska, dammed up behind your federal courts. You just let them pump that oil to the mainline and then see if we have a shortage.

Service people promised they were going to simplify their returns. They did it by making them so completely mystifying that we simplified our task by hiring someone else to do it. Have you ever considered asking Congress to repeal the whole incomprehensible mish-mash they call the Internal Revenue Code? Then replace it with a law that says simply: "Pay 10 percent of all your income, period." No deductions, no loopholes,

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no favoritism and no argument. Don't worry about hurting the poor folks; they'll be on welfare anyhow. The only people you'd really nick are the millionaires who are now lurking in your loopholes, tax-free.

You scare us that our balance of trade is unfavorable; that we are buying more imported goods than we are selling. Why don't you turn the farmers loose on the export market and see how much cotton, rice, wheat, corn and processed agricultural products we can trade for German cars and Japanese TV sets?

You are saving money, you say, but cutting out disaster loans, housing subsidies and conservation funds in rural areas. All you're doing is preparing a lot of broke farmers on your welfare rolls and letting your taxpaying American farmland wash down into the Gulf of Mexico. Even a politician should be able to see that if his taxpayers go broke, his country will too.

You promised that you were going to streamline the postal service and make it more rapid. Whatever you did, didn't work. You might hire all those wild Indians from Wounded Knee to line up across the country in a network of smoke signals to speed up the message carrying. There are plenty of surplus Indians. On foggy days, when smoke signals couldn't be seen, they could line up closer together and "Whoop" messages from point to point.

We appreciate you getting the Army out of Vietnam, but it might have been better if you'd have gotten the communists out first. Now if you can just get the Navy and Air Force out of Laos, Cambodia and the rest of the Far East, we can let the reds bring the fighting to us.

We liked your advice about saving gasoline by driving slower. The way traffic is in most places, if we went much slower we wouldn't need a car at all. That would save gas, for sure.

It would be nice if all politicians could be required to take up golf, piano playing or parcheesi. The country could use a little relief from the amount of government we're getting these days. Give us a "bureaucrat break."

It's nice to talk to you, Mr. President, Mr. Congress and Mr. Courts. But we doubt if you heard us; we sometimes feel you don't even know we're down here.

GRASS ROOTS

LEGAL SERVICES

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, there has been a good deal said in recent weeks concerning the legal services program. Although the President has himself endorsed the concept of legal services, we know that his message apparently has not gotten through to Mr. Howard Phillips, Acting Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity. In case there are any of our colleagues who question the need for the program, I commend to their attention an excellent commentary by Mr. James J. Kilpatrick, a distinguished columnist. His commentary reads as follows:

CONTINUE LEGAL SERVICES? BY ALL MEANS
There are times, sad to say, when Americans conservatives appear to constitute "the stupid party," as John Stuart Mill once

labeled their British counterparts a century ago. By their failure to give active support to a continuing program of legal services for the poor, my brother conservatives are abandoning their principles and exhibiting a dull-wittedness that makes a man despair.

Of course a legal services program should be extended! Let the Congress, if it pleases, scrap everything else that has been funded through the Office of Economic Opportunity. Let the administration, if it can, dismantle a hundred boondoggling, paper-shuffling programs of grants-in-aid. But in one form or another, the Neighborhood Legal Services must be maintained.

Chiseled in stone above the great white columns of the U.S. Supreme Court are four famous words: Equal justice under law. No concept in our public life is nobler and no concept has been more poorly served. The grim truth is that for all practical purposes we still have two systems of law in this country, one for the rich, another for the poor. Every newspaperman who ever has covered the small claims and criminal courts of his city knows this is so.

Granted, much has been done in recent years. Indigent defendants, even in serious misdemeanor cases, now have a right to counsel. Bail reform has remedied some of the most flagrant evils of the criminal justice system. Since 1965, the federally assisted legal services program has greatly benefited the poor in areas of civil litigation. Now this civil program—a program seeking to promote equal justice under law—is threatened with abandonment. Conservatives, dedicated in principle to this elementary proposition, ought to be in the forefront of a fight to push the cause along.

But where are they? They are grumbling that in recent years the program of legal services has been abused. Doubtless this is true. It would be incredible not to discover abuses in a program involving 2,500 lawyers in 900 neighborhood law offices.

But these occasional abuses, while serious, have been few. Viewed on the whole record, the legal services program has helped to foster a sense of confidence not only in the courts, but also in what is known vaguely as "the system." In a message two years ago, urging creation of a wholly independent Legal Services Corporation, President Nixon made that point. "This program can provide a most effective mechanism for settling differences and securing justice within the system and not on the streets."

Unhappy, Nixon now seems to be dragging his heels. The present \$70 million program is to expire in June, and nothing is yet in sight to take its place. It would be calamitous to let the concept go. As a recent report from the General Accounting Office made clear, the great bulk of case-work by the NLS lawyers involves legal problems arising from housing, domestic relations, employment and consumer grievances.

What is needed—and needed promptly—is bill to create an independent legal services corporation, generously funded, with authority to provide essential representation for the poor. Such a corporation should have backup facilities for research. It ought not to be denied a hand in "law reform." Neither should it be prohibited from bringing the class actions that often provide the most effective remedies at law.

Conservatives should back such a bill, in the full awareness that from time to time they will be irritated, harassed, and outraged by the "zeal and adrenalin." Mistakes will be made. Incidents of bad judgment can be expected. But if we truly believe in equal justice under law, we ought not to be deterred from supporting an effort to make those words in stone something more than an empty phrase.

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WHAT THEY RECOMMEND IS NOT WHAT WE GET

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, in 1968, the Walker report was issued calling the demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention a "riot" on the part of the Chicago police department. Only the now-famous "Chicago 8" were indicted, and they surely were not policemen. In 1970, the Scranton Commission called the shooting of Kent State University students by the Ohio National Guard "unwarranted and inexcusable." Shortly thereafter, 25 Kent students were brought up on criminal charges, while the Guard members were totally exonerated.

These are only two of many recent examples of recommendations and reports by responsible commissions being totally ignored. Indeed, actions have been taken by the Government that are totally opposite of commission recommendations.

This is truly unfortunate. Presidential and other study commissions have been made up of experienced and talented people who are politically unbiased. Their observations and studies should be carefully considered, and, very often, their recommendations implemented.

Nowhere is this more true than in the area of voter registration. A 1963 Presidential Commission on Registration and Voting Participation summarized:

Restrictive legal and administrative procedures in registration and voting disenfranchise millions.

Many of the recommendations put forth by the Commission are embodied in the National Voter Registration Rights Act of 1973—H.R. 4846—that I have introduced in the House of Representatives. This time around, let us take a close look at the Presidential Commission on Voter Registration and what we can do in Congress to enact its cogent recommendations. I now submit for your attention and the attention of my colleagues, relevant excerpts from the 1963 Commission report:

LEGAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE CAUSES OF LOW VOTER TURNOUT

Restrictive legal and administrative procedures for registration and voting are a major reason for low participation. Many election laws and administrative practices are unreasonable, unfair, and outmoded. They obstruct the path to the ballot box, disfranchising millions who want to vote. An unexpected business trip or a broken ankle can deprive a citizen of his right to vote. He may lose his vote by moving across the street. And he may discover that because he failed to vote two years ago he cannot vote now.

Registration Systems: The exercise of the franchise in the United States usually requires two deliberate acts on two different days: registration and voting. The finest voting system in the world is of no avail if registration inhibits participation. Registration procedures often require a visit to the county courthouse, with such attendant inconveniences as making the trip during

working hours and standing in long lines. Although the great majority of States provides permanent registration, only half enable voters to register in their precincts rather than at one county office. Only 17 States allow registration by mail.

Registration systems originally were established to provide up-to-date lists of eligible voters to prevent multiple voting and other electoral frauds. But often the systems used have had a quite different effect. Frequently registration has become an obstacle course for the voter rather than an assistance to voting.

A different problem is posed by registration provisions designed for the simple purpose of preventing people from voting and so keeping political power in the hands of one or another group. For example, one State is considering a plan to cut off registration many months before Election Day.

In too many States, registration closes more than a month before the election, when political campaigns are not in full swing and peak interest has not been achieved. Early closing dates coupled with the inconvenience of many registration procedures discourage potential voters. Unlike registration systems in other Western democracies, where the initiative is with local officials and the process is simple and direct, registration in the United States often imposes undue burdens on citizens who desire to vote.

ARCTIC HEALTH RESEARCH CENTER

HON. DON YOUNG

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, while the United States is only beginning to realize the importance of its Arctic resources, the people, the minerals, the timber, and fish of the North, it has come to my attention that the Federal Government plans to abolish the Arctic Health Research Center. The center, as you may know, was established at Fairbanks, Alaska, 25 years ago. And since then, it has gained a worldwide reputation as a leading facility for Arctic research.

While the subject of closure is still being debated, I wish, at this time, to bring to your attention Senate Joint Resolution No. 29, passed this year concerning the Arctic Health Research Center by the Alaska State Legislature:

SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 29

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

Whereas the Arctic Health Research Center was established in 1948 to conduct activities necessary in the investigation, prevention, treatment, and control of diseases; and

Whereas since that time the Center has gained a world-renowned reputation for its work in cold-adaptive processes, cold as a factor in human stress, the life cycles of parasites and host-parasite relationships peculiar to the arctic, and more recently for its work related to the biomedical and environmental engineering needs of concerns planning arctic activities, and for its efforts related to a host of other projects too numerous to list; and

Whereas it currently serves as the only United States nonmilitary focus on cold weather research on the health and social

well-being of man in the arctic and subarctic environment; and

Whereas under the proposed federal budget for 1973-74 the Arctic Health Research Center will be abolished; and

Whereas there is national recognition of Alaskan resources, human needs and problems, all dictating continued research into the biomedical and environmental fields in connection with the arctic; and

Whereas the proposed termination of the operations of the Center is at the least a violation of the spirit of sec. 2(c) of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act;

Be it resolved by the Alaska Legislature that the proposed abolition of the Arctic Health Research Center is deplored and it urgently requests the President of the United States to direct the Office of Management and Budget to fully fund the Center for fiscal 1973-74.

Copies of this Resolution shall be sent to the Honorable Richard M. Nixon, President of the United States; the Honorable Caspar Weinberger, Secretary, Department of Health, Education and Welfare; the Honorable Roy L. Ash, Director, Office of Management and Budget; the Honorable John L. McClellan, Chairman, Senate Appropriations Committee; the Honorable George H. Mahon, Chairman, House Appropriations Committee; and to the Honorable Ted Stevens and the Honorable Mike Gravel, U.S. Senators, and the Honorable Don Young, U.S. Representative, members of the Alaska delegation in Congress.

THE PEOPLE OF GUAM WANT FAIR PAYMENT FOR THEIR LANDS

**HON. ANTONIO BORJA WON PAT
OF GUAM**

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. WON PAT. Mr. Speaker, in the years immediately following World War II, the U.S. military took possession of a great deal of land in the Territory of Guam—land that was used to build Navy and Air Force bases from which we launched our successful attacks against the enemy in the closing days of the war, and land which many residents of Guam contend the U.S. Department of the Navy took without adequately compensating the owners.

Although many years have passed since the original transactions took place, there are compelling reasons that warrant the review of this situation to insure that justice is done. Accordingly I have introduced a bill, H.R. 6825, which will provide these claimants with an avenue of redress. My bill would authorize the District Court of Guam, for a period of 1 year after enactment, to hear any claims which arose from land transactions in the territory prior to 1950, when the Congress enacted the Guam Organic Act. At present, of course, statute of limitation precludes the court from reviewing these claims.

Last year, an identical measure was introduced by our esteemed former colleague, Congressman Wayne Aspinall, then chairman of the House Interior Committee. Hearings were subsequently held on that bill, H.R. 5440, by the Subcommittee on Territorial Affairs, chaired by my good friend and colleague, Representative PHILLIP BURTON.

Another measure addressing the same

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problem, but calling for the creation of a Land Claims Commission to investigate the matter, was introduced in the Senate by Senator HENRY JACKSON, chairman of the Interior Committee. Testimony was also heard on that bill.

During the hearings on both measures, considerable testimony was put forth by members of the Guam Legislature as to the need for this legislation. As the witnesses from Guam spoke, one tragic story after another began to unfold about how the local people were consistently denied due process of law by the Navy during the dealings over the land.

It is true that many persons were coerced, including through an appeal to their sense of loyalty and patriotism to America, into selling their land at give-away prices. Many others received threats and other forms of intimidation if they demurred in accepting the offered settlement. As our only form of government was by military edict, concerned citizens had no place to seek assistance, except to a court which was operated and officiated by naval officers—hardly a disinterested judicial body.

Now, over 20 years later, hundreds of people on Guam still wonder if justice will ever prevail. They wait and hope that Congress will finally take cognizance of their plight and at long last give these people an avenue of relief which they need.

What the people seek is justice. The people of Guam want to be assured that their years of dedication to the American flag will not go unnoticed, and that our people who were accorded grievous treatment can finally gain the justice they rightfully seek.

**SMITHSONIAN SEMINAR MARKS
NICOLAUS COPERNICUS WEEK**

**HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI
OF NEW YORK**

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon has signed into law House Joint Resolution 5, which I sponsored and, accordingly, has issued a proclamation making next week, the week of April 23, "Nicolaus Copernicus Week."

Following is the text of the President's proclamation:

NICOLAUS COPERNICUS WEEK

By the President of the United States of America A Proclamation:

Nineteen hundred seventy-three marks the 500th anniversary of the birth of Nicolaus Copernicus (Mikolaj Kopernik). This brilliant son of Poland distinguished himself as an economist, physician, mathematician, theologian, soldier, and statesman. But above all, it was his inspired work in astronomy and his theories about the place of the earth in the universe that marked him for greatness and precipitated the flowering of modern science.

In a world of darkness, his only weapons were the light of learning and devotion to truth. The daring, imagination, reason, discipline, and versatility of Copernicus led mankind to a brighter age. It is fitting that we pay tribute to him on the anniversary of his birth, and that we remind ourselves how much a single man, dedicated and unafraid,

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can do to extend knowledge and enrich human consciousness. This anniversary should also serve to remind us that the study of science is one of man's noblest pursuits.

Now, Therefore, I, Richard Nixon, President of the United States of America, in consonance with House Joint Resolution 5, do hereby designate the week of April 23, 1973, as Nicolaus Copernicus Week, and I call upon the people of the United States to join with the Nations' scientific community, as well as that of Poland and other nations, in observing that week with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

In Witness Whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this tenth day of April, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred seventy-three, and of the Independence of the United States of America the one hundred ninety-seventh.

RICHARD NIXON.

Nicolaus Copernicus, whose baptismal name was Mikolaj Kopernik, was born in Torun, Poland, 500 years ago and scientific communities from around the world are leading the public in observance of the quincentennial observance.

Here in the United States, the Smithsonian Institution, in cooperation with the National Academy of Sciences, has arranged an extensive program and exhibit in honor of this modest Polish scientist whose revelations on the universe are considered the beginning of modern science.

A major scientific international symposium "The Nature of Scientific Discovery" has been arranged to begin next Monday.

Immediately after the opening session, the scientific presentations will be interrupted for a program in charge of the U.S. Postal Service marking the first-day-of-issue of the Copernicus commemorative stamp.

AGE OF COPERNICUS

The seminar program on Monday features remarks by A. Rupert Hall, professor of history of science and technology, Imperial College, London. The designer, Charles Eames, will give a visual presentation on "The Age of Copernicus." Heiko Oberman, director of the Institute of Reformation Studies, University of Tubingen, will discuss "Reformation and Revolution."

On Monday evening the subject will be "Copernicus as a Humanist," in charge of Jacob Bronowski, director of the Council for Biology in Human Affairs, The Salk Institute. This will include excerpts from "The Ascent of Man."

On Tuesday, the opening subject will be "Innovation in Technology," a case history approach presented in cooperation with the National Academy of Engineering. In charge will be Robert P. Mullauf of the Smithsonian. This will be followed by commentaries on education entitled "Space Age Children: The Discovery and Nurture of Scientific Talent."

For those who missed Mr. Bronowski's presentation the previous evening, he will present an expanded version on Tuesday morning.

On Tuesday afternoon Stephen Toulmin, provost of Crown College, University of California, Santa Cruz, will preside as the scientists consider "Conditions for the Rise and Fall of Science," in cooperation with Gerald Holton, professor of physics and associate of the his-

tory of Science Department, Harvard University.

TRADITION IN SCIENCE

A second presentation will consider "Tradition in Science" conducted by Werner Heisenberg, director, Max-Planck Institute for Physics and Astrophysics, from Munich.

On Tuesday evening, a formal banquet will be held featuring presentation of the Hodgkins Medal and two medals of the Copernicus Society of America. The formal address will be by Janusz Groszkowski, Polish Academy of Sciences, honorary chairman of the symposium.

On Wednesday morning, the themes featured on Tuesday morning will be concluded. A National Academy of Engineering study panel will give a report on incentives for productivity, related to innovation in technology. The space age children program will include commentaries on education.

In the afternoon, Owen Gingerich, professor of astronomy and of the history of science, Harvard University, will make the introductory remarks. Maarten Schmidt, professor of astronomy, California Institute of Technology, will discuss "Quasars and the Universe." John Archibald Wheeler, Joseph Henry, professor of physics at Princeton University, will talk on "The Universe as Home for Man."

Two special concerts are a part of the joint Smithsonian-National Academy of Sciences program.

On Sunday evening, a musicale of chamber ensemble dimensions will feature a special work written in honor of Copernicus by Leo Smit, of State University of New York at Buffalo. The narration will be by Sir Fred Hoyle, distinguished British scientist and writer.

TWO CONCERTS PLANNED

Accompaniment will be by the Gregg Smith Singers from New York City, plus an instrumental ensemble. The singers also will present a special group of songs in the Polish language.

On Wednesday evening, the second concert will feature musicians from the Boston Symphony Orchestra under the direction of Leon Kirchner. They will present works of Webern, Messiaen, Schoenberg, and Kirchner. Soloists will be Diane Hoaglund and Peter Serkin.

On Thursday, April 26, an education day will be held as a follow-on to the seminar. This will include seminars, workshops, and film showings for scholars, teachers, students, and other specially interested individuals exploring the educational implications of the Copernican Revolution. It will be sponsored jointly by the Smithsonian and the U.S. National Commission of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization—UNESCO.

Other scientific programs honoring Copernicus also are planned next week as adjuncts to the main symposium.

Owen Gingerich of the Smithsonian's Astrophysical Observatory, will have sessions Monday through Wednesday at the Washington Hotel on "Science and Society in the 16th Century."

Walter Shropshire, Jr., of the Smithsonian Radiation Biology Laboratory,

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will conduct sessions Tuesday through Thursday at Saint John's Church Parish House, Lafayette Square, on "Science, Philosophy, and Religion in Historical Perspective."

INTERPLAY OF ARTS, SCIENCE

O. B. Hardison, Jr., of the Folger Shakespeare Library, will lead discussions Tuesday and Wednesday at the Library on "Interplay of Literature, Art, and Science."

Stephen E. Toulmin of the Smithsonian Council, will lead discussions at the National Collection of Fine Arts Tuesday and Wednesday on "The Public Reception of Science: Its Intellectual and Institutional Modalities."

Special exhibitions are scheduled throughout the city in addition to the Copernican display, with its treasures loaned by Poland, at the main Smithsonian building.

Mr. Speaker, it is only fitting that the focus of scientific attention and honor toward Copernicus should be centered here in our Nation's Capital. This is not to detract, nor to minimize in any way, the many fine programs and exhibits which have been and will be held elsewhere in the United States this year, including my home city of Buffalo, N.Y.

I want to pay special tribute to the excellent planning effort of Dr. Wilton S. Dillon, director of seminars for the Smithsonian, who has been coordinator both for the formal seminar and for the adjunct activities.

As part of my remarks, I include the following program notes issued in connection with the Smithsonian-NAS international symposium next week:

PROGRAM NOTES

As the major tribute of the United States as part of the worldwide observance of the Copernican quincentennial, the symposium developed by the National Academy of Sciences and the Smithsonian Institution celebrates both the man and his contributions to knowledge and the larger theme of the process of discovery itself. Although considerations of space will limit the numbers of persons who may attend many of the events of the formal program, *The Nature of Scientific Discovery* is designed to provide a corpus of educational materials for diverse audiences after the event. The life of the symposium will be extended through a published volume, audiotapes, videotapes, and films, as well as workshops and seminars to improve the public understanding of science and the place of science in the arts and humanities. Special attention also will be given to the implications of the symposium for educational policies and teaching methods.

Anticipating Nicolaus Copernicus Year, a student pilgrimage to Poland was made in December 1972. Four young Americans studying the history and philosophy of science visited places in Poland where Copernicus studied and worked. Travelling as guests of the Smithsonian Institution, through financial support of the Copernicus Society of America, the students were escorted to Polish memorials to Copernicus and invited to participate in national activities by representatives of the Polish government and the University of Cracow. Participants were: Bruce M. Dolego, junior at St. John's College; Clifford Martin, graduate student at Pennsylvania State University; Katharine S. Park, graduate student at the Warburg Institute, London; and Gregory Perczak, senior at the University of Notre Dame.

WE CAN HARDLY WAIT

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I include the following editorial from the March 20 Wall Street Journal regarding congressional budgetary responsibilities:

WE CAN HARDLY WAIT

The good news is that Senate Democrats are going to compile their own federal budget to counterpose President Nixon's. The bad news is that they plan to do all in two weeks.

By now practically everyone recognizes that Congress is at an immense disadvantage in the budget debate with the President because it has no way to view the total budget. Each committee dispenses largess on its own turf, but no one watches what total spending comes to. But you have to control total spending to have any effect in controlling inflation, and at the moment controlling inflation is a far more important domestic priority than almost anything the individual committees attend to. So the debate pits Congress armed with all its little priorities against the President armed with priority number one.

To overcome this handicap, Congress has to come up with a budget no more inflationary than the President's, but with funds juggled from one program to another to suit congressional tastes. Seriously working out such a program would necessitate facing real issues of priority, and thus would be the biggest single step we could think of toward restoring Congress' sense of responsibility and therefore reversing its lamented loss of prestige. If it can find no way to gain budget oversight, Congress will remain merely a collection of spokesmen for assorted vested interests. If it can gain oversight, Congress would have to be taken seriously in a debate on national priorities.

Serious oversight, though, is going to require running the budget through the serious power centers of Congress—Appropriations, Ways & Means, Armed Services. That is, through men who understand the underlying complexities that have already shaped the President's budget. So while we suppose any step in the right direction needs to be saluted, we have our doubts about the current proposal for a counter-budget, which is supposed to come from the Democratic Policy Committee, a center not of responsibility but of partisanship.

With a little help from the Brookings Institution, any junior staff member can run through the presidential budget, lopping \$5 billion of defense to add to the poverty war, and running up tax reform savings to be spread here and there. In fact, the Policy Committee staff may even be able to meet the two-week deadline because so much of the spadework for this sort of effort was done during last year's presidential campaign.

The Democratic candidate's advisers redid the whole Pentagon budget, you remember, proving that huge savings were at hand. It would have been more convincing if they hadn't overlooked the necessity of buying gas to run the planes and ships. There was also a highly detailed plan for tax reform, proving that it could raise enough money to give \$1,000 to everybody.

That sort of "counter-budget" wouldn't be the huge step toward responsibility we have had in mind, but we must concede that it would probably be quite helpful in clarifying the debate over priorities. Counting ourselves among those who think the President's priorities are about right, in fact, we can hardly wait.

RAILROAD DEMONSTRATION
PROJECTS

HON. DAVID TOWELL

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. TOWELL of Nevada. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives this week will consider the Federal Highways Act for 1973. It is with a great amount of pride that I point out to my colleagues that the railroad track relocation demonstration projects include Elko, Nev.

This project, thanks to the people of the city of Elko, is in the forefront nationally in planning and public participation for demonstration of the need for relocating railroad grade-crossings in city areas.

Elko is a typical Western rural town, self-sufficient, individual, and enterprising. Elko has the personality of a pioneer; willing to venture out and attempt things that others would hesitate to try, and yet willing to aid others and share their accomplishments with all.

Elko is included in the Federal Highway Act as a demonstration city for the relocation of the railroad tracks of the Southern Pacific Co. and the Western Pacific Railroad Co. from the heart of the downtown area.

Elko recognizes that should it be designated as a demonstration city, it must be willing and able to demonstrate the methods of accomplishment, not as a liability, but as an asset to the Congress. Elko is therefore willing to stand on its record of accomplishments and will project its skills and ingenuities to the benefit of all other communities with like problems. With Elko in the 1973 Highway bill, the Congress will benefit with the positive accomplishments this community has made to date.

The facts are: Elko, Nev., population 7,621 has a thriving business district equal to cities three times its size; yet the same thriving business district is beginning to show signs of deterioration attributed to the 40 some trains running daily through this district of 17 railroad crossings. Nearly 40 major accidents have occurred at the crossings in the past 10 years.

Elko has a relocation plan approved by the two class one railroads, and the community leaders for the solution of the problem. Elko, by its own efforts gained the support of the railroads involved, the State Highway Department, the Federal Highway Administration, and the Federal Railroad Administration of the Department of Transportation, the Association of American Railroads, the State of Nevada Planning Board, the County and Regional Planning Commissions, civic and community organizations and the attention and best wishes of the Regional Transportation Safety Board and the National Safety Council.

Elko has begun a methodical outline of accomplishments and has progressed so rapidly that individuals and agencies with unanswered questions are turning to their Track Committee and asking, "What is next?"

To date they have:

First. Promoted a theme and desire for a community project of safety.

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Second. Organized a Track Committee outside the political bounds of the city to carry out the program.

Third. Solicited private donations in excess of \$40,000 in funds and called on various talents to plan and organize the activities.

Fourth. Engineered an acceptable plan of relocation in cooperation with Federal-State-local agencies and of the two class one railroads.

Fifth. Interested national agencies in their project and have included their support for improvements and refinement.

Sixth. Outlined a program of events and publicity to insure continued interest, public relations and accomplishments.

Seventh. Developed draft agreements between agencies and the railroad's consultants, citizen groups, planning departments and redevelopment committees to promote the successful and beneficial outcome of the project.

Eighth. Approached each unanswered question as a plus to be answered by the demonstration project. This alone is an unusual approach to problems that only a positive thinking group could develop.

Ninth. Held public informational meetings to bring the question to the people for their input and support.

Tenth. Have initiated a planning program for community development inasmuch as the proposed project continues when the downtown area is freed of the tracks that now sever its body.

Geographically, Elko is located on the important central East-West freight corridor connecting the industrial and agricultural Midwest with the consumer market of California—an area recognized by the ICC Examiner as a corridor to be served by two of the surviving four railroad carriers in the West. It is evident that Nevada will some day be selected as one of the routes of the high-speed freight corridors, and grade crossing elimination projects shall be necessary in similar communities to achieve the railroad freeway of the future.

Elko is a community that has done its homework, and with its inclusion in the House version of the 1973 highway bill, is offering itself as an asset to the overall safety program. Elko pledges its ingenuity, forward approach, enterprising ideas, initiative and demonstrated accomplishments to the solution of an enormous problem to the traveling public—that is, the elimination of the highway rail crossings.

This will be a positive step to safety accomplishment in rural America.

I strongly encourage the Members of the House of Representatives to support this Highway bill and with it this very necessary public project.

PRICE ROLLBACK NOT THE
ANSWER

HON. PAUL FINDLEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. FINDLEY. Mr. Speaker, the pro-

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posal to roll back prices contained in H.R. 6168 brought the greatest response from Illinois residents in the shortest period of time of any bill that has been before Congress in many years.

Since H.R. 6168 was reported by the Banking and Currency Committee shortly over a week ago, I have received over 2,000 letters, telegrams, and phone calls concerning the price-rollback provision of the bill. Virtually all opposed this provision.

I believe their opposition was well founded, and I voted against H.R. 6168 and several other amendments that would have had similar effects. I am certain that virtually all Illinois citizens—farmers, wage earners, small businessmen—were relieved when this ill-advised bill was rejected and a 1-year extension of the Economic Stabilization Act was approved in its place.

Our Nation's agricultural sector has long known that a price rollback is an unsatisfactory and counterproductive means of combating economic problems. Farmers remember only too well what happened when prices were rolled back two decades ago during the Korean war. They remember that meat shortages developed, black markets sprang up, and prices fell to bankrupting lows. The solution to the problem turned out to be as dangerous as the problem itself.

At this time, a price rollback would have had an equally disastrous effect on farmers and businessmen. Many would have been faced with tremendous economic losses. In addition, most farmers would have been forced to cut back production, instead of increasing it as is needed. Food supplies would have decreased. Even higher prices for consumers would have been unavoidable.

By approving a simple extension of the Economic Stabilization Act, the President retains the authority to take whatever steps he deems necessary to stabilize the economy without forcing him to rollback prices.

To be sure, many are rightfully concerned about the high cost of living and understandably want something done about it. Their call for action should be heard even as our better judgment compels us to reject the illusory solution of a price rollback.

It is true that everything is costing more, particularly food. But a price rollback would only treat a symptom and not the cause of the problem.

Certainly, the inflation problem is difficult to solve. Much of the blame for not solving it rests in the way Congress appropriates money. By continuing to spend more than we take in, we pour fuel on the flames of inflation.

Recently, Congress has taken several steps which encourage me to hope that Government spending may be brought under control. Several Presidential vetoes of big spending bills have been supported by the House and Senate. And, we will soon consider a change in the rules of Congress that will require the adoption of a budget for the Government before we begin appropriating money. This is a step I have long urged.

If Congress can curb its tendency to overspend, it will make the greatest contribution to arriving at a wage and price level that is satisfactory to the farmer,

the consumer, the wage earner and the businessman. A price rollback is not the answer. But, curtailing Government expenditures is.

TEACHER OF THE YEAR

HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this occasion to pay a special tribute to an extremely dedicated and competent man, Mr. Jack Enswoorth of Bend, Oreg. Mr. Enswoorth has been selected as the 1973 National Teacher of the Year.

Bend is a beautiful town tucked under the leeward side of the Cascade Mountains in central Oregon. It is in my congressional district, and I am very proud that a teacher from my constituency should be chosen for national honors and recognition. But I think the entire Nation can and should be proud of Jack Enswoorth, whose skill, dedication, and excellence as a teacher and a citizen would be welcome anywhere in the country.

One of three sons of deaf-mute parents, Jack was raised in Akron, Ohio. Inspired by how his parents had dealt with their problem and by one of his own teachers, Jack overcame a serious childhood accident and disease. Drafted out of high school, he earned his diploma in the Army while becoming a combat demolition expert in World War II combat. Following the war, Jack returned to Akron and pushed himself through college in 3 years. He was eager then to learn and to begin teaching, and his eagerness remains today. He returned to college at the University of Oregon some years later, and now holds a master's degree.

There has been considerable experimentation and excitement in education circles the last few years about new teaching methods, about teaching teachers to open up, about making education into communication. These things are not new to Jack Enswoorth, however. For him, communication has always been a two-way process. Perhaps it is a result of his growing up in a family where he had to know two languages: the spoken language and the sign language of the deaf-mute. Whatever the reason, education in Jack's classrooms at Kenwood Elementary School is a two-way process where students spend as much time asking Jack questions as he can take to answer them. In Jack's own words:

Education is not a one way exchange of ideas; therefore, as a teacher, I must be a sounding board to each child's ideas, interests, and problems, no matter how minor they may seem to me as an adult.

It is this approach to learning—as opposed to what so many of us consider "teaching"—that makes Jack such a competent, inspiring teacher. Perhaps just as important is his thinking that education bound solely to a classroom is woefully incomplete. Jack's students are welcome to come fishing in the pond behind his home. To study genetics, the

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students raise their own tropical fish at school. Jack's students not only learn mathematics, but they learn practical application by using a jig-saw they have purchased with Jack's encouragement. And what sixth-grade class other than Jack's is learning about birth and reproduction by growing several sheep in a pen in the schoolyard?

What more can we ask of a teacher than that he inspire in his pupils a lifelong desire to learn? And what better preparation for life can we ask of our young than that they carry this desire with them always? I think Jack Enswoorth, whose imaginative approach can turn the most abstract idea into a simple, concrete problem, has given us everything we seek in a teacher—and more. His students, his community, and the entire country are all the recipients of his gifts.

I would like to salute Jack Enswoorth, his wife Chrissie, and his family. And I am pleased that we can at least give him, in return for his gifts to us, recognition as the outstanding teacher in the Nation.

THE EXECUTIVE AND FOREIGN POLICY: THE LIBERAL DOUBLE STANDARD

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, in the discussion concerning Executive authority in the field of foreign affairs it is legitimate to ask whether legislators who now seek a greater participation in determining when and under what circumstances Americans are to go to war, are really concerned with restoring the preeminent role of the Congress, or are simply opposed to the things the Executive is doing. Do they want to reassert congressional authority to declare war, or do they simply oppose this particular war?

What is ironical today is that the very men in the Congress, in the press, and in the academic community who now declare that President Nixon has exceeded his authority with regard to the war powers are the same men who, in the 1950's opposed the conservative-sponsored Bricker amendment to restore congressional prerogatives in matters of foreign policy.

Men such as the junior Senator from Arkansas, Mr. FULBRIGHT, now leading the campaign against Executive authority, all through the 1950's and early 1960's, urged more power for the Executive in foreign affairs. The reason is simple: When the Executive did what liberals agreed with, they supported Executive power. Now that the Executive is acting in a manner with which they disagree, they oppose it. Principle seems not to be an issue at all.

In 1954, Senator FULBRIGHT declared that—

Our enemy is not the President of the United States, whether the incumbent, his successor to come, or his predecessors. . . . The Constitution charges the President with the duty of conducting our foreign relations by and with the advice of the Senate. It

makes him the leading actor; not a spectator and mere witness.

Unfortunately, some conservatives also have a double standard. These conservatives today support executive authority rather than congressional supremacy simply because the Executive is pursuing a policy with which they agree. In neither case is the real issue of the proper role of the Congress in matters of foreign policy being brought into question as it should.

To further illustrate the manner in which liberals who now question executive authority in this field have turned their backs upon their own philosophical concepts in this area, I wish to share with my colleagues a collection of statements made by distinguished American liberals over the years concerning the merits of executive power. These quotes appeared in the March 30, 1973, issue of *National Review*, and I insert them into the RECORD at this time:

WE KNEW THEM WHEN

"America needs strong government; it needs strong leadership to attain strong government; only the President, granted its characteristics, can provide it with the leadership it requires. . . . The President of the United States must be given the power commensurate to the function he has to perform. . . . Great power alone makes great leadership possible; it provides the unique chance of restoring America to its people." (Harold Laski, 1940.)

"Only the President, because he is the Chief Executive, is in a position to know all the facts. Only the President and his advisers are in a position to weigh all the facts. Therefore, the President alone can lead the country." (Walter Lippmann, 1941.)

"It is clear that the power of the President has grown in response to popular demand. Presidents have aggrandized power not because they were ambitious but because power had to be exercised and the President was the natural and effective instrument for its exercise. . . . Without exception, periods of democratic advance have coincided with periods of executive power. . . . No strong Executive has yet impaired the fundamentals of our constitutional system or of our democracy. American liberties, American democracy, what we call the American way of life, have not only survived the growth of presidential power but have, in the past, flourished under it. Is there any reason to believe that democracy cannot survive the present crisis?" (Henry Steele Commager, 1941.)

"If we are going to guard against hypothetical dangers, against constitutional powers that are subject to abuse, why bother with anything as carefully circumscribed as the treaty-making power? Why not start with the powers of Congress itself? . . . In fact the Executive never has made a treaty that has been held to conflict with the Constitution. This, it is relevant to observe, is a much better record than Congress can show. . . . The executive agreement has been a useful and even necessary device from almost the beginning of our history." (Henry Steele Commager, 1953.)

"Our enemy is not the President of the United States, whether the incumbent, his successor to come, or his predecessors. . . . The Constitution charges the President with the duty of conducting our foreign relations by and with the advice of the Senate. It makes him the leading actor; not a spectator and mere witness." (Senator J. William Fulbright, 1954.)

"No American can contemplate the Presidency today without a feeling of solemnity and humility. . . . Perhaps the most rewarding way to grasp the significance of this great office is to consider it as a focus of democratic leadership. . . . The President is the American

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people's one authentic trumpet. . . . The relentless progress of this continental Republic has made the Presidency the one truly national political institution. . . . The more Congress becomes, in Burke's phrase, 'a confused and scuffling bustle of local agency,' the more the Presidency must become a clear beacon of national purpose. . . . It is, finally, an office of freedom. The Presidency is a standing reproach to those petty doctrinaires who insist that executive power is inherently undemocratic. . . . It is no less a reproach to those easy generalizers who think that Lord Acton had the very last word on the corrupting effects of power. . . . The vast power of this office has not been 'poison,' as Henry Adams wrote in scorn; rather, it has elevated often and corrupted never." (Clinton Rossiter, 1956.)

"The President is hobbled in his task of leading the American people to consensus and concerted action by the restrictions of power imposed upon him by a constitutional system designed for an eighteenth-century agrarian society far removed from the centers of world power. It is imperative that we break out of the intellectual confines of cherished and traditional beliefs. . . . [The President] alone among elected officials can rise above parochialism and private pressures." (Senator J. William Fulbright, 1961.)

"Presidential government, far from being a threat to American democracy, has become the major single institution sustaining it—a bulwark of individual liberty, and agency of popular representation, and a magnet for political talent and leadership. . . . In presidential government Americans have established one of the most powerful political institutions in the free world. They have fashioned, sometimes unwittingly, a weapon that has served them well in the long struggle for freedom and equality at home and in the search for stable and democratic politics abroad." (James MacGregor Burns, 1965.)

MISSOURI STUDENTS WORKING WITHIN THE SYSTEM

HON. GENE TAYLOR

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. TAYLOR of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, recently the Young Republican Club at Missouri Southern State College, Joplin, Mo., was presented the outstanding College Republican Club award for the State of Missouri.

I believe this accomplishment should be acclaimed because of the importance and necessity for encouraging students to work and contribute within our political system. Our responsible students usually attract little public recognition for their efforts and for this reason I was delighted to see an editorial in the Carthage Press, Carthage, Mo., on March 27 which recognized the achievement of the Missouri Southern State College Republicans. This editorial follows:

WINNING EFFORT

Congratulations to the officers and members of the Young Republicans Club of Missouri Southern State College on their amazing record of accomplishment.

As reported earlier in The Press, the MSSC students headed by President Steve Holt of Carthage, beat out 27 similar organizations, many of them on large and more populous campuses, to win a state award as outstanding club of the year.

The accomplishment was gained via ener-

getic participation in governmental processes at the grassroots level.

These young people represent an excellent example not only for others of their own generation but for their elders as well.

Without resorting to rioting, unruly demonstrations or uncouth actions, they have recognized and accepted the significant nature of their responsibilities as citizens of a free nation.

In so doing they have strengthened not only their own political party but the entire nation.

We hope more and more people will be caught up in the contagious enthusiasm which they exhibit and adherents of both major parties will see the value of their approach to the task of being true Americans.

EXECUTIVE PRIVILEGE

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, executive privilege is one of the key matters facing the Congress and the Nation. Mr. Kleindienst has claimed, on behalf of the President, privileges of executive branch employees reaching far beyond any rational protection of the confidential relationship between a President and his aides. Mr. Kleindienst, in short, is asking for a new form of government—Presidential government. This is outrageous.

Clark Mollenhoff is a distinguished journalist who has served in the Nixon administration. His job at the White House gave him a familiarity with the internal workings of the White House. He has written an article which appeared in the New York Times of April 13, on the overall subject of executive privilege. I find it interesting that a man so intimately familiar with the Presidential staff can reach by way of rational argument conclusions diametrically opposed to the propositions of the administration.

I would like to insert Mr. Mollenhoff's enlightening article in the RECORD at this time for the consideration of all Members:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 13, 1973]

EXECUTIVE PRIVILEGE—DEVIOUS DOCTRINE

(By Clark R. Mollenhoff)

WASHINGTON.—The Fitzgerald case demonstrates the extreme evil that executive privilege can be in hiding relevant facts from the public in an Air Force conspiracy to destroy a truthful witness.

An Air Force cost analyst, A. Ernest Fitzgerald was discharged after he displeased his superior by testifying on the billion-dollar cost overruns on the C-5A program. Editorial pages were nearly unanimous in castigating the abolition of Fitzgerald's \$30,000-a-year job, and declared the economy reasons given were but a subterfuge for malicious retaliation.

The Air Force denied it, and imposed a secrecy on its records, proceedings and conversations with the White House. The "privilege" buried evidence of a devious smear of Fitzgerald as well as other evidence that the Air Force plotted to harass and intimidate a truthful witness.

Disregarding Air Force efforts to impose executive privilege, White House memoranda were made available to Fitzgerald to establish key aspects of his case. Without those

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internal memoranda of advice, Fitzgerald's case would have been incomplete and the Air Force would have successfully hidden its deceptions.

Recent history shows that this devious doctrine has rarely been used for anything but a cover-up for scandalous military bungling, foreign aid corruption, conflicts of interest and influence peddling. Examples include the Dixon-Yates "conflict of interest," the Adams-Goldfine affair, frauds in Laos foreign aid, the Billy Sol Estes cotton allotment frauds, the TFX warplane mismanagement and "conflicts of interest," and the White House investigation of the Watergate scandal.

Arrogant executive branch officials have even used it to bar General Accounting Office auditors from financial records in violation of the Budgeting and Accounting Act of 1921 that specifically requires that "all records" be made available to the office upon request.

Various Attorneys General, politically appointed, have ruled that executive privilege gave the executive branch the right to impose this arbitrary secrecy. It was the king's lawyer stating the king was right in asserting this total power to withhold evidence from Congress and the General Accounting Office.

It has been conceded that no law of Congress has granted this so-called executive privilege and no Supreme Court decision has been cited for this assertion that the President has a constitutional right to bar testimony from any high-level or low-level official of any executive agency when he believes it to be in the national interest. Further, we are told that the executive privilege claims cover any internal working paper in the executive branch and that any advisory opinion can be withheld from Congress, the General Accounting Office or the public without explanation except that the President believes it to be in the national interest.

The only authority cited for this seed of totalitarianism is a claim of some all-encompassing "inherent right" under "the separation of powers" doctrine of the Constitution.

Senator Sam Ervin, a recognized authority on the Constitution, has declared that "executive privilege is executive poppycock." He has castigated President Nixon's effort to bar all present and former White House aides from appearing on the Watergate investigation as an attempt to rob Congress of a rightful power to investigate to determine if the laws passed by Congress are being properly administered and enforced.

Raoul Berger, a senior fellow at Harvard Law School who has done extensive research on the history of the so-called precedents, has declared that executive privilege is a myth and not the "time-honored doctrine" that William P. Rogers claimed it to be when he became its leading proponent as Attorney General in the Eisenhower Administration.

Seldom has it been used as anything but a blatant cover-up for corruption, mismanagement and political double-dealing. The doctrine is devoid of decency because it creates the illusion that officials may use the great power of the White House in secret and never be held accountable for their acts.

The Watergate scandal is simply the latest manifestation of the corrupting influence of the ill-founded illusion of total power to corrupt the political processes and get by with it. The Watergate scandal and the Fitzgerald case provide sufficient examples for the public and the Congress to comprehend the mischief that can be created behind a facade of pious slogans about "a sacred separation of powers."

Where secrecy is needed to cover sensitive negotiations or raw F.B.I. files, an articulate President need only appeal to the common sense and decency of the electorate on the specific issue involved, and not engage in public relations gimmickry to give further support to a doctrine that could destroy all of our freedoms.

SPACE SHUTTLE SYSTEM
WASTEFUL

HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Ms. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, during the recent debate on the manned space shuttle system I had the privilege of presenting testimony to the Senate Aeronautical and Space Sciences Committee, Subcommittee on Manned Space Flights. I would like to insert that testimony in the RECORD:

TESTIMONY OF CONGRESSWOMAN BELLA S. ABZUG BEFORE COMMITTEE ON SCIENCE AND ASTRONAUTICS, SUBCOMMITTEE ON MANNED SPACE FLIGHTS—APRIL 1973

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, I appreciate the opportunity to discuss NASA's proposal for the development of what I believe to be an extravagant and unnecessary manned space shuttle system.

Man's technological achievements during the past decade have been stupendous. We recently climaxed all our efforts by sending men to the moon to walk on its surface and to collect lunar rocks.

The original purpose of this program was the pursuit of scientific knowledge. The present space program has strayed very far from this objective. Instead, our recent endeavors seem to be aimed at increasing our "national image" and enhancing our world prestige. The rationale behind the idea that the first steps on the moon had to be those created by Americans worries me. We have little hesitation in spending billions of dollars for American footsteps, but when it comes to spending mere millions to employ, feed, clothe, and house our own citizens, a hue and cry is heard.

Now that NASA's Apollo project has been completed, they need another glamorous playtoy—the manned space shuttle. This project, NASA says, will cost "only" \$8 billion to produce—"5½ billion for the research and development of the first two shuttlecraft and another \$1.5 billion for the remaining three shuttlecraft, not to mention an additional \$1 billion for unforeseen difficulties.

NASA has offered the figure of \$8 billion as the total cost of the project, but on close examination, this figure is misleading. The space agency states that over a ten-year operations period this figure will increase to somewhere between \$10 and \$14 billion. Another interesting figure mentioned in passing is that the shuttle's payload might add \$20–\$28 billion to the shuttle's total cost, or in other words more than triple it! The Rand report conducted in 1970 for the USAF says that these estimates are conservative.

The Rand report lists two conclusions to substantiate its findings: (1) the system requires heavy payload amounts and (2) frequent use of the system. These two factors make the initial costs very high and only after \$141 billion has been spent will the manned space program become cheaper than the nonreusable rocket system used today. The development of this shuttle requires a civilian space budget of \$7 billion for one year, more than twice the annual space budget now.

Whenever we decide to spend a minimum of \$8 billion I think there must be some probing questions asked about the worth of such a program. At the outset of the program, NASA's statement said that this reusable manned space shuttlecraft was being developed to reduce transportation costs between earth and outer space. When the idea was first presented, there was the implication that this would be the first step towards a manned orbiting space station. We are being

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asked to provide airline-type accessibility to space for a handful of scientists and their cargo at low operational costs. In 1970 the Rand Corporation conducted a study and at the time it appeared that the money for the manned orbiting space station would not come through. After both of these facts became apparent NASA stated that the shuttle will be used for "versatile and efficient operations" and further, that the manned space shuttle system is viewed as an end in itself.

One of the versatile and efficient operations would be that of satellite repair. It is now a popular idea to have technicians shot into space for the sole purpose of repairing a single satellite. A leading scientist, Jeremy Stone, states that if a satellite does malfunction, it is cheaper to build and launch a new one than to risk sending a human being into space to repair the malfunctioning one.

In 1969 there were 37 space launches that carried a payload of 381,000 pounds into space. NASA presently predicts 2.6 million pounds of payload per year starting in 1978. This increase in the pound payload per year cannot be accounted for by satellite repair.

It is very possible that this shuttle system could be used as a primary means of moving military equipment into space. The military budget already takes an astronomical bite out of the national budget. The military has already overtaken and used our air for its own private use.

Our space frontier may soon be cluttered with American armaments and serve as yet another place to confront our so-called enemies. The conquest of the air was seen as a scientific accomplishment, but it has quickly become a military playground.

Is this a Defense Department expenditure that is being disguised as a civilian project? If it is, as it seems to be, the Department of Defense should share in the cost of development of the system. I do not think that the Federal Government should deceive its citizens as it is presently doing. Civilian money can be better spent, at this critical time, on trying to help our rat-infested, drug-plagued ghettos, or our sewage filled waterways than on the long-range possibilities of space exploration.

There is a real choice for Congress to make—a decision whether to spend \$1.6 billion on the development of a single space-craft or to turn our attention to beginning to cure our ever-increasing domestic ills. At the present time our scarce resources do not allow us to think of the possibility of instituting both programs.

My opposition to the manned space shuttle system does not exist in a vacuum; rather, it centers around the need to redefine our national priorities. Should NASA be allowed to continue the drain on our limited national resources by shooting billions of dollars worth of hardware into space while other more pressing domestic needs go begging? I think not. From which project will American citizens derive more concrete benefit—the development of five space shuttlecraft, or modern shuttle systems in the major cities of the United States that would be able to transport millions of working Americans to and from work cheaply, efficiently, and with a minimum of further air pollution? Another alternative use of this money would be to build low-income housing or massive new medical facilities for our needy.

The Skylab experiment—a program designed to explore man's capability for living and working in space—is just beginning. How can we think of appropriating billions of dollars for a massive shuttle system whose feasibility has not yet been established? The aerospace industry has had a recent slump because of the "termination" of the war in Vietnam. Now that it does not have fat government contracts from defense work, federal subsidies are required to keep it afloat. The program would create jobs for 50,000 or more people and would thus ease President Nixon's embarrassment over unemployment figures.

I am not against this industry or the working men and women who make it run, but there is no reason why it cannot be converted to such activities as pre-fab or modular housing construction.

The decision reached by Congress as to the wisdom and practicality of this proposal will determine not only its future, but also the future of American space exploration. The implications involved in establishing an extensive manned shuttle system would point to a firm commitment to an enlarged space program of massive proportions, based upon the same expensive methods employed by NASA in the Apollo program. These methods would further deplete our limited financial and natural resources. We must question the rationale of the more expensive and inefficient manned system of space exploration as opposed to the cheaper, more economical and safer unmanned approach. NASA should adopt an unmanned instrumented system even though it may diminish their public image a little, for it would drastically reduce their present exorbitant budget.

I oppose the space shuttle as it is proposed today. Let me say, however, that I am not "anti-space" or "anti-technology." I believe that in the long run, the development of space may be our only feasible solution for our global problems. I do favor the use of lightweight, unmanned, instrumented systems which can produce the same results as our manned program at a fraction of the cost.

When we begin to use our science and technology to begin to wipe out disease, feed our hungry, educate our illiterate, provide better shelter for our needy, and improve our environment, then science is worthy of mind-boggling budgets. Accordingly, I urge that you terminate any authorization for development of a manned space shuttle system at this time.

Thank you for your time and your attention.

TESTIMONY BEFORE POSTAL SERVICE SUBCOMMITTEE

HON. C. W. BILL YOUNG

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, I would like to submit for my colleagues' attention this copy of my testimony before the House Post Office and Civil Service's Subcommittee on Postal Service on the performance of the U.S. Postal Service in Florida and in support of my bill H.R. 4156, a bill to provide for annual authorizations for appropriations to the U.S. Postal Service:

TESTIMONY OF THE HON. C. W. BILL YOUNG OF FLORIDA, BEFORE THE HOUSE POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE'S SUBCOMMITTEE ON POSTAL SERVICE, APRIL 11, 1973

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate this opportunity to advise the Subcommittee on Postal Service of the inadequacy of mail service in Pinellas County, Florida, and I commend you for taking time to study this need to reform the U.S. Postal Service.

Over the past several months, each of us has been hearing of poor mail service. At first, some of the delays could have been attributed only to the heavy volume of Christmas mail. However, as complaints continue to pour into our offices, it becomes obvious that the problems are rooted not in the Christmas season, but rather in the failures of the U.S. Postal Service and the Postal Re-organization Act of 1970.

When I brought to the attention of the U.S. Postal Service some of the difficulties experienced by residents of Florida, and Pinellas County, in particular, I was pleased

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by its willingness to begin a study of its operations in Florida. As a result, steps have been taken to improve service—the hiring of new employees and the elimination of mail backlog, for example; this has helped the local postal situation, but I am still receiving complaints. Now, I realize that service that has been deteriorating over the last several years cannot be improved in three months. I have advised my constituents of this, and I know they will be reasonable. Yet, even a patient man has a right to receive an answer to his questions of "what is wrong?" and "why is my service being curtailed?" and answers to these questions are what I hope your hearings will provide.

When the Postal Reorganization Act of 1970 was passed, claims were made that if reorganization would be authorized that service would improve and that the post office would soon be self-sufficient. However, we have seen little to substantiate this argument.

Instead, postal managers have become more aloof of the public and the Congress. Postal employees, who used to pride themselves with their devotion to work and their service to the public are now disenchanted by their job and their morale is at a low ebb. In the meantime, the public must put up with cutbacks in service, increasing costs, and unnecessary delays and inconveniences.

There is little need for me to take the time of this committee to cite specific examples of poor service. We all have become familiar with them: mail taking weeks for delivery or being lost, even when it has been properly addressed and "zip-coded;" no convenient pick-ups at mail collection boxes; invitations received after the date of the affair; payments being lost or delayed, forcing the customer to pay a finance charge or a penalty fee; fear that favorite magazines will be forced to stop publication because of exorbitant price increases in postage rates. I am sure that such examples existed prior to the U.S. Postal Service. But, when the Postmaster-General can cite figures claiming that mail delivery standards are being met, that service is better and that the average time for delivery has decreased, then, in fairness to Floridians, I must question the base that is used in these calculations. From reading the Congressional Record and discussing the situation with my colleagues, I do not feel that congressmen from Florida are the only ones who have been deluged with complaints, and therefore, I believe that the disparity between the statistics of the U.S. Postal Service and actual service performance is greater.

For these reasons, it is proper for this subcommittee to investigate the U.S. Postal Service and for your consideration, I have introduced H.R. 4156, a bill to provide for annual authorizations for appropriations to the U.S. Postal Service. This bill further provides that the U.S. Postal Service will keep the Congress and the Post Office Committees of the House and Senate advised of its activities and operations.

This legislation should be passed, in my opinion, because of the uniqueness of the U.S. Postal Service. It is the only daily contact the people of the United States have with their federal government. As Members of Congress, we are the link between the people and their government. The U.S. Postal Service has an obligation to the people and the government to provide mail service. We, as representatives of the people, have the responsibility to see that the U.S. Postal Service carries out its duties. Thus, the U.S. Postal Service should not attempt to immunize itself from the Congress, nor should it attempt to ignore the Congress.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I believe that the U.S. Postal Service has realized its initial mistakes in this regard, and that it is now genuinely working to improve service. But, a change in the basic structure is still needed. My bill, H.R. 4156, is a step in this

direction; and coupled to other proposals presented to the committee, will aid the U.S. Postal Service in its attempt to provide better mail delivery.

We all will look forward to your final report, and I am hopeful that the committee will recommend, and that this Congress will enact, those changes in the Postal Reorganization Act of 1970 which will, once again, enable the U.S. Postal Service to provide mail service that is reliable, efficient, and economical.

ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION

HON. PETER A. PEYSER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. PEYSER. Mr. Speaker, Ms. Nancy Stockholm, a student at Cornell University, and a recipient of the first President's Environmental Merit award, made an excellent statement during today's hearings of my Select Subcommittee on Education. The committee is presently conducting hearings on H.R. 3927 to extend the Environmental Education Act for 3 more years. I would like this statement to appear at this point in the Record so that all of the Members of the House will have an opportunity to read it:

TESTIMONY ON H.R. 3927

(By Ms. Nancy Stockholm)

Mr. Chairman and distinguished members of Congress: I appreciate this opportunity to express my views on H.R. 3927, the Environmental Education Act, based on my personal background and experiences.

Currently a freshman at Cornell University, I was accepted early decision to study environmental science with strong emphasis in political science and public relations. I graduated on the four year honor roll from Oak Park and River Forest High School in Illinois, where I was active in environmental projects.

In April of 1972 I was one of eight students in the country to receive the first President's Environmental Merit Award for work in school-community environmental programs. As a winner, I came to Washington, D.C. to receive the award at the White House, and to tour the Environmental Protection Agency here.

During high school I was co-chairman of a 1970 Teach-In that involved over 4000 students and faculty in a week long environmental workshop. After the workshop, I was student chairman of the Pollution Control Center, first of its kind in Illinois as a center within the high school to coordinate a variety of environmental projects.

I was a staff member of our school paper for four years, and in 1972 the *Chicago Tribune* published an editorial that I wrote on an environmental bill in its editorial page.

In 1971-72, I served as the youngest appointment to the Illinois Superintendent of Public Instruction twenty-five member Task Force to develop a master plan for environmental education.

In March of 1972 I testified before the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee to the 1972 Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, during hearings of the subcommittee on the Social, Cultural, and Educational aspects of the United Nations conference.

I. Introduction

Although I am not an expert in politics or environmental science, I am a student who has spent over five years involved directly with environmental projects ranging from community to international levels.

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Moreover, I plan as a career to try to find ways of solving environmental problems through public understanding and response combined with corresponding legislation and law enforcement.

I have become increasingly convinced that environmental education is the key to dealing with these problems. I hope to present evidence that supports my opinion from the best source that I have—my personal experiences that have been influenced by many kinds of environmental education programs. Not only have environmental education projects affected my attitudes and actions, but they have reached hundreds of other students and adults that I have had the opportunity to work with.

B. By describing just a few of the past and potential accomplishments that relate to this bill, I hope to convince you that renewing the Environmental Education Act will enable significant, long lasting environmental improvements brought about by a diversity of citizens and organizations in the United States.

II. The critical need for environmental education has been established in verbal and written statements by the President, the Council on Environmental Quality, members of Congress, and professional and citizen organizations.

A. In his 1972 Environmental Message to Congress, President Nixon stated, "The starting point of environmental quality is in the hearts and minds of the people. Unless the people have a deep commitment to new values and a clear understanding of new problems, all our laws and programs and spending will avail little."

The President added in his introduction to the third annual report of the Council on Environmental Quality, "There is ample room for encouragement in the growing capacity of a people to assess their problems, take stock of their situation and get on with the unfinished business of shaping the United States as a model of a satisfying and healthful environment."

B. Success of programs, no matter how beneficial, depends on support by Americans of all ages and backgrounds who are "good citizens" in the true sense. These citizens must be able to view environmental concerns not from an emotional or slanted viewpoint, but from one that is serious due to an understanding of man's technology, attitudes, and capabilities for environmental damage.

I have seen environmental education programs develop this type of awareness, with the result that people take constructive action, based on understanding.

I was one of hundreds of high school students to attend two week-long conservation workshops at Southern Illinois University in 1969 and 1970. These intensive programs, presented by experts in environmental fields from the university, educated students to specific pollution problems. More importantly, they provided students who were concerned with information on how to set up programs to solve these problems when they returned to their own communities. Students received scholarships to attend from local sportsmen's clubs, garden clubs, or other civic groups or schools. With its limited funds, the program did not run throughout the year, but every session produced about one hundred students who multiplied their knowledge and concern by beginning projects in their home towns.

For example, a classmate and I returned to plan a week long 1970 Conservation Workshop at Oak Park-River Forest High School in observance of the first Earth Day. This workshop brought together conservationists, scientists, educators, and industry representatives in order to educate the students, faculty, and other citizens of the community. After a small steering committee of students convinced the administrators to reschedule classes for the entire week, the students themselves selected and contacted all speak-

ers who spoke to over 4000 listeners during the program. Attorney Joseph Karaganis, special assistant to Attorney General Scott of Illinois, talked to history classes about environmental legislation. Mr. Gunnar Peterson, director of the non-profit conservation group called The Open Lands Project, lectured to English classes about ecological concepts and personal lifestyles, and representatives from Commonwealth Edison and Universal Oil gave presentations to science classes regarding industrial pollution. Lectures were only part of this program which utilized the talents of students and faculty through environmental articles in the school and local papers, posters and displays, educational films and printed matter, and activities like acquiring an air pollution monitor for the roof or planting trees on school property.

But this was only the beginning, because after the workshop, students and teachers realized the need for environmental education and action in their school and community. They suggested an environmental biology course to the local school board, so that now there are several environmental science courses that emphasize the social, political, and economic aspects of environmental problems. The summer field biology class has been especially exciting, with students visiting nature areas, industrial sites, municipal sewage treatment plants, and other places to analyze pollution control. Students do independent research too, like testing local water for dissolved oxygen, or recording air pollution counts from the monitor on the school roof.

Environmental action centers around the Pollution Control Center, an office that the students run to coordinate projects within the school and community, and on a larger scale. They decorated an old storage room, borrowed some file cabinets and a desk, and obtained a phone. The center is open each school day with student volunteers to answer the phone. Here students or citizens can get free pamphlets, periodicals, and audio-visual aides on a wide range of environmental topics. Besides keeping in touch with other environmental groups and providing information, the center organizes an amazing range of projects:

Permanent recycling village-wide of glass, paper, and metal

Speaker for local elementary schools that lack environmental education courses

The saving and maintenance of a local conservatory

Representatives to testify at state Pollution Control Board hearings

Maintenance of file on current legislation (state and federal) and telephone, letter campaigns

Coalition with other schools to work on common projects

The important point here is that this kind of program is not unique; energetic students and teachers across the nation are working with limited funds and resources to produce exciting results. (see Appendix)

C. With modest federal support, these projects can spread to other areas. Once combined with local talent, funds, and enthusiasm, the returns measured in public awareness and environmental improvement far exceed the investment.

Last October, using a small amount of money from the federal Office of Environmental Education, services and personnel from the Environmental Protection Agency Region V, and National Park Service, and students and faculty from Illinois and Wisconsin high schools, a weekend environmental problem solving conference was held. The monetary investment was small, but the interest on the part of staff of sponsoring agencies, and the work done preparing for the conference by participants maximized the result. Over one-hundred and forty students and teachers attended from urban, suburban, and rural environments. Those

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attending learned about environmental education and projects at other schools, how to organize similar programs that would be locally significant, and where to go for instructional materials and help from other schools, citizen groups, and government agencies. They also gained practical knowledge of water testing using the Tilden Guides developed by the Cleveland Institute for Environmental Education with help from the Environmental Protection Agency and the Office of Environmental Education, and other instructional aides.

The follow-up activities of the conference are numerous. The schools have organized a newsletter to keep informed of projects, and a monitoring network of a river that runs from Wisconsin into Illinois. Special student research groups have researched discharges in local rivers and obtained convictions of illegal water pollution through the local sanitary district regulations, and state laws in some cases.

Teachers have returned to their schools with new ideas for curricula, and interdisciplinary courses on environmental studies.

Although the organizers could not obtain federal funds for a follow-up conference, private donations and a grant from UNESCO will support an international student environmental conference late this April. Patterned after the first conference, it will emphasize student and adult cooperation on community environmental problems. Foreign students from ten countries will meet with host students in Illinois and Wisconsin to learn about specific projects, and to visit schools, parks, industrial centers, landfills, and sewage treatment plants. The implications worldwide of this program are apparent.

D. Several small grants to non-profit citizen groups have gone tremendously far in promoting environmental awareness.

I especially remember a garden club in Illinois that used an Office of Environmental Education grant of a few hundred dollars that enabled them to design a children's coloring book that emphasized ecological concepts and responsible environmental attitudes. Our school used these books which we were able to obtain free through the generous help of the club. Normally the club sold them at cost to interested groups. These books were extremely popular with grade-school children in our elementary school lecture program. Even some local churches purchased them to use in Sunday school lessons!

III. Environmental education depends on the preparation of teachers and citizens for immediate results.

A. Even though comprehensive state plans for environmental education are in final stages in some states, their implementation depends on faculty and citizen support.

The Illinois State Plan for Environmental Education has noted, "Many teachers and other community leaders do not have the adequate background to be effective environmental educators." To help remedy this the plan suggests, "Giving teachers instructional materials that are practical for their teaching situation and guidance in how to use it, providing in-service workshops and graduate study in environmental education, and encouraging independent study and field work within the local school district.

Even if guidelines are set by state agencies for environmental education in schools, it won't be taught unless the teachers, administrators, and local boards and parents demand this kind of study. Federal funds for teacher workshops and seminars for environmental education in communities are essential.

Many towns and villages now have environmental advisory commissions composed of community citizens who are interested in environmental improvement in their area. In places where environmental awareness is high, these boards make recommendations

to governing boards or establish ordinances. In Oak Park, the Environmental Advisory Commission cooperated with local food stores in order to label detergents designed to cut down water pollution and to eliminate excess packaging. The committee helps to select the scholarship recipient for funds collected as part of the community wide recycling program. This high school student can use the money to continue his or her education in an environmental field.

In Franklin Park, a more industrialized area, their Environmental Control Commission works with the local zoning board to preserve green belts, has planted vegetation along a river to help to control erosion, and has designed a model sewage ordinance for the village. During the first eight months, the local citizens group that supported the establishment of the commission had about \$2.00 in its treasury. Despite this, through donated time of citizens and small contributions, this group launched a successful environmental education campaign that involved two large high schools, elementary schools, and over 6,000 homes in a door to door campaign.

The support of community environmental groups, the setting up of advisory committees, and the teaching of environmental education in schools depends on an educated public. Without public interest, a commission cannot begin. Without a faculty advisor, a student group cannot function. Without community cooperation, environmental projects will collapse.

B. Instructional materials and imaginative programs designed for use in the school classroom and community are lacking or unavailable to many educators and citizens, especially those that are urban-oriented.

During hearings for the Illinois State Environmental Education Plan, teachers and leaders stated repeatedly that they were concerned, but didn't know where to obtain environmental education materials, or how to make their studies relevant to local needs.

Often these materials existed, but required wider exposure and availability. Teachers and citizens never heard about unique programs that would have helped them to avoid organizational mistakes and other problems inherent in running school-community programs.

For example, last summer while working for the federal Environmental Protection Agency Region V, I participated in a new environmental education program in the inner city. This program has been submitted to the Office of Environmental Education for next year, on a much wider basis. Last year the Environmental Protection Agency provided \$200.00 for materials and about \$300.00 in staff time to organize a program for high school students. These students, involved originally in the Model Cities summer program, had requested themselves to undertake a program that would help to alleviate problems that they faced in their community daily; they wanted an action project with tangible results rather than busy work. The director of Public Affairs for Region V of the EPA planned a project that brought together Model Cities, the Department of Streets and Sanitation, the Department of Environmental Control (which enforces Chicago's anti-pollution regulations) and the EPA.

The students were concerned most about abandoned cars, litter, vacant buildings and lots, fire hazards, lack of sanitation, illegal smokestacks, and high noise levels from the elevated train, buildings and vehicles. By training the students to identify possible violations in these categories, and areas that needed attention, the EPA was able to send them out to survey the neighborhood. Using a form based on city inspectors reports that detail solid waste problems, the EPA added sections on noise and air pollution. With the help of adult supervisors, the students compiled the data, and made suggestions to the

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appropriate city department. Often the department had the needed baskets or street cleaners to remedy the problem, but lacked enough inspectors to find the spots.

Also, the young people as members of the community had more success in talking to residents and in moving around the community than inspectors from downtown whom residents viewed suspiciously because they feared a bill or notice of a building violation. Once the people found that the students were actively trying to improve the area, residents often fixed up their buildings or grounds, or began projects through their block clubs. In the case of noise or air violations, Chicago has strict ordinances, so that the inspectors could assign fines once the students notified them.

Mayor Daley singled out this project as a success. If it receives some federal money, it will become a national model for urban environmental education and action. One student explained to me the importance of the program. "People in this neighborhood talk about moving out to get away, but I don't want to. I want to stay right here and get these problems fixed up, because no matter where we go, pollution is going to follow us. For once the kids in Y.E.A. (Youth for Environmental Action) feel like we're doing something to help."

C. Colleges and universities need new systems of environmental education to prepare people that will solve future problems.

At many schools, even if environmental courses are offered, these courses deal in generalities. At Cornell, students and faculty are experimenting with new approaches to environmental education, like having students work on real community problems for credit. These students might monitor a nuclear power plant, gathering long term accurate data on environmental effects, or help the local community to plan a recreational park. At other universities, FIRGS (Public Interest Research Groups) cooperate with citizen groups and state and federal agencies on consumer information, health care programs, and other civic environmental concerns.

These students and the adults that work with them, are developing skills and attitudes necessary to deal with real world problems. If given appropriate support, these kinds of projects can only benefit our country, and increase cooperation among people who are faced with common environmental choices.

IV. I have attempted to illustrate the important influences of the Environmental Education Act, despite its handicaps.

A. I believe that it would be premature to halt a program like this one, after it has never received a chance to fulfill its potential.

I understand that the program has never received the full funding as originally intended. For this reason, hundreds of grant applications which deserved funding never received it. This subcritical funding prevented the Office of Environmental Education from realizing even more significant progress, because to begin with the original allocation was extremely small (in terms of the federal budget).

The lack of funds and adequate staff stopped the Office of Environmental Education from gathering input from a wide range of citizen, educational, and non-profit groups, or from advising interested organizations on how to design projects to obtain funds. Between issuing criteria for grant applications and the deadline for submitting them, there were only three weeks—much too short a time for many groups to design a proposal and to gain approval from their boards.

Even small grant applications were extremely complex documents, requiring pages of statements, philosophies, and justification, as well as a complicated budget analysis. This certainly discouraged many organizations from applying, when ironically, the

grants were aimed in part at this type of community group.

B. Administration of the program hindered its effectiveness.

It is crucial that the Office of Environmental Education be in close contact with the Environmental Protection Agency and other agencies like the Department of the Interior, National Park Service, and Department of Agriculture which deal with public education to environmental topics.

As a recipient of the President's Environmental Merit Award, a program administered through the Environmental Protection Agency, I see great possibilities for reaching students. Now over 38,000 public and private high schools, 11,000 summer camps, and more recently many elementary schools are eligible for the program which recognizes environmental achievement. Almost all of these programs had no federal funding in the schools, yet they achieved significant results.

A later aspect of the PEMAP program provided some funding through cooperation between the Environmental Protection Agency and the Office of Education. With federal assistance matching local funds, the opportunities for spreading constructive programs are unlimited.

Moreover, this type of governmental commitment transcends specific environmental problems, because it demonstrates that the government recognizes citizen efforts by more than a certificate or some publicity. The renewal of the Environmental Education Act would support these efforts and disseminate information on programs across the country.

Perhaps the administration of the Act would be handled more efficiently within the Environmental Protection Agency, through established citizen contacts, and industrial and citizen recognition programs similar to PEMAP.

V. In any case, I am confident that I speak for thousands of students and other citizens in America today whose energies and talents are awaiting opportunities and guidance in environmental service.

A. As Congressmen, our elected representatives, it is your responsibility to see that their awareness does not change to frustration and disillusionment as they see more and more dollars cut from programs that directly affect the quality of life.

Environmental programs in the broadest sense which include not only pollution control and public education, but social projects directed towards rehabilitation, and support of our cultural institutions, are fading before the eyes of a critical public, even when Congress supports these programs!

B. Congress has the opportunity to stand behind the Environmental Education Act, even though the present administration may not act according to its promises.

I challenge you gentlemen to take this action by supporting the Environmental Education Act, H.R. 3927.

Thank you.

DRINAN SUPPORTS ANDERSON AMENDMENT TO OPEN HIGHWAY TRUST FUND

HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, in just a few days the House of Representatives will be considering one of the most significant transportation issues that will come before the 93d Congress. I refer, of course, to the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1973, S. 502.

Congressman GLENN ANDERSON of California is planning to introduce a "flex-

ibility" amendment to S. 502 that I believe is of critical importance to the resolution of the transportation crisis that afflicts all too many of our Nation's cities. This amendment would allow local highway planners in urban areas the option of using their share of the \$850 million urban systems portion of the highway trust fund for public transportation purposes.

The Anderson amendment would not mandate any mass transit construction. It would not alter the amount of highway trust fund moneys that any State receives. Nor would it affect the distribution of funds to rural road programs, or jeopardize the completion of the interstate highway network. What the Anderson amendment would do is this: Local transportation planners would be given a choice of transit options with which they could select that which best meets the actual transportation needs of their community. In some cases, this might mean that more roads would be built using urban systems funds, but in other situations, where construction of more roads would do more to aggravate the transit situation than to improve it, local officials could turn to other public transportation systems, such as buses or rail transit.

I cannot stress too much the importance of this amendment. Will Congress continue to attempt to meet the transportation crisis of the 1970's with the wisdom of the 1950's? Or will Congress realize, as I and many others hope it will, that our existing transportation policies are seriously out of date and will do little to solve the growing transit dilemma?

We are now faced with a growing energy crisis, to a large degree attributable to the huge and inefficient energy consumption of the automobile. Already in some cities and States gasoline is being rationed. Urban areas face the specter of air pollution, to which the automobile has been a prime contributor. Many urban areas, if they are to meet the EPA air-quality standards by 1977, will have to drastically reduce the amount of automobile traffic within their jurisdiction. Finally, there is the recurring blight of snarled traffic and clogged highways that must be alleviated.

All of these factors suggest to me that this country should make a massive commitment to the development and construction of mass transit throughout the urban areas of our country. No one claims that opening up \$850 million of the highway trust fund will provide an answer to these pressing problems, but it will be an important step.

Mr. Speaker, a coalition of concerned organizations has formed the Highway Action Coalition, which is attempting to assist in the passage of the Anderson amendment. I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a certain documentation prepared by the Highway Action Coalition on the subject of the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1973. I commend this material to my colleagues, and urge that they give it close attention:

THE COMMITTEE BILL—DOES IT PROVIDE FLEXIBILITY?

The House Public Works Committee's version of the 1973 Federal-aid Highway Act is

very much a traditional highway bill. It makes authorizations which continue largely unchanged the existing Federal-aid highway programs. It does depart from the past in creating a number of new, major categorical grant programs, including a 10,000-mile "priority primary highway system." And the bill would, for the first time, provide an urban/rural balance through a major increase in the funding for urban highway programs.

The Committee rejected those features of the Senate-passed bill which would permit local and state officials to use some of their urban road funds for bus and rail public transportation as well as highways. The Committee bill, however, does for the first time recognize that this type of flexibility is essential for rational urban transportation planning. Unfortunately, the complex mechanism which the Committee has evolved to meet this need poses many more problems than it solves.

Under the Committee bill, an urban area could theoretically decide to forego the use of its share of the \$700 million a year urban system allocation, return the money to the Highway Trust Fund, and receive a like amount of funds on a contract authority basis from general revenues for public transportation purposes. Unused highway funds would be "frozen" in the Highway Trust Fund. Thus, for example, if Chicago decided to use \$15 million of its \$18,163 million urban system allocation to buy buses or to improve its rapid rail transit system, then it would return the \$15 million to the trust fund and, in turn, would theoretically receive \$15-million

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out of general revenues on a contract authority basis for those purposes.

Similarly, under the Committee bill, if local officials and the state governor decided to cancel a controversial urban Interstate highway segment (and the Secretary of Transportation found that the segment was not essential for the continuity of the overall Interstate System), then the funds allocated to that project would be returned to the trust fund and an equivalent amount of money would be made available out of general revenues for public transportation purposes within that state. Thus, for example, if those segments of I-95, I-695 and I-895 which were to bisect downtown Boston and which the Governor and the Mayor have said should not be built, are in fact de-designated, then the \$930 million allocated for those projects would be returned to the trust fund and a like amount of money would be made available out of general revenues over several years for public transportation purposes in Massachusetts. Potentially, as much as \$6 billion worth of controversial urban Interstate highway projects could come under this provision.

The basic difficulty with this approach—some have called it a "Rube Goldberg contraption"—is that it both promises large amounts of general treasury funds for transit that are not now available or likely to be available in the future, and it compounds the problems of executive impoundment and the proliferation of red tape and administrative delay.

The urban system and Interstate trans-

fer general revenue substitution provisions could add as much as \$1.4 billion a year in additional burdens on the general fund for public transportation, and this would be above and beyond the existing \$1 billion a year general revenue-supported Urban Mass Transportation capital grants program. Where is the money going to come from? At a time when Congress is attempting to control "backdoor" spending, is adding an additional \$1.4-billion in general revenue obligations, which are beyond the control of Congress, really an acceptable approach? At a time when the budgets of many programs are being cut back due to the increasingly serious fiscal plight of the country, is it not inconceivable that the Appropriations Committee, if not a majority of the House, would enact a budgetary ceiling well below that required for the desired flexibility? If not, would not the President simply impound the transit funds?

The Department of Transportation has indicated the Committee bill would present an administrative nightmare. We see no purpose in adding more red tape to the existing regulations by requiring the money to be transferred firstly, back to the trust fund, and then sending general revenues back to the urban areas. If the intent is to provide real flexibility to urban transportation decisionmakers, then why not avoid these fiscal and administrative pitfalls, by simply permitting them to use their urban road funds for whatever mix of ground transportation programs will best meet their particular local needs?

Highway trust fund projects	Funding committee bill	Funding Anderson amendment	Uses, committee bill	Uses, Anderson amendment
The Interstate System	\$3.5 billion per year through fiscal year 1978	No change	No change	No change
The primary system in rural areas	\$700 million per year for fiscal years 1974-75-76	do	do	do
The secondary system in rural areas	\$400 million per year for fiscal years 1974-75-76	do	do	do
The forest highway system	\$33 million per year for fiscal years 1974-75-76	do	do	do
The public lands highways system	\$16 million per year for fiscal years 1974-75-76	do	do	do
The economic growth center development highway	\$150 million per year for fiscal years 1974-75-76	do	do	do
Special urban high density traffic programs	\$100 million per year for fiscal years 1974-75-76	do	do	do
Priority primary system	\$300 million per year for fiscal years 1974-75-76	do	do	do
Urban extensions system	\$400 million per year for fiscal years 1974-75-76	do	do	do
Urban system	\$700 million per year for fiscal years 1974-75-76	do	do	do
				Expanded to include purchase or construction of bus or rail rapid transit systems.

USER TAX EQUITY: "A SACRED TRUST?"

The taxes accruing to the Highway Trust Fund are frequently characterized as "user" taxes. For this reason, it is sometimes argued that to use any part of such taxes for the funding of mass transit systems would be to "break faith" with the "highway user" who pays those taxes. This claim, that taxes on such items as gasoline and tires are committed by Federal promise to highway users alone, and that the taxes are not legitimate unless raised for these purposes, however, is a misrepresentation of the 1956 legislation that created the Highway Trust Fund.

Earmarking of certain taxes on automobile-related items to the Highway Trust Fund is nothing more nor less than a simple—but very effective—financial device, aimed at assuring the Federal-Aid Highway program substantial, long-term funding. The existence of the Trust Fund is not the justification for imposing these taxes. Some \$3 billion dollars, or 50 percent of the money that will flow into the Trust Fund in 1974, will have derived from taxes that were levied long before the Trust Fund was ever conceived, and which, prior to 1956, were used for a whole range of programs including foreign aid. Gasoline taxes date from 1932, and a tax on tires and tubes has been levied since 1919. These taxes were then called "excise" taxes, and like taxes on alcohol, cosmetics and almost all saleable items, they accrued to the general treasury. The gasoline and tire taxes, among others, were later siphoned into the Highway Trust Fund, but they are no different from those excise taxes of 1919 and 1932. At no time in all those

years before the creation of the Trust Fund did "highway users" claim that these taxes should not be used as a part of general revenues, any more than cigarette smokers claim that all tobacco taxes should be funneled into cancer research. To insist, therefore, that the legitimacy of these levies depends on their expenditure for roadways is more of an *ex post facto* rationalization than an appreciation of the facts.

The Highway Trust Fund was created in 1956 largely with the intent that it should finance the Interstate Highway Program authorized in that same year. In order to provide a long-term continuous funding for that program a Trust Fund was deemed a necessary mechanism and it seemed appropriate to divert, from general revenues, highway-related levies to partially support that Fund.

However, it has never been feasible financial policy that specific activities should be financed by levies on related products. Indeed, although the Highway Trust Fund was once hailed as a mechanism to achieve a self-financing highway system, cities, counties, states and the Federal government drew some \$4 billion last year from general revenues for highway purposes, a large share of which went for the upkeep of Federally funded highways. General taxpayers also bear the many considerable indirect costs of supporting the highway system, ranging from the creation of much of the parking space to loss of taxable land.

This is particularly true in the cities where often 60 percent of urban space is given over to automobile-related uses. All

citizens, furthermore, have borne the many social and environmental costs of the highway system.

ENERGY

Automobiles are energy gluttons. Their manufacture and operation account for more than a fifth of all the energy consumed in the United States. Worse still, automobiles effectively use only five percent of the potential energy they burn; the rest is wasted. The average car has about 120 horsepower per passenger—roughly the amount required by a subsonic aircraft for take-off. Per passenger mile, a car consumes five times as much fuel as a train, and six times as much as a bus.

In light of an impending energy and fuels crisis, this waste is unacceptable. Dwindling oil reserves, for instance, have already caused fuel shortages for home heating oil this past winter. Further, it now appears that there will be gasoline shortages this summer as production fails to meet the unbelievable demands that the auto places on our reserves of crude oil. These shortages caused the closing of schools and industries in the midwest last winter. Can we really afford to feed our automobiles at the expense of closing our schools and factories?

Yet, mass transportation in urban areas can provide some relief. If we could shift one-fourth of urban travel in major metropolitan areas from private automobiles to public transportation, we could expect to save nearly a million barrels of petroleum a day by 1980. It has been said that energy is the ultimate natural resource. It is also a limited resource. Unless we begin to conserve

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energy, by eliminating wasteful uses, and providing for more energy efficient uses of the limited resources we have, we may soon be paying a tremendously high price for our energy needs. While mass transit may not be the whole answer, it is a beginning. Interestingly enough, many major oil companies agree and have publicly endorsed Highway Trust Fund flexibility. They include: Standard Oil of New Jersey, Mobil, Gulf, Texaco and Atlantic Richfield.

AIR POLLUTION

Automobile-caused air pollution has become a major health hazard in many cities. The Federal Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) reports that 67 metropolitan areas have auto-related air pollutants in concentrations hazardous to human health. The Federal Clean Air Act requires that these cities achieve certain standards of air quality (as regards concentrations of carbon monoxide, hydrocarbons, oxides of nitrogen, etc.) by 1977. Despite relatively stringent auto-emission controls and "stationary source" restrictions, the Environmental Protection Agency reports that at least 26 major metropolitan areas in 22 states will have to reduce automobile usage in order to meet the minimum standards required under the law and for human health. Measures under consideration in these areas range from parking restrictions to gas rationing—but all are predicated upon improved public transportation alternatives.

CONGESTION

This country has constructed the world's most extensive highway system, yet our urban dwellers arguably have less mobility than they did before the great highway construction boom began.

The motorist, usually at the hours when he most needs to move through the city, finds himself caught in continuous traffic jams. Existing streets and highways have become congested almost to the point of strangulation in many urban areas. Meanwhile, the very highways designed to speed *inter-city* travel have become so crowded with autos traveling back and forth between the suburbs and the central city that they can no longer effectively function. Automobiles designed to speed along at 60 to 80 miles per hour are reduced to a three to ten mph crawl. In the central business district of New York, peak hour traffic moved faster in 1900 than it did in 1970.

Congestion is the antithesis of the mobility the Highway Trust Fund was intended to achieve. Yet more highways seldom provide a solution to the congestion problems of urban areas. Firstly, highways themselves generate new traffic and eventually further congestion; a phenomenon now well understood by traffic specialists. Secondly, in many of the most congested urban areas, the city itself cannot sustain more streets and highways without suffering irreparable damage to environment, character and vitality.

Mass transit systems can provide some relief from congestion. They offer an alternative form of transportation to motorists who at present have little choice but to drive, and tend to ease the increase in automobiles using the roadways. For the many cities that are now contemplating restrictions on the use of cars in order to relieve congestion downtown, mass transit systems are becoming essential. If use of the automobile is to be curbed, for whatever reason, then an alternative mode of transportation must be provided.

Effective public transportation systems are, therefore, a vital part of most attempts to ease urban congestion. Unless these attempts succeed our many urban highways will not be able to perform their intended tasks of moving people and goods safely and effectively. For the "highway user" redirection of some urban highway funds toward the improvement of public transportation could at last provide an opportunity for alleviating the rush hour crush.

WHEN SAVING MONEY COSTS TOO MUCH, OR POWER TO THE PEOPLE

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, few people in America today would argue that this country is facing an energy crisis. Scientists have predicted this energy squeeze for years, and now even the common man has begun to feel the pinch from gasoline supplies that are drying up, from natural gas supplies that prove inadequate for long winters, and from electrical systems that are overpowered by the increased demands placed on them.

But unfortunately, even with all the hue and cry that has been raised over this issue, the administration has silently put the brakes on the one hope we have to solve this crisis. The President, in his forthcoming energy message, will ask for a nearly insignificant increase in funds to be used for energy research.

In an editorial that appeared in this morning's Washington Post, the implications of this penny-pinching policy are spelled out, and they include drastic energy rationing measures and exorbitant prices on the fuels that will still be available.

Certainly the President has shown his desire to be frugal in Federal spending, and to shift the financial burden of many programs to local government or private industry. But energy research does not lend itself to this type of action. Private companies cannot invest the millions of dollars needed to develop new and viable sources of energy because they cannot get a short-run return on their investments. To rely on them for future advances would be fruitless. The Federal Government must provide some of the funds and the coordinating mechanisms necessary to discover and implement new solutions to the energy problems that face us.

As a member of the House Science and Astronautics Committee, I have become increasingly aware, in recent months, of the enormity of the task before us. I believe it is vital that the Federal Government commit itself wholeheartedly to a national program of energy research and development.

This is one crisis that we have the brainpower to conquer; we can find new, inexpensive, nonpolluting methods of heating homes, powering vehicles, and lighting cities. But we must have the money to do it. The amount of R. & D. funds indicated appear to be too small, but in fact almost the same amount recommended before the emergency was declared.

Just as we set a goal in 1960 to put a man on the moon, we can set a goal now to solve the energy crisis. And we can do it, if we do not allow the administration's cost-cutting zeal to lead us down a path to a dark future.

The article follows:

ENERGY RESEARCH: A FALSE ECONOMY

The decision to go short on new research money will doubtless be one of the less controversial passages in President Nixon's forthcoming energy message. But this ex-

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ample of misconceived thriftiness may very well prove to be the message's most serious defect. Through the customary series of leaks and dribbles, the administration has indicated its intention to produce the message within the next few days. The subsequent public debate will revolve, as usual, around those familiar points that Washington is accustomed to arguing about—the deregulation of gas, the oil import quotas, the environmental protection standards. But an issue of at least equal importance, and one on which the administration's position remains deplorably nearsighted, is the federal support for energy research.

The message, according to the advance hints and smoke signals, will propose something like an additional \$100 million for scientific and engineering work in developing energy resources. That would constitute an increase of only 13 per cent over the \$752 million already budgeted for next year. That \$752 million is a very modest sum, in comparison with the costs of progress in advanced technology generally. It is less than half the federal support for biomedical research, and one-fourth the outlay on space research.

A substantial part of the present energy shortage is the result of unexpected delays in producing nuclear power. The engineering of nuclear power plants has turned out to be far more expensive and difficult than anyone would have believed in the 1950s. For the near future, the great need is for cheap and efficient methods of extracting oil from shale, for example, or gas from coal. Senator Henry Jackson (D-Wash.) has proposed an expenditure of \$2 billion a year for 10 years, a considerably more realistic estimate of the likely costs of achieving this crucial technology.

The American oil industry is now proceeding on the assumption that, by the middle 1980s, the development of new energy sources will greatly reduce our dependence on petroleum. This assumption could prove highly dangerous if, in fact, the new sources do not appear on schedule. Merely letting time pass will accomplish nothing other than, of course, aggravating the present shortages. If we do not make this investment, we must expect to be forced into increasing dependence on vastly more expensive fuels. We are already beginning to import Algerian liquid natural gas at a cost in the range of six times the present average wellhead price of domestic gas. The much-advertised Russian gas would apparently be even more expensive. Methods already exist for manufacturing gas from coal, but the product is also very expensive.

A shift to high-cost fuels would be, obviously, grossly inflationary. But to say that is merely to hint at the damage that it would inflict on the American economy. Mr. Nixon wants to keep the research investment down because he wants to hold this whole budget down. But here his error in making a fetish of federal spending limits promises to become exceedingly expensive to the nation over the long haul.

THE AMERICAN OIL CRISIS AND MASS TRANSIT

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, today's tremendous urban traffic snarls and thick air pollution are clearly visible results of overcrowded roads in our Nation's cities.

But, another problem—which is just as serious—lurks beneath the obvious ramifications of too many cars.

That problem is the oil crisis.

It is perfectly clear that mass transit is the singly most viable answer to the oil crisis, traffic tieups, and air pollution.

The only definite way we have before us of insuring funding to provide the much needed mass transit moneys is to tap the highway trust fund.

It rural and urban areas are going to be assured of a continuing supply of gasoline at a reasonable price, those of us living in the cities must halt the great waste of gasoline consumed by cars stalled in bumper to bumper traffic.

When automobiles are stalled in these terrible traffic jams, only 5 percent of the potential energy in the gasoline is used. The remaining 95 percent is emitted through the tailpipe.

We cannot afford to waste gasoline in this manner. Our supply is far too precious and precarious.

I suggest that we examine the precarious situation of our unprotected primary oil passage way which runs through the Persian Gulf and then, quickly, take steps to protect our oil supply which is so essential to our entire economy.

In last week's Los Angeles Times, Joseph Alsop related the fears of a friend of our Nation's concerning our oil problem.

The former Israeli Ambassador, Itzhak Rabin, clearly depicted our situation in Mr. Alsop's column.

I am including the remarks of Mr. Rabin and Mr. Alsop because I think they will be quite useful to my colleagues.

While action on protecting our vital supply of oil is being considered, I would suggest that immediate action be taken to stop the wasting of fuel by automobiles on traffic-clogged highways by funding mass transit systems to get these cars off our roads.

The article follows:

[From the Los Angeles Times, April 12, 1973]

THE OIL PROBLEM—10 TIMES WORSE THAN YOU SUPPOSE

(By Joseph Alsop)

WASHINGTON.—Some weeks ago, the former Israeli ambassador, who was also one of the two chief minds behind Israel's victory in the Six-Day War, went home for good after a long experience in Washington.

Itzhak Rabin is not merely a brave man, a good companion and a good friend. He also has one of the most far-thinking yet down-to-earth strategic minds this city has known in many years.

So it was a matter of pride that the house where these words are written was the last in Washington where he came to say goodbye and to have his final meal in America.

The talk at supper included a fairly idle question: "Now that it's all over, what impressions do you take home with you from your embassy here?"

Rabin answered that he had had a wonderful time here and, in one way, was going home much encouraged. When he came to Washington, he had found the city wholly preoccupied with Vietnam and dealing with all the more important matters in the world by a method of fumble, muddle and last-minute improvisation. Now, he added, "your policy has a clear, well-thought-out direction, and is bold and adroit, too. All that is very good."

Why then, he was asked, did he so carefully say, "in one way"?

"Your oil problem," he answered shortly. You mean you think the Arabs will black-

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mail the United States into an anti-Israeli policy, was the natural reply.

Not at all, he came back energetically. Israel can take care of herself "unless the United States joins with other nations to destroy Israel—and the United States will never do that."

"But why the oil problem, then?" was the next question.

"Because of its direct effects on you," he answered, "and because those direct effects will turn into indirect effects on Israel and so many other nations."

Begin with Israel and the other nations, he was urged.

"Oh, he replied, a bit grimly, 'Israel is lucky. Israel has the will and wits to defend Israel. Besides China and one or two more, there are not many nations friendly to America that you can say so much about today. But neither Israel, nor China, nor any of the other nations now in the circle of America's friends can possibly achieve successful self-defense in a new kind of world in which America has ceased to be a great power.'

"Ceased to be a great power! My God, I thought you were talking about the oil problem," was the fairly horrified comment.

It was a natural comment, too, for how do most of us, as yet, think about the oil problem? In terms of greater costs, our current difficulties with the balance of payments, and also of the Arab political blackmail—which the departing ambassador had dismissed. That, surely, is an honest summary of the way we now think about the oil problem.

Perhaps sensing all this, Rabin went on, much more sternly and more earnestly: "You do not think enough about the oil problem. I have been looking into it for months. It is much worse than you suppose—10 times worse. Your jugular, Western Europe's jugular, Japan's jugular, all run through the Persian Gulf nowadays. Yet you have no means to defend your jugular."

"This is why your country must cease to be a great power unless you can find means to solve this terrible problem which everyone has overlooked for too long. No nation can remain a great power that has a wholly undefended jugular, waiting to be cut by anyone with a willing knife."

"No nation can be a great power, either, that has an ever more worthless currency—unless it is a totalitarian state like Hitler's Germany or the Soviet Union, which the United States will never be."

"Look into the facts that the future will force you to face. Look into what those facts will do to your dollar. Look into the new strategic situation those facts will soon enough create for you. Then you will see that I am right."

DR. ERIC KOLLMAN

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, few people have been in a better position to appreciate the freedom and advantages of this great Nation than Dr. Eric Kollman, professor of history at Cornell College in Mount Vernon, Iowa, who is retiring in May of this year. Dr. Kollman, a native of Vienna, Austria, was teaching there at the time of Hitler's invasion in March 1938. Forced out of his position, arrested, and persecuted because of his Jewish nationality, Dr. Kollman and his family tried for a year to obtain a passport and visa to leave Austria. Sponsored by the

well-known American educator, John Dewey, the Kollmans finally successfully emigrated to the United States in March 1939.

The family came to Iowa in the fall of that year and, after teaching for 4 years at Parsons College and serving on the staff of the Army specialized training program at the University of Iowa, Dr. Kollman joined the Cornell College faculty as a professor of contemporary world history, a subject that he has both personally experienced and to which he has contributed scholarly insight. He has traveled extensively in Europe as lecturer, researcher, and participant in international conferences.

Mr. Speaker, I am happy to salute Dr. Eric Kollman on his retirement from the Cornell College faculty after 29 years of rich and productive teaching. Forced from the country of his birthplace, he came to this country and to the State of Iowa, where he has earned international prominence as an historian. Dr. Kollman is a most respected member of the teaching profession and was recently honored by a symposium at Cornell College on Germany and Modern European History, attended by several well-known historians who are personal friends of Dr. Kollman. Because of the outstanding influence of his personal example and scholarship, I insert in the RECORD an article by Art Hough of the Cedar Rapids Gazette on the career and forthcoming retirement of Dr. Eric Kollman.

The article follows:

ERIC KOLLMAN LIVED HIS HISTORY LESSONS

(By Art Hough)

MOUNT VERNON.—"It was not a nice birthday."

Speaking was Dr. Eric Kollman, professor of history at Cornell college, who well remembers that on his 35th birthday, 35 years ago, Hitler's Nazi forces invaded the professor's native Vienna.

Maybe, unintentionally, Hitler did Eric Kollman a favor by changing his entire life picture. Kollman, a Jew, was persecuted like thousands of other Austrian Jews, but, he was luckier than many. He got out of the country, came to the United States and reached international prominence he might never have attained in his native land.

Dr. Kollman, 70, will retire from teaching next month, after 29 years on the Cornell campus. In honor of his retirement, Cornell is sponsoring a symposium on Germany in Modern European History Wednesday and Thursday, April 4 and 5. Speakers will include three of Kollman's personal friends in history, Prof. Gordon A. Craig, chairman of the Stanford University history department; Prof. Peter Loewenberg of the University of California at Los Angeles, and Prof. George L. Mosse of the University of Wisconsin.

Dr. Kollman's biography of Theodor Koerner, a former president of Austria, has just been published in Vienna. This is the centenary year of Koerner's birth.

The immediate effect of the Nazi invasion March 12, 1938, was not good. In Kollman's words:

"I can tell you that I was teaching at a boarding school. The Nazis took over in the night, from Friday to Saturday. On Sunday I got by special messenger a letter to report on Monday with my keys, since the National Socialist cell has declared that I am intolerable and I'm to be immediately suspended."

Kollman did as he was told. He handed in his keys, although his contract called for compensation if he were suspended without notice.

HE DID GET PAID

Strangely enough, Kollman did get paid on his contract.

"I had the fantastic experience that some of my students and one former student who, was then a member of the 'SS' went to the new Nazi director of the school and said:

"Kollman has to get his money."

So they gave it to him.

"One day, the black limousine of the 'SS' stopped at the house. My wife thought I was going to be arrested. That former student of mine came and brought me the money they owed me for three months.

"When I was arrested, three months later, my wife went in desperation to the same student. He said he could do absolutely nothing."

Kollman and several other Jews were dragged to a synagogue, which had already been half-exploded, and were forced to clean it out.

He didn't go to a concentration camp, although he temporarily was imprisoned at a riding school with thousands of other Jews.

"I was lucky to get out, by chance, by mistake."

On the second day, the Gestapo came and ordered all people with identification cards from the Palestine office in Vienna to come forward. Kollman used his Jewish high school I. D. card and was released with the others.

"When I came out of this prison there was a six-foot-tall storm trooper who said:

"How come they let you out, you swine?"

"I thought maybe now it starts all over again. But they let me go."

YEAR OF RED TAPE

It took Kollman and his wife, Gusti, nearly a year to get through the bureaucratic red tape and out of the country, despite the fact that he was sponsored by a famous American educator, John Dewey, then head of progressive education and professor emeritus at Columbia university.

American consuls were suddenly swamped with applications and at the same time were fighting the immigration quotas.

While the Jews waited their turn to get out of Austria, the Nazis had ingenious ways of making life miserable for them.

Everyone in Vienna, except the Jews, was required to wear a Nazi swastika in his buttonhole. The Jews were not allowed to and were easily recognized by storm troopers.

"If you walked on the street and had no sign, the Gestapo would say 'Come with me,' and you better did."

Gestapo arrested Kollman on the street one day while he was shopping for groceries. They took him to a barracks. He was forced to help other Jews clean the place. Then they offered them a way out.

"They said they would let me go if I brought them 1,000 schillings, which was \$40 at the time, plenty of money. What else? What did you do? I went home and got the thousand schillings.

"Some other niceties. There was a Jewish passport office. The storm troopers, to have fun, would chase you through the district."

Kollman explained that the office would open every day at a different time. The Kollmans, since they could not ride the street cars, had to walk several miles from their home.

"You came to the office at 7. The office had opened at 6. Hopeless to get in today because of the long line. One day you came at 6 and the storm troopers were there and chased you all over the district and beat you up, so

to get the passport was a major achievement."

The Nazis were more "lenient" at that time than later, when they tried to starve the Jews.

"You could still buy food at that time, but you couldn't sit on a park bench or go into a coffee house."

UNFORGETTABLE EXPERIENCE

Kollman compares their reaching America March 8, 1939, as like "coming from Hell to Heaven."

"The beautiful thing was the passing of the Statue of Liberty, an experience I shall never forget."

Another experience he cherishes occurred when an immigration officer returned their passports. They said "Thank you" and the officer replied "You're welcome." It was the first time they heard this expression and they took it literally.

"It was quite an experience after being kicked around, beaten up and persecuted that an official of the government would say:

"You're welcome!"

The Kollmans stayed in New York for three months, Mrs. Kollman working as a domestic and Kollman spending what little money they had on subway fares and telephone calls while trying in vain to find a job.

That summer they both worked at a camp for underprivileged, in Michigan.

"The children had a ball, because we didn't understand Detroit slang and they could use very bad language in our presence. But, in behavior pattern, the children behaved just like Vienna slum children—except that Vienna slum children would not throw food around."

Dr. and Mrs. Kollman came to Iowa in the fall of 1939. He taught at Parsons college for four years and in 1943-44 was on the staff of the army specialized training program in foreign area and language at the University of Iowa.

RETURNS TO EUROPE

He spent the 1944-45 school year at Cornell, teaching future navy officers contemporary world history, and then joined the Cornell faculty as professor of history.

Since then he has returned to Europe nine times to teach, do research or attend international conferences.

In Germany he has spoken to "different layers of people," from peasants to ex-army officers, young and old.

"I knew, understood better, what the Germans had trouble understanding about the United States," he said.

Yes, Hitler did Kollman a favor, indirectly.

"Following the dialectics of history, some very bad things turn out the opposite, I cannot forget the price."

We asked Dr. Kollman whether he believes he would have been as successful had Hitler's armies left Austria—and him—alone.

He said he probably would have been principal of the boarding school in which he was teaching at the time of the invasion, or director of a gymnasium.

Dr. Kollman was offered a gymnasium directorship after the war. He turned it down.

"I didn't want to do that. Because, what history has done, or what Hitler has done to me, is in the terms of a historian a unique opportunity to start all over again. It forced me into comparative history."

One of his first lectures in Germany was "European History, Seen from the Outside".

The Kollmans' three children are all "Iowa born and corn fed." Gerda, her husband and two children live in Syracuse, N.Y. Peter is an assistant professor in the University of Calif-

ornia in San Francisco, and Miriam and her husband are in Tonga, west of Samoa, with the Peace Corps.

HAPPY YEARS

Kollman refers a lot to his "luck," in contrast to the millions of other Jews who were not so fortunate, who never got out of the clutches of the Nazis terrorists.

He says Cornell has been "extremely good to me. These have been very happy years . . . the students and the relationship with the faculty.

"In English you say you have an experience. In German you say you make an experience."

He talked about the impact of the refugees from Europe on the U.S. and of the contribution he had made himself.

"I would put it in my case as being permitted to pay part of the debt to the country which saved the world.

"And though there have been times when I have been unhappy about America—very much so about what we were doing, or not doing—my criticism has always been criticism with love, rather than hate."

ANOTHER DISRUPTIVE GRAIN DEAL LOOMS ON THE HORIZON

HON. J. J. PICKLE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, it is that time of the year again—when the administration's fancy turns to thoughts of another grain deal with Russia.

We are just now beginning to see our way clear of the mess created by incompetent handling of the last one. It was just a month ago that the House Foreign and Interstate Commerce Committee's Special Subcommittee on Investigations began examining the causes of the nationwide freight car shortage and traced the problem to the administration's inept management of the grain deal.

When the administration demanded that wheat bound for Russia be moved at any costs, there were serious repercussions in many segments of the economy. Many commodities were stranded far from their markets, raising prices. And of course, the traffic jams at our ports, grain elevators, and railroad terminals compounded transportation problems all over the country.

There has been no action from the administration to alleviate the problems caused by their own lack of foresight, and yet the administration is now contemplating a deal with Russia to sell almost half as much wheat as was sold last year. I understand that current estimates place this year's transaction at 10 million tons, compared with the 19-million-ton "big deal" of last spring.

So, when the administration considers its next wheat sale to Russia, it should also consider the rest of the economy, and how to properly handle the shipment. Man does not live by bread alone, and neither does our economy.

SENATE—Wednesday, April 18, 1973

PRAYER

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

Almighty God, guide us through this day by Thy higher wisdom. At the end dismiss us with Thy blessing. Watch over all who travel. Help us to walk the way of