By Mr. ROGERS (for himself, Mr. STAGGERS, Mr. SATTERFIELD, Mr. KYROS, Mr. PREYER, Mr. SYMINGTON, Mr. ROY, Mr. CARTER, Mr. HASTINGS, Mr. HEINZ, and Mr. HUDNUT):

H.R. 7274. A bill to consolidate and revise the laws relating to public health, to revise the programs of health service research and development, and to extend the program of assistance for medical libraries; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H.R. 7275. A bill to authorize financial assistance for service, employment, and redevelopment (SER) centers; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. SARASIN:

H.R. 7276. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to permit the transportation, mailing, and broadcasting of advertising, information, and materials concerning lotteries authorized by law and conducted by a State, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WIDNALL (for himself, Mr. JOHNSON of Pennsylvania, Mr. J. WILLIAM STANTON, Mr. BLACKBURN, Mr. BROWN of Michigan, Mr. WILLIAMS, Mr. WYLIE, Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts, Mr. CRANE, Mr. ROUSSELOT, Mr. MCKINNEY, Mr. FRENZEL, Mr. CONLAN, Mr. RONCALLO of New York, Mr. BURGENER, and Mr. RINALDO):

H.R. 7277. A bill to provide Federal revenues to State and local governments and afford them broad discretion in carrying out community development activities; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

By Mr. FREY:

H.R. 7278. A bill to provide for the control and eradication of noxious weeds, and the regulation of the movement in interstate or foreign commerce of noxious weeds and potential carriers thereof, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. DIGGS (for himself, Ms. ABZUG, Mr. BADILLO, Mr. BINGHAM, Mrs. BURKE of California, Mr. BURTON, Mrs. CHISHOLM, Mr. CLAY, Mr. CONYERS, Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. DE LUGO, Mr. DRINAN, Mr. EDWARDS of California, Mr. FAUNTROY, Mr. FRASER, Mr. HARRINGTON, Mr. HAWKINS, Miss HOLTZMAN, Ms. JORDAN, Mr. KOCH, Mr. LEHMAN, Mr. MCCLOSKEY, Mr. METCALFE, and Mr. MITCHELL of Maryland):

H.J. Res. 522. Joint resolution to protect U.S. domestic and foreign policy interests by making fair employment practices in the South African enterprises of U.S. firms a criteria for eligibility for Government contracts; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. FINDLEY:

H.J. Res. 523. Joint resolution to deauthorize inactive Army Corps of Engineer projects; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. FULTON:

H.J. Res. 524. Joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim May of each year as "National Earth and Wildlife Month"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.J. Res. 525. Joint resolution to terminate American military activity in Laos and Cambodia; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. McCLORY:

H.J. Res. 526. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to provide 4-year terms for Members of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RONCALLO of New York:

H.J. Res. 527. Joint resolution to extend the provisions of the Railway Labor Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate nad Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts:

H. Con. Res. 202. Concurrent resolution requesting the President to proclaim July 4 of each year as the "Principal National Permanent Legal Holiday"; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. DRINAN:

H. Con. Res. 203. Concurrent resolution declaring and recognizing the right to travel freely to any foreign country; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

H. Con. Res. 204. Concurrent resolution expressing the opposition of the Congress to certain measures for the curtailment of benefits under the medicare and medicaid programs; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. KYROS:

H. Con. Res. 205. Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress that the contingent of U.S. troops stationed in Europe be substantially reduced; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. ROYBAL:

H. Res. 364. Resolution creating a special committee to conduct an investigation and study into the legal, political, and diplomatic status of lands which were the subject of grants from the King of Spain and from the Government of Mexico prior to the acquisition of the American Southwest as a result of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo concluding of the Mexican-American War in 1848; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. VANIK:

H. Res. 365. Resolution creating a select committee to conduct an investigation of distillate and residual fuels in the United States; to the Committee on Rules.

MEMORIALS

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

161. By the SPEAKER: A memorial of the House of Representatives of the State of Oklahoma, relative to the price of beef; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

162. Also, memorial of the Senate of the State of Oklahoma, relative to the price of beef; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

163. Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of California, relative to oil importation on American flagships; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

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

By Mr. FISHER:

H.R. 7279. A bill for the relief of Francisco Realme Galindo; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HELSTOSKI:

H.R. 7280. A bill for the relief of Ricardo Munoz; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. KASTENMEIER:

H.R. 7281. A bill to grant a Federal charter to the Mid-Continent Railway Historical Society; to the Committee on the District of Columbia.

By Mr. PEPPER:

H.R. 7282. A bill for the relief of the estate of William H. Evans; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

180. By the SPEAKER: Petition of C. W. Johnson, Pensacola, Fla., and others, relative to protection for law enforcement officers against nuisance suits, to the Committee on the Judiciary.

181. Also, petition of S. H. Barnes, Shreveport, La., and others, relative to protection for law enforcement officers against nuisance suits; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

182. Also, petition of Samuel R. Johnston, Wyoming, Mich., and others, relative to protection for law enforcement officers against nuisance suits; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

183. Also, petition of Charles L. Stewart, Erie, Pa., and others, relative to protection for law enforcement officers against nuisance suits; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

184. Also, petition of Paul E. Bickelman, Moscow, Pa., and others, relative to protection for law enforcement officers against nuisance suits; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

THE 1974 BUDGET SCOREKEEPING REPORT NO. 1

HON. GEORGE H. MAHON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting for the information of Members, their staff, and others who may be interested, a few excerpts from the first "budget scorekeeping" report of the staff of the Joint Committee on Reduction of Federal Expenditures for the current session.

The report reflects the impact of congressional actions on the President's budget requests through April 13, and contains considerable budget information for those who have need for details. The report itself has been sent to all Members.

This year for the first time the report is incorporating certain information pertaining to the controllability of the budget through current actions by the Congress; analysis of the unexpended balances in the "pipeline"; and historical material summarizing the five previous series of scorekeeping reports, and showing the 15-year record of Federal budgets.

In order to be able to distribute the report to the Members before the Easter recess, it was necessary to have a cutoff date of April 13. The report, therefore, does not reflect the congressional actions being taken during the current week.

The excerpts that I am inserting here are from the text of the report and include the scorekeeping highlights, some summaries and analysis of the budget requests, and the main scorekeeping table.

I would add that these scorekeeping reports, now in their sixth year, are the most comprehensive current source of information on what is happening legislatively to the President's budgetary

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recommendations. They are authoritative, being carefully prepared by an experienced staff dedicated to complete objectivity, reporting the facts as best they can be ascertained. Some estimating is necessary, especially in regard to legislative actions affecting outlays—expenditures.

The excerpts follow:

EXCERPTS FROM 1974 BUDGET SCOREKEEPING REPORT NO. 1

SCOREKEEPING HIGHLIGHTS

Fiscal year 1974

To date, April 13, 1973, the only completed action affecting fiscal year 1974 pertains to the extension of the continuing resolution to June 30 to cover vetoed Labor-HEW appropriation bill activities. In connection with this extension, the failure to act on certain 1973 budget amendments has the effect of increasing the budget outlays for fiscal year 1974 by $391 million.

Incomplete pending actions affecting fiscal year 1974 include two appropriation measures—House committee action reducing the Legislative Bill by $16.9 million in budget authority and $16 million in outlays, and House floor and Senate committee action slightly increasing the Urgent Supplemental. Other major incomplete actions to date include:

House Committee Action

$1,124 million in additional backdoor contract authority for highway programs;

$915 million in additional backdoor contract authority for traffic safety.

Senate Action

$414 million in additional backdoor contract authority for highway programs;

$280 million in additional backdoor contract authority for airport development;

$358 million in budget authority and outlays in three bills providing additional mandatory veterans benefits (including two bills that were vetoed last Session);

$245 million in additional backdoor contract authority in the traffic safety bill.

Fiscal year 1973

Completed scorekeeping action affecting fiscal year 1973 budget estimates was the extension to June 30 of the continuing resolution with respect to vetoed Labor-HEW appropriation bill activities. The failure to act on certain 1973 budget amendments in connection with this extension has the effect of increasing 1973 budget authority by $966 million and estimated outlays by $470 million.

Other actions, to date, affecting fiscal year 1973 relate to legislation restoring certain program reductions (impoundments) contemplated in the revised 1973 budget estimates. The Presidential veto of one bill—to restore $50 million in outlays for rural water and sewer grants—has been sustained. Three other pieces of legislation, involving some $500 million in impoundments, are pending—REA loans, rural environmental assistance (REAP), and rural emergency loans.

The scorekeeping shown for the impoundment restoration legislation (on page 5) reflects the full amount of the administrative savings projected in the budget for fiscal year 1973. However, due to the lateness and uncertainty of the actions, the estimates must be regarded as tentative and subject to revision. The possible further impact of these actions on fiscal year 1974 budget estimates cannot be determined pending action on the appropriation bills involved.

THE BUDGET REQUESTS—SUMMARIES AND ANALYSIS

The budget requests for fiscal year, 1974, and the revised estimates for fiscal year 1973, as transmitted by the President on Jan. 29, 1973, are summarized as follows:

[In billions]

	Budget authority	Outlays	Receipts	Deficit or surplus
Fiscal year 1974:				
Federal funds	$202.9	$199.1	$171.3	−$27.8
Trust funds	105.9	90.4	105.5	+15.1
Intragovernmental transactions	−20.8	−20.8	−20.8	.....
Unified budget	288.0	268.7	256.0	−12.7
Fiscal year 1973 (revised):				
Federal funds	209.1	188.4	154.2	−34.1
Trust funds	92.5	82.6	92.0	+9.3
Intragovernmental transactions	−21.2	−21.2	−21.2	.....
Unified budget	280.4	249.8	225.0	−24.8
Change, 1974 unified budget compared to revised 1973 estimates	+7.6	+18.9	+31.0	−12.1

Revised revenue estimates

Estimates prepared by the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation indicate that revenues for fiscal years 1973 and 1974 will be $4.2 billion and $4.1 billion respectively higher than the projections contained in the 1974 budget, mainly due to increased receipts from individual and corporate income taxes. On this basis, revised estimates show revenue totaling $229.2 billion for 1973 and $260 billion for 1974.

Portion of 1974 budget requiring current action by Congress

In its consideration of the fiscal year 1974 budget recommendations, the Congress will act currently on about 60 per cent of the budget authority requested and on only about 46 per cent of the outlay estimates. The remainder has already been made available either in previous appropriations and authorizations or in permanent and trust fund programs, and therefore does not require current action by Congress. The following fiscal year 1974 budget summary shows the portions requiring current action:

[In billions]

	Budget authority	Outlays	Receipts	Deficit
Net total 1974 budget estimates	$288.0	$268.7	$256.0	−$12.7
Intragovernmental transactions and offsetting receipts	+31.3	+31.3	+31.3	.....
Gross total 1974 budget estimates	319.3	299.9	287.3	−12.7
Portion not requiring current action by Congress (previously enacted, permanents and trust funds)	146.2	177.1	287.2	.....
Portion requiring current action by Congress	173.1	122.8	.1	.....
Percent of net total	60.1	45.7	.....	.....

Controllability of budget

Although the Congress must currently act on about 60% of the requested fiscal year 1974 budget authority and 46 per cent of the outlays, much of this action relates to mandatory program costs over which it has little or no practical control under existing law.

In its current consideration the Congress has effective control over only about 44 percent of net budget authority and 28.6 percent of the budget outlays estimated for fiscal year 1974. The remaining budget authority and outlays relate to mandatory, permanent and trust fund programs established in law, and spending from balances of prior year appropriations and other available authorizations.

The following table summarizes by major program the portion of the 1974 budget which is relatively uncontrollable under existing law, and shows the total amount which is relatively controllable by the Congress, primarily in its current consideration of appropriation legislation. These amounts are also shown in their percentage relationship to the budget totals.

CONTROLLABILITY OF FISCAL YEAR 1974 BUDGET REQUESTS

	Budget authority		Outlays	
	Amount (billions)	Percent of total	Amount (billions)	Percent of total
Relatively uncontrollable under existing law:				
Major programs funded through appropriation bills:				
Public assistance grants	$15.1	5.2	$15.1	5.6
Other social services and benefits	1.9	.6	1.9	.7
Veterans benefits	9.0	3.1	9.1	3.4
Agriculture price support	3.5	1.2	2.7	1.0
Food stamp program	2.2	.8	2.2	.8
Public housing subsidies	2.1	.7	2.0	.5
Military retired pay	4.7	1.6	4.7	1.7
Postal Service	1.4	.5	1.4	.7
Major permanent and trust fund programs:				
Social security and medicare	74.5	25.9	68.2	25.4
Unemployment	6.8	2.4	5.5	2.0
Retirement and other	11.2	3.9	6.8	2.5
Interest on the debt	24.7	8.6	24.7	9.2
General revenue sharing	6.1	2.1	6.0	2.2
All other, net (including outlays from prior-year authorizations)	7.5	2.6	50.7	19.0
Total, relatively uncontrollable	170.7	59.2	201.0	74.8
Relatively controllable under existing law	126.4	43.9	76.8	28.6
Undistributed intragovernmental transactions	−9.1	−3.1	−9.1	−3.4
Total, fiscal year 1974 budget authority and outlays (net)	288.0	100.0	268.7	100.0

Unexpended balances—the pipeline

An important reason accounting for uncontrollability of budget outlays in any given fiscal year, is the accumulation of unexpended balances of budget authority provided in earlier years. Unexpended balances of authority enacted in prior years to be carried over at the end of fiscal year 1973 are estimated at $298.5 billion, $114.5 billion, or 38 per cent of the total, reflects obligations already incurred for specific purposes. $112.1 billion of the estimated unobligated balances represent trust funds, including social insurance. Of the estimated federal funds unobligated balance of $71.9 billion, a major portion is earmarked for specific uses and is not available for new programs or discretionary use by either the Executive Department or by the Congress.

The following table summarizes these estimated carry-over unexpended balances as of the beginning and the end of fiscal year 1974.

[In billions]

	Estimated unexpended balances, fiscal year 1974	
	Start of year	End of year
Obligated balances of prior year spending authority:		
Trust funds	$22.8	$24.3
Federal funds	91.7	94.9
Subtotal, obligated	114.5	119.1
Unobligated balances of prior year spending authority:		
Trust funds (social insurance, retirement, etc.)	112.1	126.2
Federal funds:		
Standby authority (international banks, loan guarantees, etc.)	28.1	29.5
Program balances	43.8	30.8
Subtotal, unobligated	184.0	186.6
Total, unexpended balances	298.5	305.7

Reconciliation of 1973 budget outlay estimates

The following is a reconciliation of the original 1973 budget outlay estimate of $246.3 billion with the revised 1973 budget outlay estimate of $249.8 billion contained in the budget message submitted January 29, 1973:

	Billions
Original fiscal year budget outlay estimate	$246.3
Budget amendments subsequently transmitted	+2.9
Estimated impact of net congressional actions on the 1973 budget estimates	+6.3
	255.5
Budget reestimates, revisions, etc., to date:	
Interest on the debt	+1.5
Social services grants	+3.7
All other (net of many items)	+0.3
	261.0
Estimated effect of congressional limitation on outlays for social service grants	−2.3
	258.7
Outlay savings reflected in revised 1973 budget outlay estimates, including program reductions, terminations, and financing shifts	[1] −8.9
Revised fiscal year 1973 budget outlay estimate	249.8

[1] Outlay reductions reflected in the revised 1973 budget include; $1.6 billion in additional offsetting receipts from stockpile sales, oil leases, and user charges; deferral of $1.5 billion in general revenue sharing to first quarter of 1974 and $0.5 billion in other deferred payments; $1.1 billion in substitution of private financing for direct federal credit programs; and $4.2 billion in various program reductions and terminations (as listed in the budget message, pages 51–57).

FLOOD DESTRUCTION IN SOUTH DAKOTA

HON. JAMES ABOUREZK

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. ABOUREZK. Mr. President, on June 9, 1972, the Rapid City, S. Dak. area was inundated by a flood which caused unprecedented destruction, devastation, and loss of life. Two hundred and thirty-seven people were killed by the flood, 500 mobile homes and 700 houses were destroyed, 800 mobile homes and 1,800 houses were also damaged, and the property damage was in excess of $100 million. To comprehend the enormous amount of destruction and devastation, it must be remembered that the area had a total annual personal income of approximately $400 million and that the area had a population of about 40,000. If the loss of life caused by Agnes would have been as proportionally large, 10,000 people would have perished in Pennsylvania.

In spite of the devastation and destruction, immediately after the flood, the people of the Rapid City area responded to the tragedy with a recovery effort which was amazing. The survivors of the flood worked tirelessly to restore and rebuild the community and to renew the dreams which were shattered on the night of June 9, 1972.

Now that the flood is not a daily topic of national conversation, the Federal Government is not responding adequately to the human consequences of the disaster. Rapid City is confronted with a mental health crisis and the Federal Government is refusing to provide the help which is desperately needed.

The aftermath of the flood is not pleasant. The West River Mental Health Clinic, which is basically an out-patient service agency with a staff of four, has reported a major increase in the number and severity of depressed patients. There is a 46-percent increase in the amount of consultation that is being provided and still the staff is only able to respond to one-third of the demands for consultation. Similarly, Lutheran Social Services, a private agency, has reported a 39-percent increase in the number of families which are referred for counseling. The State of South Dakota Public Welfare Department Regional Office has reported an increase of 234 cases which are disaster related. Sixty of the additional cases suffer continuing emotional problems. Since the flood there has been a substantial increase in the number of patients admitted to St. John's McNamara Hospital who have manifested emotional or mental disorders. The number of public intoxication arrests which occurred after the flood as compared to the same period in the year before the flood, suggests that many people are resorting to antisocial behavior in an effort to cope with the consequences of the disaster. There has also been an increase in the number of people from the Rapid City area who have been admitted to Yankton State Hospital for the treatment of emotional problems.

Mr. President, it is possible to provide countless other examples of the human consequences of the flood and the ensuing mental health crisis, but it is apparent that an awareness of the mental health crisis will not elicit an adequate response from the Federal Government. The Federal Government is aware that there are many people who need and deserve help and that there are simply not enough resources in Rapid City to insure the provision of needed assistance. The Federal Government, however, has decided that it is not capable of providing the type of disaster relief which would enable the survivors to resolve the problems created by the flood.

In October 1972, the Black Hills Areawide Comprehensive Health Planning Council submitted a grant application. The application requested a grant of $248,162, an amount which would insure an initial sufficient response to the emotional problems caused by the disaster. Although the application was favorably considered by both the regional office and the National Office of the National Institute of Mental Health, the grant was not authorized. The National Institute of Mental Health indicated that, "due to the uncertainty regarding the level of funding which will be provided for National Institute of Mental Health programs for fiscal year 1973, we have suspended funding of new projects in the service area."

Since being advised by the National Institute of Mental Health that the grant would not be authorized, I have submitted to President Nixon, Secretary Weinberger, and Mr. Ash a written request that the grant application receive further consideration and that on the basis of humanitarian considerations, the modest award be authorized immediately. On the basis of testimony offered during the oversight hearings which were conducted in Rapid City recently by the Subcommittee on Disaster Relief of the Senate Public Works Committee, Senator RANDOLPH and Senator BURDICK have also submitted similar written requests to Secretary Weinberger and Mr. Ash. Yet, the grant still has not been authorized.

Mr. President, I contend that the Federal Government cannot be allowed to casually forsake the present and future well-being of the residents of the Rapid City, S. Dak., area. In an effort to inform the Members of Congress of this tragic situation, I ask unanimous consent that the letter submitted to President Nixon be printed in the RECORD.

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

U.S. SENATE,
Washington, D.C., February 28, 1973.

Hon. RICHARD M. NIXON,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I respectfully request further consideration of the 1973 Fiscal Year budget for the National Institute of Mental Health. The request is prompted by the inability of the National Institute of Mental Health to authorize a modest grant which would insure the provision of an initial and sufficient response to the extraordinary emotional stress which is being experienced by residents of the Rapid City, South Dakota area.

On October 13, 1972 an "Initiation and Development Proposal-Rapid City, South Dakota" grant application was submitted by the Black Hills Area-Wide Comprehensive Health Planning Council to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare/National Institute of Mental Health. The grant application contained a request for a modest award of approximately $248,162.

Although the grant application was favorably reviewed by both the Regional Office and the National Office, the award was not authorized. On January 31, 1973, Dr. Bertram Brown, Director, National Institute of Mental Health, responded to an inquiry concerning the status of the grant application. Dr. Brown advised "due to the uncertainty regarding the level of funding which will be provided for National Institute of Mental Health programs for Fiscal Year 1973, we have suspended funding of new projects in the services area."

An authorized award equal to the amount requested in the grant application would provide the monies which are necessary for the implementation of a "search and find" community mental health project. A "search and find" community mental health project would provide the victims of the devastating June 9, 1972 flood with an initial sufficient response to the mental health problems which are a consequence of the natural disaster. Attached is a description of the magnitude and severity of the problems which are a consequence of the disaster.

As an example of the ability of the Federal government to respond to a natural disaster, it is worthwhile to note that the serious plight of the victims of the Pennsylvania flood was recognized and received an initial and sufficient response. While everyone is most thankful that the National Institute of Mental Health authorized a grant of approximately $249,908 on August 1, 1972 to assist the victims of the Pennsylvania flood, it is incredible and utterly deplorable that the

Federal government cannot provide an amount less than $250,000 in an effort to alleviate the suffering which has been caused by the South Dakota flood.

As it is generally acknowledged that the detrimental effects of a natural disaster on the emotional well-being of the victims is initially evidenced six months after the occurrence of the disaster, the need for the immediate authorization of the award is obvious—painfully obvious to residents of the Rapid City, South Dakota area. Therefore, Mr. President, I can only hope that for the sake of the future of the people of the Rapid City area, the 1973 Fiscal Year budget of the National Institute of Mental Health will receive further consideration and that on the basis of humanitarian considerations, the modest award will be authorized immediately.

With best personal regards, I remain

Sincerely,

JAMES ABOUREZK,
United States Senate.

On June 9, 1972 Rapid City was struck by a flash flood that killed 237, destroyed 500 mobile homes and 700 houses; damaged 800 additional mobile homes and 1700 houses; and caused in excess of 100 million dollars in property damage. However, over and above the deaths, the damaged homes, and the financial loss looms the inestimable toll the flood has taken on the mental health of those left to cope with its aftermath.

Cognizant of a possible outbreak of mental health problems, Rapid City Mayor Barnett issued a proclamation on June 20th establishing a Mental Health Steering Committee and gave this broadly based group the mandate of meeting the anticipated mental health problems. On June 21 the Steering Committee for Mental Health held its first meeting and quickly enlisted the services of the National Institute of Mental Health, Region VIII. NIMH responded by providing a part-time psychiatrist to aid the staff of various local social service agencies, and a temporary planner/coordinator to prepare a plan of action.

On October 12, 1972, a grant application, prepared by the Steering Committee, was submitted to the National Institute of Mental Health, Region VIII, seeking financial support for a "search and find" mental health program which was to be integrally attached to a comprehensive mental health delivery system that coordinated and integrated the community's extant social service agencies. For the following three months, the Steering Committee, the professional staff of every social service agency in Rapid City, and the community waited for the "imminent" funding of the proposal.

The anticipated money, however, never came. In the interim, no staffed agency took the responsibility for providing a comprehensive mental health program because each agency considered that such a move would be presumptive in light of the community-wide proposal already generated. Thus the proposed program designed to quell the rash of flood induced mental health problems, forestalled a number of approaches to the anticipated mental health crisis.

Faced with the dubious funding of the program on the one hand and a possible mental health crisis on the other, the members of the Steering Committee decided to make one last determined effort to get the program funded. To this end, and at the request of the Steering Committee, the Black Hills Areawide Health Planning Council donated the time and services of one and a half staff members to prepare a manuscript assessing the impact of the flood on the need for mental health services and determine the extent to which mental health needs are going unmet.

On the basis of a brief and necessarily cursory examination of the disparity between the available mental health services and the mental health needs of the residents, the following conclusions have been reached: (1) the community is facing a mental health crisis; (2) the need for professional help is most acute among the lower socio-economic people, the elderly, and among children, (3) the mental health care delivery system could be vastly improved by a coordination and integration of the community's extant social service agencies.

I. THE CURRENT MENTAL HEALTH CRISIS

Without a functioning, comprehensive mental health delivery system, it is extremely difficult to document adequately and to appraise fully the impact of the flood on the mental health of area residents. The best that can be done is to secure the perceptions of the community's mental health professionals and, where possible, obtain supportive, quantifiable data. Toward this end, assistance was sought from the three social agencies in Rapid City that offer the widest spectrum of psychological and social services.

West River Mental Health Center is basically an out-patient service agency with a staff of four, full-time psychiatric social workers and a part-time psychiatrist. Currently, the Mental Health Clinic reports a major increase in the number and severity of depressed patients, amounting to a 13% increase in the number of hours spent with patients and a 46% increase in the amount of consultation that is being provided. Despite this, the staff of the Mental Health Clinic is not able to meet a third of the demands for consultation services. (Based on materials prepared by Kelvin T. Kelly, Psychiatric Social Worker, West River Mental Health Center).

Lutheran Social Services is a private agency with a staff of ten full and part-time counselors and social workers. Since the flood, the staff of Lutheran Social Services has been burdened with caseloads, but until a request was made for specific statistics they had not precisely determined the magnitude of the increased demands for counseling services.

The increased demand for psychological services is best reflected at Lutheran Social Services by comparing the number of family units referred for counseling from June 1972 to February 1973, with the numbers referred for counseling during a similar period in 1971.

Number of new family unit referrals

	1971	1972
June	20	19
July	25	37
August	15	32
September	17	28
October	32	33
November	31	34
December	15	25
January	[1] 23	[2] 40
	178	248

[1] 1972.
[2] 1973.

The difference between the referral rates of these two time periods is a statistically significant ($t=2.5$, $df=14$, $p<.025$) 39% increase. Moreover, the demand for counseling is remaining at a very high level and there is every indication that the new referrals in February will equal or surpass the January record of 40.

Also, it must be mentioned that these data do not represent the entire mental health problems that are being met by Lutheran Social Services. The agency also does considerable group therapy work and conducts numerous education programs designed to promote sound mental health. Although the statistics for these areas could not be generated on short notice, the demands placed upon these services seem to have shown a commensurate increase.

In addition to giving professional mental health care to families who were flood victims, Lutheran Social Services encounters many more individuals with adjustment problems attributable to the indirect effect of the disaster. A case in point is a couple in their early thirties, who, in terms of dollar loss and personal property damages, were not affected by the flood. Yet, as measured by major psychological problems, the flood took a heavy toll on their lives. At the time of the flood the couple was holding together an unstable marriage, and the husband was working for a business that subsequently was demolished. Unfortunately, as an aftermath of the flood, additional pressures were placed upon his physical and mental energies to re-establish that business. The combination of psychological stress and physical fatigue was more than the marriage could endure. When the couple finally came to Lutheran Social Services, the marriage was almost completely shattered. Cases such as this, which reflect the indirect impact of the flood, account for a significant number of family units now seeking counseling. (Based on an interview with Curt Paulsen, Director, Lutheran Social Services).

The State Welfare Department found that 25% of the cases that it was serving at the time of the flood suffered significant living and adjustment problems as a consequence of the flood. In addition, the Welfare Office gained 234 additional disaster related cases. Of these additional cases, 60 are still suffering continuing emotional problems. The following two individuals are typical.

JANUARY 22, 1973

1. Mrs. — (age 52) and her husband, Robert, each have a previous BSR on file. Mr. — of — agency called as he became concerned about her when she applied for a job with his firm. She seemed very depressed. Mr. — would like to know if we can make a service contact and evaluation. Because we have previous BSR, I would think it appropriate to make a contact in person to follow up the possible medical application she has not applied for and to evaluate her emotional state and the possible resources.

2/2/73—This worker talked to Mrs. — today. She was in fairly good spirits, but was somewhat disoriented. She related flood experiences that she had talked about when I saw her last. She is still upset over this. She told the worker that Robert still sleeps on the couch with one hand holding on to the back of the couch and with a light on. She said the nights are the worst for them. One of their friends was sleeping on the front room floor through last weekend when he finally returned to his bedroom. These people are still living in the flood plain.

After some time Robert came home. After talking for a while it became apparent that they were not moving very fast in terms of relocation. He is upset about the cost of lots and doesn't want to pay as much as they want. Worker plans to talk to them about some counseling after he sees what is available.

JANUARY 16, 1973

2. Mrs. — came to this office upset, nervous and discouraged, with a notice from Income Maintenance advising her that her February warrant is being held up based on "whereabouts unknown." She stated that she called this office January 5 and reported her whereabouts to the receptionist, which information apparently didn't get to Income Maintenance.

Mrs. — and her four youngest children are living temporarily in the home of her mother until a Brentwood apartment is available. Anita continues to attend North Junior High, but Rosana and Robert are not in school. I told her to enroll them at Horace Mann immediately. Lisa, age 5, has never been in school because she is a frightened little girl. Mrs. — refers to her as "my baby."

Nancy has quit Central High because she is pregnant and is staying with her married brother, Leroy, in Keystone. I explained our services available to unmarried mothers and also suggested Upward Bound School for

Nancy so that she can complete the school year.

Mrs. ——— stated that her family has really "gone to pot" since the flood and sometimes feels like giving up. She has applied for an SBA loan and received $200 from the Disaster Relief Fund which she is saving for furniture when she gets her apartment. Her speech impediment (stuttering) was very severe today because of her nervous condition. I set up an appointment for her to see Doris Palmer, Thursday at 1:30 p.m.

In view of Mrs. ——— emotional problems, a service worker can be beneficial to her.

(Based on material submitted by Dennis Ritter, Director, Pennington County Division of State Welfare Department.)

The data and information provided by the staffs from West River Mental Health Center, Lutheran Social Services, and the Pennington County State Welfare Department indicates that since the flood the demand for their services has increased. Knowing that the flood has had a strong impact on these agencies, one is prompted to concern about extant mental health problems that are not receiving professional attention. In an effort to assess the magnitude of current, unmet mental health problems an effort was made to secure pertinent data. The bulk of the obtained data suggests that the community is faced with numerous mental health problems that are not getting professional attention.

One indice that suggests numerous, unmet mental health problems is the sharp increase in alcoholism that was reported in interviews with social service personnel and is documented by examining the police records for public intoxication arrests, which reflect a statistically significant increase in the number of public intoxication arrests following the flood as compared to the same period the previous year ($t=1.77$, $df=14$, $p < .05$). This data strongly suggests that large numbers of people are not finding adequate solutions to their behavior problems.

Public intoxication arrests

	1971	1972
June	255	134
July	233	397
August	242	417
September	263	310
October	191	257
November	219	270
December	217	254
January ('72)	[1] 162	[2] 225
Total	1,782	2,264

[1] 1972.
[2] 1973.

Another indirect indice of unsolved psychological problems among members of the community is the increase in postflood hospital admittances at St. John's McNamara as compared to a years ago.

Number of patients admitted

	1971	1972
June	596	684
July	574	623
August	614	656
September	493	558
October	507	684
November	533	671
December	564	580
	3,881	4,456

It is questionable that this 15% increase in hospital admittances at St. John's is attributable entirely to post-flood, mental health precipitated problems. It must be mentioned that the flood inundated Rapid City's other hospital, Bennett-Clarkson, rendered it inoperable for ten days, and curtailed its services through October. During this period of time, of course, many patients from Bennett-Clarkson were transferred or referred to St. John's. However, the referrals from Bennett-Clarkson cannot account for the fact that unusually large numbers of patients at St. John's have persisted over several months and into January. In an effort to more fully examine this problem, a breakdown was made with respect to numbers of patients at St. John's who have evidenced some emotional or mental disorder.

ST. JOHN'S McNAMARA HOSPITAL, FEB. 12, 1973

	July		August		September		October		November		December	
	1971	1972	1971	1972	1971	1972	1971	1972	1971	1972	1971	1972
Alcoholic psychosis	1	1					1		1			
Psychosis associated with other physical conditions		1	1		1			1				
Schizophrenia		2	5	2		2			2	1		
Affective psychosis	2	1	3	1	1	1	1		2	5	1	1
Paranoid states											1	
Other psychosis							1					1
Unspecified psychosis							1	1	1			
Neurosis	18	3	14	12	16	6	10	11	6	7	13	3
Alcoholism	6	17	4	9	5	18	5	13	3	12	2	8
Drug dependency					1		1		1			
Physical disorders/psychogenic		1	1	2	2				1			2
Situational		2						3		4		1
Mental disorders-not psychotic	4	9	4	3	3	5	7	2	9	3	6	2
Other	1	1	2	4				1	4	2	3	2
Total	32	38	28	37	30	31	28	33	28	36	26	20

These data verify that since the flood there has been a substantial increase in the patients at St. John's who have manifested emotional or mental disorders.

The data that most directly underscores the inability of our mental health delivery system to meet adequately the community's mental health problems is the comparison of post-flood admittances to Yankton State Hospital from Pennington County with the admittances from the same period of the previous year. Unfortunately, the only data available pertains to county financed admittances so the actual size of this influx remains unknown. Especially pertinent are the figures for the last three months that indicate a greater increase.

Pennington County admittances to Yankton State Hospital

June 1971	4
July 1971	16
August 1971	13
September 1971	14
October 1971	9
November 1971	8
December 1971	6
January 1972	10
Total	80
June 1972	9
July 1972	13
August 1972	15
September 1972	14
October 1972	8
November 1972	13
December 1972	14
January 1973	13
Total	99

In summary assessment, numerous individuals are suffering post-flood adjustment problems. A significant, but small portion of these individuals are finding their way to psychological and social service agencies. Nonetheless, there are fair amounts of evidence suggesting that these agencies have not been able to meet the rash of mental health problems. Moreover, with respect to severity and frequency these emotional disorders are of such magnitude that it is no understatement to say Rapid City faces a major mental health crisis.

II. UNMET MENTAL HEALTH NEEDS

Numbers of social service agencies were contacted in an effort to identify segments of the population having severe post-flood adjustment problems. On the basis of numerous interviews with social service personnel, it became clear that the groups most severely inflicted with unmet mental health problems were the children, the lower socio-economic peoples, and the elderly.

The Children: Shortly after the flood, HUD provided housing for 1280 of the 1770 eligible families who applied for temporary living quarters. These jammed, hastily planned trailer courts have become incubation centers for serious mental health problems. Children and parents have found it extremely difficult to live in a cramped trailer after owning their own spacious homes. Furthermore, having no choice in selecting trailer sites, many people find themselves close neighbors to families they typically would not choose to live near. Some of these adjustment problems are an inevitable consequence of sudden relocation and less than adequate housing; other mental health problems, however, are attributable to poor planning of HUD sites and negligence in providing adequate social services. The adjustment difficulties that HUD trailer camp children are having became very apparent in an interview with Mrs. Fierro, Director of Girl's Club.

Significantly, Rapid City Girl's Club has experienced a noticeable increase in membership following the flood, and there has been a decided increase in general unrest, antisocial behavior, racial friction, and discipline problems. These behavior problems are severe for children in HUD trailer courts where socio-economically desperate families have been thrown into close proximity. Currently, the Girl's Club is seeking funds to pay for the services of a part-time counselor to work with parents and children in hopes that many of these emotional problems can be resolved through a better understanding of the child's needs. However, as Mrs. Fierro said, "What can a counselor do for a young girl who doesn't want to go to a HUD trailer house because there is two inches of ice in her bedroom?"

Another agency experiencing the impact of flood-related mental problems is the Boy's Club which has had a 20% post-flood increase in the number of boys participating in the program, and is providing service to 128 families who relocated because the flood destroyed their homes. These boys, in partic-

ular, have a need to find stability, care, security, recognition, and "to get out of those damn trailers." Among the services being offered are individual counseling with 115 boys and 102 parents participating, and group counseling with 94 boys and 10 parents. Currently, the staff's largest concern is providing services to boys living a considerable distance from the center and in servicing referrals from the local school system. (Information obtained from an interview with Roger Erikson, Director of Boy's Club.)

Perhaps in no other area is the shortage of services as acute as it is for children who are without a father. Rapid City is fortunate enough to have a Big Brother program, but the impact of the flood on the problems of this program has been considerable. Currently, in Pennington County, there are 681 boys that need a Big Brother. Unfortunately, the part-time Rapid City staff of two men can handle only a small percentage of these cases. At present, 52 Little Brothers have been matched with a Big Brother, but there are still just as many registered Little Brothers for whom it is necessary to find a Big Brother that can pass the careful screening process. Also, even though several professional volunteers assist the program on a monthly basis, there is a need for a well organized referral system so that special help may be obtained for boys with severe emotional problems. In addition to these problems, about twenty Big and Little Brothers were affected by the flood. One case in point is a Big Brother that drowned in the flood and his death so deeply upset his Little Brother that the tenth grader became extremely depressed, refused a substitute, and had to be sent by his mother to California. In another case, a young boy was sent elsewhere to live with a relative because his mother had no suitable place to house him. Many such Little Brothers have been displaced by the flood and have been unable to retain their contact with a Big Brother. The already short supply of Big Brothers has been substantially diminished by the flood. At the present time, the staff of the Big Brothers program is attempting to locate a funding source of $22,000 so that they can expand their services to 150–200 boys and thereby take up some of the slack. (This material was based on an interview with Don Kennedy, Director, Big Brothers Program).

In addition to the problems faced by the Boy's Club and Girl's Club in their service offerings to school age children is the dearth of social services available to pre-school children. At present this community is unable to meet the demand for day care centers and the future looks even bleaker.

After the June 9 flood, the Community Action Program funded several day care centers, but only for a period of 60 days. One such center, still operating, is the Imaginal Day Care Center serving 35 children, of whom about 33% are flood victims. The major problem faced by this center is securing funds to keep its doors open. Currently, they are surviving on the basis of timely donations which supplements the money received from tuition, which they collect reluctantly because these service fees eliminate numbers of children whose family cannot afford even this small cost. (This information was based upon an interview with Mrs. Gibson, Director, Imaginal Day Care Center).

In addition to the tuition-charging day care centers, the Community Action Program has for three years been offering Head Start programs which provide free services to 70 children from low income families. Following the flood their enrollment did not increase, but then, it cannot increase because of limited facilities. Currently, they have a waiting list of 25 children. (This material was based on an interview with Donna Goldstein, Director, Head Start).

The Lower Socio-Economic People: The people lowest on the socio-economic ladder also seem to be hit very hard by post-flood adjustment problems. To a large measure, of course, this group is comprised of Indians. The mental health crisis seems extensive among them for several reasons: (1) as a group they were disproportionately flood victims as is reflected in the fact that 14% of the deaths were among Indians even though they comprise only 5% of the population; (2) they do not have money for needed services; and (3) typically they are not adequately aware of the services that are available at little or no cost.

Following the flood, the Steering Committee arranged for three Denver psychiatrists to make one day per week visit to Rapid City. The professional services of these three psychiatrists are not subsidized and their patients must bear the financial burden of compensating them for their services and their travel expenses. Nonetheless, each psychiatrist has a large enough caseload to make the weekly trip profitable. Whether or not the pre-flood community could have supported three psychiatrists is an issue open to speculation and, at this point, a moot question. The important point is that they are here and are providing services to the more affluent people. Unfortunately, however, these services are not available to the lower socio-economic peoples, who probably have comparable if not greater needs.

The agency in town having most direct contact with the lower socio-ecomonic peoples is the Family Planning Center, a component of the Western South Dakota Community Action Program. Even though the June 9 flood demolished the office and the records of the Family Planning Center, the agency relocated in three centers throughout town, hired additional outreach workers, and began to locate individuals and families in need of innoculations, medical attention, temporary housing, and food. Through the efforts of the Family Planning Center, almost 1,000 people were assisted in meeting their basic, physical needs. However, in the course of this work, the outreach workers encountered numerous individuals with maladaptive behavior patterns, suicidal tendencies, and severe depressional states. The infliction of these mental health problems upon outreach workers, who were trained primarily to help solve physical needs, was a severe emotional drain that was beyond the tolerance level for many of the workers. Therefore, to meet the needs of the outreach workers, Dr. Karl Keener, a Denver psychiatrist, was employed to equip the outreach workers with the self-confidence and requisite skills to provide preliminary mental health services. Unfortunately, as early as September, and only shortly after the training, the absence of adequate funding necessitated pruning the number of outreach workers down to six. By this time, the program had been able to deal successfully with the physical needs of the flood victims, but the mental health crisis was just beginning.

Since September, the Family Planning Center has not been able to return to its primary task of assisting in family planning because excessive demands are being made by the lower socio-economic peoples for mental heath services. The outreach workers report that numerous people, who have been relatively isolated following the flood, need professional attention for adjustment problems. However, even when these people recognize their need for assistance they are reluctant to seek counseling. It is important to note that these flood-related psychological problems afflict not only flood victims, but in larger measure, numerous people who were eye witnesses to the flood and disaster. The experience of seeing others lose everything while they themselves lost nothing seems to have instilled within them an inappropriate, but nonetheless acute, sense of guilt. Outreach workers are meeting this mental health crisis to the best of their ability, but the agency is too understaffed and inadequately trained to provide the mental health services for which they are constantly summoned. Attempts have been made, therefore, to refer individuals with mental health problems, but this effort has met with little success. This is true largely because these low income people do not have the money to pay a babysitter, not to mention the fee for professional counseling. A cross-section of the problems currently being encountered by family planning outreach workers are:

1. A 36 year old female with six children was caught in the path of the flood, but by handling the situation with extreme calmness she was able to insure the survival of herself and all six children. Previous to the flood this woman was fairly stable; but, currently, she is a chronic alcoholic, talks much about the flood, and has frequent periods of depression. (Although the outreach worker who reported this case has no knowledge of the impact, there must be six children in need of help).

2. A 26 year old female had three children plus a husband previous to the flood. When she came to the Family Planning Center for a tubal ligation, she had only two children and no husband. Outwardly, she is a happy person who seems to have coped with her losses. Yet, she desperately wants to remove herself from the possibility of having any more children, and she has only one child living at home with her because she has rejected the baby that was born the night of the flood. Currently, the infant is being cared for by an aunt.

(This material was based on an interview with Rosemond Goins, Director, Family Planning Center).

Another agency serving the mental health needs of the Indian population is the Public Health Service Indian Hospital that is located in Rapid City. The officer in charge of the Social Service Department at the hospital is Bill Haddow. His response to a request for information regarding the mental health needs of the Indian population is worth reporting in its entirety. Not only does the report underscore the need for outreach workers to serve the mental health needs of the Indian population, but it underscores the difficulty in obtaining precise estimates of the magnitude of the mental health crisis.

PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE,
February 8, 1973.

This is in reply to your request for information regarding the need for mental health service among the Indian population whom we serve.

The magnitude of the mental health problem is extremely difficult to determine for the following reasons:

1. We have a very small social service staff with one trained Social Worker and two untrained assistants.

2. The Indian population in Rapid City is very mobile. It is even difficult to determine the number of Indians residing in Rapid City. Estimates range from 3,000 to 8,000.

3. The majority of the Indian people are not aggressive regarding seeking help when they are in need. Example: A young couple were on their way to visit on the reservation at the time of the flood. They were stranded for a few days between here and the reservation but managed to reach destination. Their rented apartment and personal belongings were lost in the flood. A month later the husband returned to Rapid City for medical care while the wife remained with relatives on the reservation.

Several months later when the wife returned to Rapid City to be with her husband they had no place to stay and no personal belongings. This young couple knew of the resources available to flood victims but did not seek service until our agency assisted them in requesting the service of the other agencies. They then obtained a HUD trailer and emergency funds.

I know of several other flood families and

many others who have been referred to our department by our medical staff for counseling and have never come in. We then go out to them as time permits.

I feel that in order to provide therapy for the Indian population, aggressive casework is necessary. Counselors must go out to the client until he has been able to help the client overcome his resistance that is probably due to social and cultural differences.

The plan of the grant proposal is extremely appropriate regarding the mental health needs of the Indian population in that it provides for outreach workers (in this case Indian counselors) to determine the need of service.

I have only been employed at this service unit for one year and, therefore, cannot compare the mental health needs following the flood to a year prior to June 1972. Also our staff has changed in number, training, and philosophy.

Numerically, comparing the number of open cases for the Quarter ending in June 1971 to June 1972, we have 120 to 234.

Comparing September 1971 to September 1972, we have 54 to 251. Comparing December 1971 to December 1972, we have 71 to 232.

I believe the tremendous increase in caseload is due primarily to increase in staff and aggressive casework, and secondarily to the flood.

I hope this information will be helpful to you in obtaining funds for the service that is greatly needed in our area.

Sincerely yours,

A. WM. HADDOW,
ACSW, Chief, Social Service, PHS Indian Hospital, Rapid City, S. Dak.

cc: Raymond Becich, Service Unit Director

For the most part, members of the Indian population and other segments of the lower socio-economic strata show considerable reluctance to seek assistance in solving their post-flood emotional problems. As one Indian woman put it, "The Indian already believes that white people think he is part crazy; no Indian is going to show up at West River Mental Health Center and get called all crazy." Of course, the recent racial tensions and polarizations precipitated by protesting American Indian Movement (AIM) members will place additional barriers between the poorly adjusted Indian and professional assistance.

The Elderly: Marie Rogers, Director of the meals program for Community Action, feels that the elderly flood victims had a jolting experience with subsequent, severe adjustment problems. 14% of the members of the meal program have had to relocate, mostly into trailers, and all of them have lapsed into minor depression and severe disorientation. Although they deplore their HUD trailers, most of these elderly people refuse to seek new homes. Rather than working toward a permanent solution to their housing problem, they substitute the temporary escape of eagerly awaiting the driver who takes them to the center where they remain as long as possible. Also, members who had a drinking problem prior to the flood now seem to be continuously drunk. One flood-victim woman, who lost her husband, is severely disoriented to such an extent that she constantly looks for her husband.

Mrs. Rogers, who has worked for several years with low income people and recently was a member of the disaster relief foundation, feels that although post-flood adjustment problems are ubiquitous throughout the community, the problems are particularly acute with older people. Moreover, she knows there are elderly people who still need to be reached, and Mrs. Rogers believes that "the situation has been getting worse as time goes on."

Mrs. Virginia Egan, a State Public Health Nurse, reports that for many of the elderly being seen at the time of the flood subsequently are manifesting considerable psychological stress in the following ways: those previously diagnosed for alcoholism are increasing their drinking, or are now drinking after a period of abstinence; patients with various problems relating to mental health show signs of anxiety, depression, withdrawal, and question the value of continuing their life. Also, it has been observed that families living in HUD trailers are experiencing difficulties with the family structure. A few examples will more fully illustrate the nature of the post-flood adjustment problems among the elderly.

Case I: Eighty-two year old female who lost her home in the flood, has cardiovascular difficulties, not necessarily flood-related, but has many depression problems which I feel are flood-related. No special follow-up has been done. PHN goes in as ordered by the doctor and tries to give them emotional support.

Case II: Eighty-five year old female living with husband who is 87; they lost their home in the flood, and are very depressed. They have a lot of senility and confusion, which they would have anyway, but I do feel that much of their anxiety and depression is flood-related. No special follow-up has been done. PHN goes in as ordered by the doctor and tries to give them emotional support.

Case III: Seventy-two year old male who lost his home in the flood. He is a widower who lives with an alcoholic bachelor son. He had a business in his home and lost all his tools that he is unable to replace due to financial situation. This gentleman is extremely depressed, continues to be, has had to be hospitalized 2–3 times due to depression, and results of the depression. He does not eat sometimes or take his medication properly and goes into carteovascular difficulties. At times he cries a lot. He will not go for consultation. He is improving now, but is now worried where he is going to locate permanently when his HUD trailer is taken away. He is becoming more active and has gone along somewhat with some of PHN's ideas on how to activate himself, but there is a lot of room for improvement.

Case IV: Fifty-eight year old female that PHN sees every other week. She lost her trailer house in the flood. Mrs. K. has hypertension, and immediately post-flood, had severe physical problems. She also was quite depressed immediately after the flood, but seems to be coming out of it now. She did not receive follow-up. PHN attempted to give her as much emotional support as I could.

Case V: Eighty-one year old female that PHN sees every other week. Also has lost her home in the flood. She is a little widow lady. She has hyper-tension and edema of the feet, and I see a post-flood depression here with a lot of anxiety as to what is going to happen to her; loss of identity, etc. No professional psych evaluations have been done, just assistance with neighbors and home extension and Public Health Agency.

Case VI: Eighty-four year old lady and her husband, who is about 88, who now live in a HUD trailer as their home was washed away in the flood. Mrs. K. was hospitalized post-flood for injuries that she received that night. I see in these 2 people loss of identity and occasional depression that I would evaluate as post-flood-related. No special follow-up has been done. PHN sees Mrs. K. every week, and I attempt to support them emotionally as much as possible.

In summary appraisal of the residents' unmet, mental health needs, there are three readily identifiable groups that seem to be having considerable, post-flood adjustment problems. These three groups are the children, the lower socio-economic peoples, and the elderly. It would be erroneous to believe that time will abate these mental health problems. No less than 900 families still live in HUD housing and within the near future again will incur the psychological stress of relocating. If this relocation is as unplanned and poorly coordinated as the HUD trailer camp experience, the community can expect mental health problems that will reach a new order of magnitude.

III. NEED FOR A COORDINATION AND INTEGRATION OF SOCIAL SERVICE AGENCIES

The preparation of this paper has been impeded by the difficulty in obtaining community-based, mental health statistics. This dearth of available data directly reflects the community's woefully inadequate mental health delivery system. Even the referenced data were accumulated at considerable time and effort on the part of the social service agencies. For example, to obtain the breakdown of psychiatric disorders at St. John's McNamara Hospital, a Sister worked all day Sunday and a good part of Monday searching the records of hundreds of patients. Unfortunately, much potentially pertinent data could not be obtained in time to include in this report. A case in point is the recent receipt of information from a pharmacist indicating that the prescriptions for such drugs as mood elevators, tranquilizers, and mild sedatives were significantly greater for Nov. 1972 than for Nov. 1972 ($X^2=9.58$, $df=1$, $p<.01$).

In the course of attempting to assess the ability of the community's social service agencies to meet the citizen's postflood, mental health problems, it has become apparent no single agency is cognizant of the community's extant social services. The debilitating effect precipitated by the lack of a coordinating agency, was, in many cases, manifestly apparent. Agencies frequently are duplicating efforts while many mental needs go unmet. More tragically, some agencies are clamoring for services that, in fact, exist within the inter-structure of another agency located only a few blocks away.

The desirability, indeed, the necessity, of developing an inter-agency comprehensive mental health plan is now recognized widely throughout the county. And the federal government is providing substantial funding to a number of communities so that they can serve as an "experimental site" for an integrated social service system. In many cases, however, these efforts to establish a "therapeutic community" have met with difficulty because community-based, grass-roots support was not present. Ironically, Rapid City has an ideally constituted committee which has formulated a well planned program to effect an integrated social service that is desperately needed to meet a major mental health crisis. But the federal government has not seen fit to fund this program. At this point, it is a sad commentary on the value system of a government that provides 84 million to rebuild flood destroyed roads, bridges, and other physical structures, but ignores the mental health needs of flood disaster victims.

THE SIDELINING OF GENERAL PEERS

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, last week I called to the attention of the House and of the President how incredible it was to me that the Army and the Pentagon are prepared to allow Lt. Gen. William R. Peers to retire from active duty. Since that time there have been numerous press reports.

In conducting the My Lai investigation, Lieutenant General Peers wrote one of the courageous chapters in this country's military history. As I said to the House last week:

In my judgment, the issue is highly im-

perative: It is whether or not by the action of the Army the sidelining of General Peers will cause future officers to shy away from calling the shots as they see them. We cannot let this happen to the U.S. Army.

Mr. Speaker, today's New York Times carries an editorial on this very subject entitled "Unwanted General" which I recommend to the attention of all our colleagues:

UNWANTED GENERAL

In 1969, when the nation was still in a state of shock over the wanton killing of women and children by American soldiers in Mylai, a major note of hope was the appointment of Lieut. Gen. William R. Peers to head an inquiry into the tragic affairs. General Peers carried out a vigorous and unsparing investigation, and in 1970 established that "a tragedy of major proportions" had indeed occurred in the ill-fated Vietnamese hamlet.

It now appears that General Peers is to be quietly retired from active service at the age of 58. The Army insists that the general's exit is routine. But the departure of this officer who stood for fair but unsparing efforts to expose the Mylai atrocities and prevent their recurrence seems of a piece with the Pentagon's almost totally negative response to the Peers panel's findings.

Only one of fourteen high-ranking officers charged by the inquiry with complicity in a cover-up of the massacre was brought to trial, and he was acquitted. Charges against the others were dropped for alleged lack of evidence, but the 260-page report which contains the charges in question is still classified "secret."

Two civilian lawyers, who served as special counsel to the Peers panel, have long been critical of the Pentagon's peculiar apathy. Robert MacCrate characterized the quick dismissal of charges as a "failure to recognize the Army's responsibility to the public at large." Now, Jerome K. Walsh Jr. has charged that General Peers' retirement will add to "the impression that the Army was not really serious about punishing those responsible" for the Mylai cover-up. It most certainly will.

General Peers, an officer with a distinguished command record that included action in Vietnam, probably never fitted into the military establishment's concept of an investigator. When he accepted the assignment, he said he "deliberately avoided selecting a group of senior colonels and general officers" because he wanted "young combat-experienced officers who had seen war and who knew the trials, the pressures and the tribulations of combat first-hand."

The general's tough, unorthodox approach to an unpleasant task raised the hopes of many Americans that exposure of a terrible wrong committed by the military would be a first step toward full accountability by the responsible echelons of command. Yet, except for the conviction of Lieu. William Calley and administrative censure of some officers, little has been done to use the Peers report for the only purpose that matters—to determine what went wrong and to give assurance that the Army can discipline itself properly in the future. This purpose has not been accomplished.

Gen. Peers' premature retirement indicates that the Pentagon has managed to rid itself of the unwelcome presence of anyone who might remind America's conscience of this still shamefully unfinished business.

SAM WILSON, EYE DONOR

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, we are all aware of the splendid humanitarian work done by the Lions Club to help the blind and preserve eyesight. There recently came to my attention an Atlanta newspaper article about a Georgia Lion who did this good work up to the very last.

He was Sam Wilson, vice president of the Georgia Lions Lighthouse Foundation and a director of the Peach Bowl, sponsored by the Lions Club. Sam Wilson had cancer, and knew he did not have long to live. One of his last acts was to donate his corneas, and to make sure the transplants would be carried out. Now, life is more liveable for two Georgians who were totally blind before each received one of Mr. Wilson's corneas. This is a dramatic example of the dedication of the Lions Club and its members in helping the blind.

I bring this article to the attention of the Senate, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

THE MAN WHO GAVE HIS EYES

(By Hugh Park)

Knowing that soon he was to die, Sam Wilson turned to his wife, and said, "India, honey, are you sure that container is here ready for my eyes? That is one of the last things I can do and I don't want any slip-up."

Thus if a man ever worked until the last to help others, he was Sam Wilson. He was vice president of the Georgia Lions Lighthouse Foundation and a director of the Peach Bowl, both of which have done so much for the blind and for sight conservation.

With him when he asked if everything was all set for the transplant of his corneas was Lions District Gov. Ed Daniel of Decatur, a friend, who had driven up to the North Georgia hospital to see him once more and for the last time. Sam Wilson had known he had cancer since last September.

He was the kind of man that people remember, as many besides Mr. Daniel will tell you. The principal of Canon Elementary School, 10 miles from Carnesville, he had coached football and basketball at Newnan and coached a state high school basketball championship team at Winder in 1940.

All five starters of this team, now living in Winder, Athens and Atlanta, came to see him before he died. All but one, Charles Duncan, who had been killed in World War II. His father came in his stead.

Sam Wilson was married to a remarkable woman, the mother of their four children: Jack Wilson, Atlanta real estate developer; Bill Wilson, in business insurance in Durham, N.C.; Mrs. Jerry McCauley of Canon and Mrs. Dwight Carithers of Spartanburg, S.C.

Mrs. Wilson, who teaches math at Franklin High School at Carnesville, is this year's STAR teacher in Franklin County, an honor given her three times before, twice in Franklin and once in Athens.

At 60, Mr. Wilson was a well-knit athletic man with a zest for living. His eyes now make life more livable beyond estimate for two Georgians who were totally blind before each received a cornea.

The surgeon who performed the operation has 52 patients waiting for similar transplants.

LAW-ABIDING FAMILY VERSUS URBAN CRIME

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the communication media in my district recently reported an alarming and serious act of injustice experienced by a constituent of mine which, I fear, is becoming more and more widespread in our urban communities.

Because of the alarm it generates and the concern it should elicit by all Americans, I am including a copy of the letter from my constitutent which graphically illustrates the very real fear that crime and violence are becoming a serious threat to the stability of our society.

Our legal and constitutional system, as spelled out in the Bill of Rights, is based on the premise that justice and liberty are man's best vehicle to the achievement of dignity and brotherhood. Therefore, the procedures and processes for implementing justice and guaranteeing individual freedom in our society must be preserved.

In recent years the increasing permissiveness of our society has led to the blatant disregard of the law by certain individuals and groups. Law and order have been fiercely attacked by some intellectually muddled citizens as nothing more than code words for repression and fascism.

Clearly, Mr. Speaker, a reading of the letter demonstrates the need for additional steps to improve law enforcement and to fully protect the many law-abiding citizens of our country. The vicious cycle of crime, arrest, bail, and then more crime must be broken.

In the interest of broadening attention and concern on the very real fear of growing crime and violence in our modern society, a copy of the letter follows for consideration by our colleagues:

URBAN CRIME

DEAR SIR: On Saturday March 24, 1973 in the middle of the afternoon my son Ralph was accosted by two boys. With a knife at his throat, they robbed him. They got little. He was delivering papers at the time. Today, March 27, 1973 my two sons were again delivering newspapers when the same two boys plus another boy held them up and tried to rob them but got nothing. This was at about 4:00 P.M. At 5:15 P.M. while my boys were returning home from the route those same three boys plus another three again held them up but got nothing. The would be robbers then said they knew that Thursday and Friday were collection nights and they said they would see them then.

The above incidents were reported to the police each time the boys were robbed. An officer was over this evening and my wife Dorothy and I discussed with him the outrageous behavior of a certain percentage of grade and high school age children. The officer mentioned a family where both parents were working. The children, around ten were present, were drinking and doing other things not of a healthy or honorable nature. He informed the parents of these activities. They told him it was their house and he had no business there. They told him to leave.

An instance that happened in the school my son attends also indicates the trend of

wildness and irresponsibility to human safety that exists today. A young lad threw a table at a teacher recently. The teacher is in the hospital and has been for several weeks. He says that he will not go back to teaching.

To get back to the officer, he related a case where a 15 year old boy was taken in for robbery. He was identified; hours were spent filling out reports; he was released. Within a day or two he was again picked up for robbery, identified; hours spent on reports and again released. If I remember the officer's words correctly, the boy was also armed at the time of the robberies. The officer said that few youngsters are detained for very long after a crime, and little is being done legally to stop this criminal behavior. The officer feels that the Supreme Courts, both federal and state, are responsible for passing laws that tie the hands of persons that are in a position to control this situation.

It is my sincere hope that you will bring this problem before the people and especially, follow-up on it in the future. I'm certain that if you will question officers who patrol the bordering sections of the ghetto and parts of the South Side such as those officers working out of the 3rd and Lincoln ave. police station, you will find plenty of material to work on.

My wife and I have decided to take our boys off the paper route. It was good experience for them to earn money honestly, be responsibile, and learn to deal with people respectfully. We wish this could have continued but we are fearful for them and they too, are fearful.

4–H GOOD FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

HON. PETE V. DOMENICI

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. DOMENICI. Mr. President, I would like to officially welcome the 300-fine young men and women who have come to Washington from all 50 States to attend the National 4–H Conference. These 300 young people represent 5 million young Americans who participate in 4–H through local clubs, through the 4–H television program series and through special urban programs. Aged 16 through 19, they have come from the 50 States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands and Canada. And they are assisted by 22-adult volunteer leaders represent 500,000 local leaders throughout the country who help young 4–H'ers with their project works.

They have visited with us here on Capitol Hill, they plan a special tour of the White House, Thursday and they have spent much of their time meeting in 15 advisory groups. Their interests and achievements are as varied as their backgrounds and I think they reflect many of the concerns of our entire nation. They are involved in health, community development, urban 4–H nutrition programs, drug education, the environment, energy and natural resources and even the creative use of leisure time.

Each State has selected outstanding young men and women to represent local 4–H'ers at this national conference. Those from my State of New Mexico were Ann Lochnan of Clovis, Steve Fritz of Gallup, Clay Milton of Las Vegas, Benton Greer of Tucumcari and Emma Johnson of Lovington. I welcome them and the other fine young men and women here for the conference.

BREAKING OPEN THE HIGHWAY TRUST FUND

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, this year is a big transportation year. Here in Congress, governors, mayors, environmentalists, and legislators have supported efforts to open the highway trust fund for mass transit funding. The Senate has taken positive action in that direction by voting to allow trust fund revenues to be used for urban mass transit. The House is now considering this important issue. The amendment, sponsored by the Honorable GLENN ANDERSON to provide for this use of the trust fund, is, in my opinion, an essential addition to the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1973 if we, as legislators, are to support a national transportation policy in the future that will provide the flexibility for a balanced and efficient transportation system.

As a cosponsor of the Anderson bill to provide for the use of trust fund revenues in either mass transit or highway projects, I strongly support the Anderson amendment.

At this time, I wish to insert in the RECORD an advertisement which appeared in the New York Times on September 14, 1972. I feel this advertisement merits particular attention because it was published by the Mobil Oil Corp., which some might view as one of the vested interests concerned with the preservation of the highway trust fund in its present form:

LET'S END THE HIGHWAY TRUST FUND

While America has developed a superb highway system through Highway Trust Fund revenues, our mass transit has slipped sadly. We're moving people better by car, but people who try to get from one place to another by train, bus, or subway are fighting a losing battle. This, in turn, forces more people into their cars and onto the highways. And this puts added pressure on even the best of our highways, not to mention city streets.

For this and other reasons, we've been urging publicly that Congress get moving with a national program to improve mass transit, and re-examine the desirability of the Highway Trust Fund. We doubt whether such special earmarked funds represent sound public policy. Experts in public finance have historically opposed trust-fund financing because this mechanism mandates decision-making and priority-setting by a bureaucracy with its own direction and momentum, without the proper annual review of proposed expenditures.

Some people suggest greater diversion of Highway Trust Fund revenues for mass-transit projects. But the cost of truly comprehensive improvements in all forms of mass transit will far exceed the revenues available from the Fund. Robbing Peter to pay Paul by diverting revenues from the Fund will give us the worst of both worlds—poor highways and poor mass transit. We cannot afford either.

Look at the sorry record of recent years. Only in 1970 did Congress appropriate mass-transit funds on a scale even remotely recognizing the need: $3.1 billion spread over five years, or an average of $620 million a year. From 1964 through 1969, a total of only $1 billion was spent for mass transit. The Highway Trust Fund, meanwhile, generates revenues of about $5.7 billion a year—or five times what was actually spent for mass transit over a six-year period.

Thus the problem, largely one of imbalance, is that highway-building has dominated federal transportation policy.

One reason for this is the formula under which the federal government shares revenues with the states for transportation. States now pay only 10% of the cost of highways under the Interstate Highway System. But the states have to pay from a third to a half of the cost of mass-transit programs to which the federal government contributes. From the states' viewpoint, it's just plain cheaper to ignore mass transit and simply build highways.

But the need for improved mass transit and the need for better roads and highways often coincide: Construction of special express lanes for buses can ease commutation problems and unclog other highway lanes for faster movement of passenger cars and trucks.

It shouldn't be an either/or situation. What's needed is substantially increased spending by federal, state, and local governments for construction of needed transportation facilities of all kinds. If the Highway Trust Fund is phased out, Congress can make appropriations at the federal level for an adequate, integrated transportation system.

Even so, we don't want just blindly to build more of what we have had for the past 50 years. We must innovate, and we must look ahead as far as advanced technology can take us in meeting both present and future transportation needs.

We are convinced that this can be achieved only through a National Master Transportation Program, financed both by existing gasoline taxes that would go into the general coffers and by annual appropriations large enough to do the job. A sound first step would be to end the Highway Trust Fund.

WEATHER MODIFICATION

HON. JAMES ABOUREZK

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. ABOUREZK. Mr. President, South Dakota has had a long and active history in the field of weather modification. Our State legislature this year appropriated $643,000 for a statewide operational program. The effort is totally a State, county, and local one. The entire operation is based on 75–25 cost share between the State agency—in this instance the South Dakota Weather Control Commission—and the county subdivisions of our State.

All decisions about whether to seed in a given area for hail suppression or rain increase are made by the local people. I as a Senator am gratified and proud of this effort in my home State; for that reason I ask unanimous consent that the following speech given by Mr. Merlin Williams, the State director of the Weather Control Commission and a nationally recognized authority on weather modification given before the American Society of Civil Engineers last February 2 here in Washington, be printed in the RECORD.

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

Footnotes at end of article.

South Dakota Weather Modification Program

(By Merlin W. Williams [1])

NOTE: Figures are not reproduced in the RECORD.

This preprint has been provided for the purpose of convenient distribution of information at the Meeting. To defray, in part, the cost of printing, a meeting price of 50¢ to all registrants has been established. The post-meeting price, when ordered from ASCE headquarters will be 50¢ while the supply lasts. For bulk orders (of not less than 200 copies of one preprint) please write for prices.

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I. INTRODUCTION

Activities by state planners, interested private groups and legislators in 1970 led to legislative action in March 1971 to establish a statewide program of weather modification in South Dakota. This program is intended to provide an economic benefit to the people of the state through application of existing knowledge to increase rainfall and decrease hail by cloud seeding. In addition, the legislative action recognized the need to enhance knowledge in the field to improve the capability.

The South Dakota Weather Control Commission (WCC) is charged by law with the responsibility for weather modification activities in this state including the development of the statewide program. The Commission was established in 1953 when the basic law, South Dakota Compiled Law (SDCL) 38–9, concerning weather modification was passed. The Commission is composed of ten representatives, seven of whom are appointed by the Governor and three ex officio members representing the Department of Agriculture, the Water Resources Commission and the College of Agriculture of South Dakota State University. Through periodic meetings, the Commission provides general policy and oversight for the functions set forth by the law.

The detailed work of the Commission is conducted by the office of the Director. This office was established as a result of the amendment to SDCL 38–9 by the 1971 legislature. In September 1971, the Director's office began the task of designing, organizinz and initiating the statewide program. This activity represented one of the four functions assigned to the Commission by the Law. These functions also include interstate and federal cooperation, special studies and regulation of all weather modification activities in the state through both licensing and monitoring.

This paper describes the activities of the Weather Control Commission in the design, organization and initiation of the statewide program: Cloud seeding activities during the first season of operation will be summarized, and program effectiveness will be described. It must be recognized that insufficient data can be obtained from a single year's operation to supply statistical significance to the results; therefore, no attempt will be made to indicate the effects of seeding.

II. BACKGROUND

Private associations of farmers, ranchers and businesses have been formed to sponsor weather modification in specific areas of the state since the early 1950's. Funding for these activities were provided by voluntary contributions. At one point in the mid 1950's, operation by a private contractor involved seeding with ground generators in an attempt to affect as much as 60% of the state. Relatively few areas of the state have not been the target of seeding attempts at one time or another.

Passage of enabling legislation in 1963 provided for more organized funding of weather modification through county tax structure. Various long term, county supported projects were developed in both the eastern and western part of the state. Examples of such programs are to be found in the western and northwestern grasslands areas and the northeastern crop area. Numerous shorter term projects were also developed on this basis in the south central and southeastern crop areas. Some measure of the degree to which such activities are supported can be obtained from the fact that county funding for weather modification throughout the state has averaged nearly $100,000 for the past ten years.[1]

Results of these projects were not always documented. Funding limitations did not permit evaluation activities of a significant nature. In fact, funding limitations for projects sponsored by individual counties did not permit adequate operations in many cases. Routine evaluations of the activities based on comparisons of variations from long term normals for target and control areas were made by members of the WCC. Persistent indications of increases achieved by the cloud seeding were obtained from these evaluations. Those Commission efforts led to the support of a more formal evaluation of the locally sponsored efforts by the Institute of Atmospheric Sciences (IAS), South Dakota School of Mines and Technology, during the summer of 1971. This evaluation, which was funded under a contract with the WCC, provided strong indications that increases of 7% to 48% were being achieved in four different projects [3].

While it is recognized that these evaluations do not provide conclusive evidence for cloud seeding effects, they do represent a considerable body of qualitative evidence favorable to the seeding. This information together with research results was considered sufficient supporting evidence to warrant development of the applied, statewide program.

Results of research activities serve as a basis for portions of the program design. The most pertinent results are those obtained by projects in South Dakota. Specifically, concentrated experimentation has been underway by the IAS since 1963. This activity has been under the sponsorship of federal agencies such as the Bureau of Reclamation, National Science Foundation and National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. The research has involved both individual cloud experiments and areal testing. Through the use of scientific design and sophisticated techniques, these efforts have led to results which provide a stepwise program development. In 1969 a pilot project was developed to test the research results over large areas in North Dakota. Subsequent results made it possible for the IAS staff to make the summary statement in November 1971: "However, the overall result of a project based on the present state of the art of cloud seeding and lasting for a season or more should be an increase in total rainfall at the ground" [6]. This conclusion was reinforced by the results of the evaluation of commercial seeding activities during the summer of 1971 [3].

South Dakota results are reinforced by results from other parts of the country and the world. Hail suppression activities in four southwestern counties of North Dakota indicate 30% to 60% decrease in hail [4]. A cumulus experiment in California conducted during the summer months of 1966, 1967 and 1968 provided results indicating significant increases in runoff resulting from cloud seeding [18]. Research on summer systems in Arizona sponsored by the Bureau of Reclamation between 1965 and 1969 provided support for increases resulting from seeding [15]. Experiments in Florida by National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration researchers provides strong evidence for increased precipitation from seeded convective cells [19]. Results of seeding experiments in Australia have led to application of the technology for many years [2]. Carefully conducted experiments in Israel between 1961 and 1967 led to development of an operational program in 1971 [9]. Activities in Kenya since 1967 provide evidence of significant reduction in hail (as much as 60%) with corresponding increases in crop production (tea). [10]. Reports of hail suppression activities in Russia include statements of ability to stop 70% to 85% of the hail for clouds treated by firing silver iodide bearing artillery shells into the cloud.[17].

III. BASIS

The physical conditions associated with weather in South Dakota are characterized by a continental climate with cold winters, warm to hot summers, light moisture in the winter and moderate moisture in the summers. The climate is generally limiting or marginal for most crops in terms of both precipitation and growing season. Winter weather patterns are associated with cold, northerly flow from large, high pressure systems moving into the state from the north or north-west. Warm or hot summer air results from southerly flow which is interspersed with humid conditions when this air originates over the Gulf of Mexico. The entire state is characterized by frequent changes caused by cold fronts and associated low pressure areas moving across the state.[5]

The maximum precipitation occurs during the growing season months. This precipitation varies from 18 inches in the southeast to 10 inches in the northwest, and results predominantly from convective activity with no major orographic influences except in the Black Hills region. Some measure of the degree of convective activity can be obtained from the fact that thunderstorms occur on an average of 40 to 45 days at any one location in the state.

Average increases of 15% to 20% as deemed possible by the research efforts at IAS [14] would provide an additional one to two inches of precipitation during the growing season. Hail may be expected in most parts of the state an average of two to three times a year. Hail losses are estimated to average $30,000,000 per year.[13]

The potential for benefits from weather modification is variable for the activity being conducted. Variations in effect are also noted for different crop types. Preliminary estimates of the benefits to be achieved by an average increase of growing season precipitation of one inch would provide a benefit cost ratio of between 10 and 30 to one [14] through increased crop production. The additional benefit achieved by a 30% to 50% reduction in hail would increase the benefit to cost ratio significantly. In addition, these preliminary estimates do not specifically include benefits to urban areas. Reduction of hail damage and increased water supplies for cities and towns provides an additional significant benefit that is difficult to estimate at this time.

Considerably more detailed studies of benefits are underway by a research team of the College of Agriculture at South Dakota State University. Preliminary estimates have been made of the benefits to be derived from an average increase of one inch of rainfall during the growing season. An example of their findings can be obtained from consideration of wheat production where results indicate increases of one to nine bushels per acre depending on type, location and distribution of rainfall.[7] Continuing studies of a broad range of economic considerations are underway not only by SDSU, but by surrounding Northern Great Plains states as well.[8 11]

Additional studies [11] and consultation with

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farm groups have identified another source of potential benefits in the form of increased preseason moisture. The effect of preseason moisture varies with crop type, but appears to be most important to forage and small grains. Additional investigation may well lead to the development of programs to provide seeding for periods other than the growing season.

Social concerns in the state are associated with agricultural activities since the economy of South Dakota is largely dependent on this industry.

Approximately 70% of the state's economy is derived from agriculture and agriculture related activities.[16] The general trend in farming operations in the last 30 years has been toward increasing mechanization and larger farms. This action has resulted in part from relatively constant prices for farm products while production costs increased. The overall effect of these factors is a resulting out-migration of population in the state. This factor is particularly significant in younger age groups, and results in a general economic and social problem for the state. It is generally accepted that stabilization of the agricultural economy will serve to reduce the social problem, but probably not eliminate it.

An average increase in precipitation of one to two inches of precipitation is generally recognized as a means of improving crop production; and, thereby contributing to stabilization. Opinion surveys indicate that 60% to 80% of the people accept weather modification as a tool to be used for this purpose, and feel that it can produce the beneficial effects proposed.[12] A majority of the people are willing to spend their local and state tax money to support a weather modification program. Legislative approval of both the concept and funding of the program has been provided by the same margins.

The legal aspects of weather modification have been considered on an individual state basis. In this manner, consideration of local conditions and needs has been included in the legal policy of the states. South Dakota claims sovereign right to the use of all water over its boundaries for the benefit of its residents. The law (SDCL 38–9) also provides a general recognition of weather modification as a state function entered into to provide for the general welfare of the public. It further recognizes the state of the art as being capable of producing beneficial changes under certain defined conditions.

The financial support for the program is broadly based throughout various levels of government. State support for the statewide activities is derived from general fund appropriations. The initial state appropriation amounted to $100,000, and was provided by the 1971 legislature for FY 1972 to design, organize and initiate the program. This action was followed by an appropriation of $250,000 for operations in FY 1973. Administrative funds for the conduct of Commission activities were provided under a separate budget appropriation in each case.

Authority for county support of weather modification is provided by SDCL 10–12–18. This law provides that counties may levy a maximum of one mill tax on assessed property valuation for this purpose. The authority to levy and commit funds under this law rests solely with the county commissioners in each case; however, in actual practice it is normally done on the advice of groups in the county. On occasion, the county commissioners have requested that approval to proceed with a program will be obtained by a vote of the people or a poll be taken to determine the wishes of the people.

Funding of weather modification activities by federal agencies has been limited to research either by administrative policy or Congressional directive. Thus, funds for support of the operational aspects of the statewide effort are not available; however, cooperative programs for the support of related evaluation and research activities have been developed. The Bureau of Reclamation participation in the program takes the form of funding support in the amount of $52,000 for a 15 month period to conduct research and special evaluation studies. This organization also supplies special services for operational testing. The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration is also providing support in the form of services and related research.

IV. PROGRAM DESIGN AND ORGANIZATION

Initial investigation indicated that the technical design and organization would be inextricably bound together. Considerations of funding, equipment limitations, personnel availability and other technical features would determine the most effective type of organizational structure. Conversely, existing governmental and private characteristics would effect the technical considerations from the standpoint of location, areas covered and decision-making.

Administratively there was a need to have local involvement in decisions regarding cloud seeding activities by those people most affected by the outcome. After consideration of a number of possibilities it became evident that a local-state cooperative effort was desirable. Examination of governmental structure indicated that county government was the most suitable for local representation. Reasons for this choice included such factors as,[1] county commissions represent an existing governmental structure.[2] they are familiar with local conditions and desires and,[3] they represent the smallest level of government that could provide effective decision-making.

The decision making proposed for the administrative aspect of the program was of two types. First, a decision to participate in a cooperative effort was required. Recognizing dissimilar local needs and desires, this decision was made voluntary. Secondly, decisions on the degree and type of activity needed to be made on the basis of local conditions. Thus, the local administrative structure was required to establish beginning and ending dates and provide recommendations for suspension or termination of activities when adverse effects (such as production of additional rainfall when above normal amounts affected farm operations) were prevalent.

A local-state cooperative feature was also desirable from the standpoint of funding. Such an arrangement would not only provide increased operational capability through a larger budget; but would provide a measure of the need and interest by local groups. Here again, county government was the most logical choice for local-state cooperative efforts. Their authority to tax to support weather modification provided the means for local level support.

After examination of various factors, a cost-share concept was developed wherein the counties provide 25% and the state 75% of the costs. Considerations involved in this concept included the relative role of agriculture in the overall state economy and the ability of counties to raise funds under the one mill limitation. The latter consideration is significant for large counties with major portions of their area represented by nontaxable federal, state or Indian land. This factor has resulted in an inability of several counties to participate despite the unequal cost-sharing ratio.

Physical characteristics were also considered in the program organization. Climatic and soil zones were investigated to provide definition of homogeneous cropping zones. Use of such zones to organize areas of activity would provide the ability to make uniform seeding decisions. This point was quite important in view of the variation in precipitation; and, hence, crop patterns across the state.

In addition, consideration was given to the capabilities of the equipment currently available. Radar and aircraft capabilities provided the primary limitations on the size of the areas considered. Available radar could effectively cover a circle approximately 100 miles in diameter. Light aircraft of the type proposed could also be expected to cover an area approximately 100 miles in diameter without excessive loss in transport time. Minimum equipment required to meet the technical design could provide coverage for areas larger than single counties; therefore, multicounty operation would be more efficient than single county efforts.

All of the above considerations led to the adoption of multicounty districts operated on the basis of cost-sharing. Each of the districts is designed to consist of the counties that fit within a 100 mile circle within the limitations imposed by straight line county boundaries. Local level administration of each district is provided by a coordinating committee composed of one representative of each participating county commission. Districts and their associated counties participating during 1972 are shown in Figure 1.

V. OPERATIONS—1972

State funding for the summer field activities was provided by the 1972 legislature in the form of a $250,000 appropriation. This amount was inadequate to meet the requests by counties representing three full districts and two partially formed districts. The decision was made to provide full scale funding to the two adjacent districts in the southeast portion of the state with supplemental support to on-going county programs in the western and northwestern part of the state rather than try to provide limited support over the entire area requesting. Representatives of the district in the north central part of the state agreed to develop the administrative organization, but forego field operations until 1973 when funds became available. District cost-share funds from participating counties resulted in a total budget of approximately $340,000 from both state and county sources.

Contracts with private operators for equipment and personnel were awarded in March in preparation for field activities during the period May 1 through August 31. Aircraft acquired under these contracts were of the turbocharged, light, twin-engine type, fully equipped for high altitude and instrument operations. Complete navigation equipment provided the capability for day or night, all weather flights to meet the proposed requirement for seeding operations at any time. Each of the three aircraft provided to each complete district was equipped with both acetone-silver iodide type generators with a capability of dispensing silver iodide at a rate of 150 to 300 grams per hour and pyrotechnic devices capable of dispensing 200 grams per minute. Thus, a wide range of capabilities was provided for two types of seeding materials to permit either rainfall increase or hail suppression activities. Aircraft safety was stressed throughout the contract specifications.

Equipment contracts also provided for radar equipment with multiple capabilities. One radar system was located in each complete district with the capability for both storm monitoring and aircraft tracking. Radar storm surveillance provided the capability to detect storm characteristics, determine hail potential, provide seeding direction and coordination and provide continuous recording of all radar information by time lapse photography. In addition, each radar system included standard observing instruments for measuring meteorological parameters.

The requirement for experienced personnel was stressed in both the radar and aircraft contracts. A fully qualified individual with an academic degree in meteorology and experience in radar and/or weather modification work was provided for each district. A

Footnotes at end of article.

radar operator was provided by separate contract to assist the meteorologists at each site, and an electronic technician was provided to maintain and calibrate all radar systems. Three instrument rated, commercial pilots were provided for each site.

All equipment and personnel were ready to begin operations on May 1; however, natural events in the form of above normal rainfall resulting in difficulites to farming operations just prior to the starting date necessitated a delay. This circumstance provided a major test of the effectiveness of the organizational structure which utilized decision-making inputs from local coordinating committees. Normal operations required a full coordinating committee meeting once a month during operations with a telephone poll of each representative once a week to determine recommended operations.

On May 1, all district representatives except one requested that nothing be done to aggravate a situation where excessive rainfall was hampering farm operations. (It should be noted that the representative from one county consistently requested full operation on the basis that the additional rainfall should be obtained whenever possible.) The suspension of rain enhancement activities extended throughout most of May and June, and periodic suspension of rain enhancement activities continued throughout most of the summer.

Crop development by mid-May had reached a stage where the occurrence of hail would cause damage. Accordingly, the Coordinating Committees were consulted regarding the advisability of initiating hail suppression at any time a clear out indication of hail potential was identified. This action represented a departure from the original plan, and was made possible only by the flexibility provided by the local-state cooperative organization.

The results of this type of decision-making can be seen from a comparison of potential operations versus actual operations given in Figure 2. The potential operations represent estimates by the district meteorologist of the total number of aircraft seeding hours that could have been conducted for the weather systems that actually occurred. It should be noted that as the season progressed the potential opportunities decreased and the ratio of seeded to potential hours increased. Table 1 presents a summary of seeded days during the season.

TABLE 1.—SEEDING DAYS AND MISSIONS (1972 SEASON)

	Rain increase	Hail suppression	Both
District I:			
Days	10 (8)	23 (19)	8 (6)
Missions	30	75	
District II:			
Days	12 (10)	16 (13)	13 (11)
Missions	42	75	

Note: Figures in parentheses indicate percent of total days.

Various methods of evaluation are currently underway both by the staff of the WCC and under private contract. Data available for these evaluations consist of the following:

1. Radar cloud intensity and height measurements
2. Raingage observations from National Weather Service networks
3. WCC supplemental raingage observations obtained by cooperative observers
4. WCC hail occurrence observations obtained by cooperative observers
5. American Hail Actuarial Insurance Institute records
6. National Weather Service radar observations
7. WCC seeding operations logs

Evaluation of rainfall is not expected to produce significant results due to the lack of seeded cases resulting from the frequent suspensions imposed on the effort. Some indications of effectiveness may be obtained in the two counties where seeding for rain enhancement was conducted for continuous periods in excess of one month. However, the overall conclusion must be that no valid evaluation of rainfall increases can be conducted for 1972.

Hail suppression evaluations are underway using hail insurance loss records. Historical hail loss records for the period 1928 to 1972 will be used to provide comparisons for evaluation. In addition, comparisons will be made between seeded and unseeded areas and times.

Qualitative evaluations of radar observations, seeding pilot observations and local observers reports are also underway. While this type of evaluation will not provide definitive proof of effectiveness, it does provide valuable background information for modification and improvement of future operations.

A post-program evaluation of costs indicates that the most meaningful estimate for varying size districts is a per unit basis. Using this method provides an average per acre cost of 3.2¢ for 1972 operations. On the basis of a 75% state-25% county basis, the costs are divided 2.4¢ per acre from state funds and 0.8¢ per acre from county funds.

VI. FUTURE DEVELOPMENT

Organizational structure will remain essentially the same for 1973 with the exception of addition of as many new districts as funding permits. The district coordinating committees will continue to provide input to decision-making from the local level while the design, coordination, oversight and budgeting will be provided by the WCC staff. Cost sharing is also proposed to continue on the same basis.

No major changes are proposed for the technical design. Equipment, personnel and operational requirements for individual districts will be modified slightly on the basis of experience gained during the first summer; however, no major changes are anticipated. The emphasis and goals of the program will remain the same.

The major change in the program will be the overall size. A total of 26 countries participated in the program during 1972. In order to provide for effective planning and organization, all counties in the state were notified that requests for participation in 1973 needed to be submitted by September 10, 1972. A total of 42 counties responded representing an increase of almost twice as much area. This increase includes District 3 which was formed during 1972. Plans are currently underway to revise district boundaries and establish new districts to accommodate the additional counties shown in Figure 3. The number of counties and districts will be finally determined by the amount of the budget provided by legislative appropriation, since county funds are already obligated for this purpose. Accommodation of varying size areas is achievable by virtue of the flexibility inherent in the multi-county district organizational concept.

VII. RELATED RESEARCH AND EVALUATION

Funding for the operational aspects of the program is derived solely from state and county sources. Limitations, on funds provided to federal agencies restrict their use to research purposes which precludes federal participation in the operational phases of the program. However, conduct of certain research and evaluation in conjunction with the operations is not only desirable from the standpoint of enhancing knowledge and improving the operations, but required by the directive contained in SDCL 36-9. During the development of the program, cooperative relationships were developed with various federal agencies either directly or through other organizations to conduct special studies.

A contract with the Division of Atmospheric Water Resources Management of the Bureau of Reclamation provides for testing and development of certain models and concepts in an effort to affect a technology transfer from research to operations. Testing during the summer seeding program of the effectiveness for operational purposes of the computer time-share system developed by that organization represented one phase of this project. A subcontract arrangement with South Dakota State University provides for the development of sociological, economic and climatological models with which to evaluate the effectiveness of the seeding program. A second sub-contract with a private firm is designed to provide for development of conceptual models of cloud conditions with which to improve operational coordination and communication. Direct funding provides for establishment of a supplemental raingage network in seeded and unseeded areas in an effort to improve evaluation information. During the summer of 1972 a total of 175 such gages were operated by volunteer observers in the eastern half of the state.

Funding from the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) provides for both direct support and support to the IAS. Initiation of radiosonde operations at Huron, South Dakota on May 1, 1972 to coincide with initiation of the state program contributed significantly to the program. IAS efforts under NOAA funding consisted of efforts to develop techniques for evaluation of the field program through the use of the National Weather Service radar at Huron, South Dakota.

A third cooperative effort involves sociological studies conducted by the Institute of Behavorial Sciences, University of Colorado, under the sponsorship of the National Science Foundation. This program involves a study of attitudes of residents of the state toward the weather modification program. Testing is conducted before, during and after the seeding program takes place.

VIII. REGIONAL PROGRAMS

The possibility of cooperative efforts with adjacent states is being investigated. Planners in both North Dakota and Nebraska have indicated interest in cooperative programs. Organized activities on the part of these states, however, will require legislative action to provide both the structure and funding for such efforts. The primary need at this point is the development of an organizational structure with enough flexibility to recognize the needs and requirements of the individual states.

Current action involves a proposal for joint projects in border counties. Negotiations for such a project have been completed with four counties. North Dakota. It is anticipated that activities in their project will be initiated in 1973. There are needs for additional projects of this nature in other areas of the state where border counties are involved.

In addition to joint operational efforts, a necessity exists to develop an interstate compacts system for operations along state boundaries where no seeding is taking place in the adjacent county. A distinct requirement exists to begin treatment of storm systems before they reach the upwind boundary of the target counties. For example, clouds moving southward from North Dakota to South Dakota should be treated 10 to 20 miles north of the state boundary in order to have an effect on areas in South Dakota immediately adjacent to the boundary. Proper treatment should not cause an effect in areas of North Dakota. Establishment of a compact to permit such activities will require action by the Governors of the states involved, and must recognize differences in state laws regulating weather modifications in each case.

Federal regional programs are under consideration in two areas of the Great Plains. The WCC will continue to cooperate in the

development of these programs. In view of the fact that South Dakota has an operating program, the state may serve as a nucleus for such development. Steps are underway to provide information based on experience gained during the first year to other states establishing programs.

IX. REGULATION

South Dakota has had a law to regulate and monitor all weather modification activities since 1953. This law requires both licensing and reporting of activities. Steps are now underway to modify and expand the existing law to keep pace with both the operational program and new developments in the field. The new law will provide for improvements in the structure and administration of the Commission. It will clarify and expand the functions of the Commission, and strengthen the regulatory authority of the State. To implement the new law a set of rules and regulations are being promulgated for administration of the provisions.

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Key Words: Design, *hail* suppression, meteorology, organization, operation, *rain increase*, water resources, *weather modification*.

Abstract: Design, organization and initiation of a statewide program of weather modification was undertaken by the South Dakota Weather Control Commission in September 1971. This program was designed to provide for increased rainfall and decreased hail by cloud seeding. The design of the program was based on research and operational results obtained in South Dakota and other parts of the country. The organizational structure of the program was based on a local-state cooperative effort for both decision-making and funding. These efforts led to the development of a limited scale field program during the summer of 1972.

PREDATOR CONTROL: M–44 CYANIDE DEVICE A HUMANE AND FEASIBLE TECHNIQUE WHICH MEETS ALL ENVIRONMENTAL OBJECTIONS

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, on January 22, 1972, the President issued Executive Order 11643 which banned the use of chemical toxicants in the control of predators on Federal lands and in Federal programs. That order was followed on February 9, 1972, by an EPA order halting interstate shipment of all pesticides for use in controlling predatory animals. Registration of 11 products, including sodium cyanide, were canceled.

The Department of Interior, which handles Federal predator control, having found that in the past a major portion of all predator control has resulted from the use of chemical toxicants which were outlawed by the two orders, that agency has made an intensified but thus far futile search for alternative methods to control predators. The Department, and all concerned, recognize the absolute necessity of predation control.

COYOTE EXPLOSION

Already the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife (BSFW) which deals with the predator problem for the Department of Interior, reports evidence of a population explosion of coyotes and other predators and, of course, an upsurge in livestock losses. A more accurate analysis of the results of the Executive orders will, according to these officials, be available later this year.

In any event, we know from a multitude of reports from the cattle, sheep, goat, and turkey country throughout the land that coyotes have multiplied and livestock losses have mounted. Indeed the situation has become intolerable.

As I have pointed out, this explosive development was brought on by Government action. It therefore becomes the duty of the Government to provide a remedy, or certainly not to block a feasible and proven solution, to which I shall refer in a moment.

Instead, we find the Government thus far seeking to escape from any responsibility in this area by requesting legislation which would remove traditional Federal participation in predator control and turn that entire burden over to States and livestock producers—after depriving us of the only effective means of coping with the problem.

EXECUTIVE ORDERS ILL ADVISED

Mr. Speaker, the Executive orders to which I have referred were based largely upon what is known as the Cain Report on predator control. That hastily prepared document has been rather substantially discredited in several respects. Even the Department of Interior has found fault with some portions of it. The report undoubtedly contains some very misleading information and some faulty conclusions.

In fact, the propriety of the Executive orders has been strongly challenged by one of the Nation's leading ecologists and experts in the field of chemical toxicants as applied to predation, Dr. Walter E. Howard. He is professor of wildlife biology and vertebrate ecologist in the Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of California at Davis. In referring to Executive Order 11643, this noted environmentalist stated:

> . . . Unfortunately, it has not had intended effects on the environment nor will it prove to have been a wise conservation move. Rather, it has worsened matters for both the farmer and the wildlife species it was designed to protect. It had emotional appeal, but was not based on sound ecological facts or good principles of animal control. . . .

Dr. Howard then proceeded, in his committee testimony, to document his conclusions very convincingly.

But, be that as it may, being realistic I recognize the difficulty of obtaining relief from those Executive orders, at least for the present. What is needed now, and desperately needed without delay, are alternative methods of coping with predators; otherwise it is certain that livestock losses will continue to drive more livestock producers out of business.

ALTERNATIVES TESTED

Recognizing the dilemma created and the Government's responsibility for bringing it about, Interior Department specialists undertook a special program last summer in the Bridger National Forest. The project used crack teams, with aircraft and helicopters. It was successful in terms of coyotes destroyed in relation to sheep losses, but at a cost of approximately $250 per coyote.

Last Spring, following the Executive orders, Secretary of Interior Rogers Morton instructed the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife to initiate a special program to provide assistance to the livestock industry in highly critical areas, using nontoxic methods. That experiment was made from April 17 to October 1, at a cost of $349,500. A report on the results found that aerial control was the most effective and selective, and added this:

It was not effective in (1) protecting poultry, (2) in rugged terrain, (3) in dense vegetation, (4) in bad weather . . ."

Thus, it is self-evident from these experiments that while extensive use of choppers can be fairly effective in some environments, this method of killing coyotes cannot be relied upon in rugged terrain, or where the vegetation is dense, or during bad weather. That finding completely eliminates, for all practical purposes, the use of aircraft and choppers as a feasible means of coping with coyotes, particularly in the entire southwest where we find the principal breeding grounds for cattle, sheep, and goats. That country is, in the main, brushy and much of it is rough. We can always count on the alert coyote to take full advantage of hiding places.

Moreover, in any event the cost of choppers, pilots, and marksmen would be prohibitive unless heavily subsidized by the Government. And such low flying is fraught with much hazard. Only recently a pilot chasing a coyote was killed in a crash.

In addition, predators are at their worst during calving, lambing, and kidding seasons. It is well known in the ranching country that ewes and nannies are extremely sensitive to excessive noises or other unusual disturbances during the critical lambing and kidding periods. Most ranchmen are wary about even riding horseback among them. Noise from low-flying choppers could be disastrous. The animals would scatter, mothers and offspring separated, and any ranchman will tell you that many of the mothers will thereafter disown their young.

AN AVAILABLE, FEASIBLE, EFFECTIVE ALTERNATIVE

Mr. Speaker, what other alternatives can we turn to? Well, it just happens that a technique has been developed, tested for years, and found to be extremely useful. It meets every environmental objection to use of toxicants. I am referring to the M–44, an ejection device, which uses sodium cyanide.

This device has been used by the Bureau for animal damage control since the early 1940's, first in the coyote getter and more recently in an improved version—the M–44. This cyanide ejector technique applies the same principle as the coyote getter except that the chemical is ejected by a spring-loaded piston rather than an explosive charge. This basic difference eliminates the human hazard previously associated with the getter. The results of both are similar.

This perfected device is charged with sodium cyanide which is baited and driven into the ground. Left unattended, it is activated when an animal pulls at the bait. The spring in this device propels the cyanide into the coyote's mouth. By requiring a greater force to release the spring, the improved mechanism adds to the selectivity, according to the Bureau, and limits the kinds of animals capable of pulling it.

The coyote that triggers the device is killed almost instantly. This humane device is highly selective, and that fact is emphasized. As a result of extensive tests in several States by the BSF and W, both on the former explosive device and the improved version with the spring mechanism, the high degree of selectivity was confirmed. (Vol. 7, No. 2, The "Humane Coyote-Getter . . . in Control of Predatory Animals.". The finding concluded:

Of the creatures killed and recovered with coyote killers (getters), about 95 percent were predators.

The same Bureau collected 7 years of data between 1965 and 1971 in Texas, and found:

Overall, coyotes comprise 87 percent of the recoveries . . .

Some were triggered by coyotes wallowing, stock tramping, et cetera.

ONLY OBJECTION TO M–44 IS ITS "PHILOSOPHY"

When Assistant Secretary of Interior Nathaniel Reed testified before the House committee recently, he could cite but two reasons why the M–44 had been outlawed:

It was based two-fold, based on the general thought of removing poisons for controlling depredating animals and secondly, it was non-selective in the sense that a number of other animals are killed by M–44 . . . I think basically the answer would have to go back to the philosophy expressed of the genuine effort to get poisons as a tool away from the use of depredating animals, and I will leave it there, if I may.

Now, just where Mr. Reed got the idea that the M–44 was non-selective, I would not know. He certainly did not get it from the experts in his own Department who are charged with the responsibility of knowing about these things.

In short, the only official objection remaining to the use of the cyanide ejection device is the philosophy of not using poisons in the control of predators. Mind you, this reasoning does not address itself at all to any allegation of ecological harm from the use of M–44.

While not the complete answer by any means, this device is admittedly the safest, most successful, and the least objectionable method that is available. Yet it is prohibited by the Executive orders.

NO AFTER-EFFECTS WHATEVER FROM M–44

The uninformed may say: "Yes, but that poison can pollute the environment and it may find its way into run-off water, or it may poison birds or other wildlife which eat the carrion."

That would seem to be the only possible logical basis for drawing upon "philosophy" as an excuse for outlawing use of the M–44.

But what are the facts? Here are the words of Jack K. Berryman, Chief of the Division of Wildlife Services, BSF and W:

It (cyanide from M–44) degrades very rapidly in an animal's body so there is no persistence or environmental contamination.

Mr. Berryman added there is absolutely no after-effects found in the dead animal, in the ground, or in the atmosphere. The cyanide disappears, evaporates, with nothing remaining to endanger man, birds or animals.

COYOTES TREAT PREY INHUMANELY

The Department has suggested the use of steel traps as the primary alternative to the use of toxicants. It is true that traps have been used for generations. But they are totally inadequate and ineffective as a meaningful answer to depredation problems. And obviously that method is far more inhumane than is the M–44. But speaking of humane aspects, how fares the helpless victims of the blood-thirsty coyote? On that subject, Dr. Howard commented:

The inhumane treatment by predators of domesticated animals exceeds that which any humane society can tolerate.

In that connection let me read from a letter I recently received from a constituent, Tom DuBose, of Uvalde, Tex.:

I can understand how some well-meaning people might think of poison and "coyote getters" as being cruel to wild animals. But these people could not know what real cruelty is unless they actually saw the results of a coyote attack upon a lamb or a kid goat. Many times these predators kill "just for fun" and often don't complete the kill. On several occasions I have had to get off my horse and cut the throat of kid goats that had been torn open but still alive enough to be trying to escape the buzzards.

At the moment I have a coyote killing an average of two lambs every night—lambs that would bring 20 to 30 dollars when weaned. The trapper has been trying his best to catch this coyote, but his most effective, yet humane, tools have been taken away from him—the "M–44 Coyote Getters."

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, let me urge that very serious and prompt consideration be given by EPA and by committees in Congress to steps which would restore the use of the M–44.

It is humane—causing almost instant death of the predator.

It has been proven to be feasible and effective.

The use of it results in no after-effects whatever.

Unless and until a better alternative is discovered, let us restore the use of this effective, humane, and relatively inexpensive device in coping with an extremely serious predator problem.

STEPHEN DIENSTFREY

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, some 11 years ago, a young college student by the name of Stephen Dienstfrey came into my campaign headquarters in Anaheim,

Calif., to ask for a bumper strip for his car. Little did he or I realize on that day that it was the beginning of a long friendship.

I had the good fortune of working with Steve not only that first campaign of mine for Congress in 1962, but also in 1964, 1968, and 1970. As my colleagues are aware, there are many tasks in a campaign. Steve has done them all on my behalf—from running the mimeograph to analyzing election returns.

One of my most pleasurable experiences has been watching Steve grow and mature. In 1966 I spent some time with Steve in the Philippines where he was serving with the Peace Corps. Upon his return to California, he entered graduate school. After completing work on his master's degree, he taught in the sociology department at what is now California State University at Long Beach. During 1971 he served on my Washington staff.

It has been a longstanding policy with me to use the public office I hold to encourage young people to develop an interest and take part in our political processes. Steve has been one of those young people who has made the most of the opportunity to contribute to his country and to build a constructive and worthwhile career for himself. He has merged his experience in campaigns and his experience as a congressional office employee in such a way as to make himself a better citizen and a valued employee. I am confident that Steve will be making a lifelong contribution to his country.

I have recently been informed that Steve is planning to get married in October, 1973, to Miss Beverly Lowenstein of Washington.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to wish Bev, Steve, and their parents—Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Lowenstein of Baltimore and Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Dienstfrey of Laguna Hills, Calif. congratulations and mazel tov.

THE PRESIDENT PLACES THE BLAME

HON. HAROLD R. COLLIER

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. COLLIER. Mr. Speaker, blame for inflation has been put on many scapegoats—the grocer, the farmer, the landlord, the physician, the banker, and the repairman.

The real culprit, however, is none of these. Blame for higher and higher prices, higher and higher rents, and other increases in the cost of living ought to be placed on the shoulders of those who have, through the years, voted for multibillion dollar measures that inevitably led to greater budgetary deficits.

An editorial that recently appeared in the Seymour, Ind., Tribune put the blame where it belongs and deserves a wider circulation. I am therefore inserting it in the RECORD. The editorial follows:

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, 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, not the farmer, not 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.

U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE U.N. ENVIRONMENT PROGRAM

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, last week Mrs. Patricia Rambach, international officer of the Sierra Club, made an excellent statement during hearings of my Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements. The subcommittee held hearings on legislation to authorize U.N. participation in the U.N. environment program, including authorization for contributions to the voluntary fund for the environment. I would like to include Mrs. Rambach's statement in the RECORD so that all of the Members of the House will have an early opportunity to read it:

STATEMENT BY PATRICIA RAMBACH, INTERNATIONAL OFFICER, SIERRA CLUB, HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND MOVEMENTS, APRIL 10, 1973

Mr. Chairman, members of the Committee, I am Patricia Rambach and I have been invited to present comments on H.R. 5696 [H.R. 6768] on behalf of the Sierra Club.

The Sierra Club, an American environmental organization, was established in 1892 for the purpose of preserving and protecting the natural resources of the United States and has a current membership of 140,000 in the United States and abroad. The activities of the Sierra Club have evolved over the years, reflecting the changing membership and the increasing concern of conservation organizations with the broader issues of environmental quality.

In 1971 the Board of Directors extended the range of Club interest beyond the borders of the United States and in April 1972 established an Office of International Environment Affairs located in New York opposite United Nations Headquarters. I am the International Officer for the Club in charge of that Office.

The Club actively followed the preparations for the U.N. Environment Conference, and presented testimony before the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on the 1972 U.N. Conference on the Human Environment on several occasions. In our testimony then, we recommended that the United States Government support the proposal for a U.N. Environment Fund. I am here to urge this support again and the legislation that is before the committee.

As you know the proposal to establish a Voluntary Fund for the environment was introduced by President Nixon on February 8, 1972. At the time he said that if such a Fund were established he would "recommend to the Congress that the United States commit itself to provide its fair share." The United States has stated its willingness, subject to approval by Congress, to pay up to $40 million of the proposed 5-year $100 million Voluntary Fund—a small commitment for the United States.

The Advisory Committee report focused attention on the importance of establishing such a Fund and suggested that the U.S. Government support the Fund with a substantial contribution.

I attended the U.N. Conference on the Human Environment held at Stockholm from June 5-12, 1972 as a member of the Sierra Club's observer delegation. Along with many other non-governmental organizations the Sierra Club was able to witness the shaping of the Declaration of Principles and the 109 recommendations that make up the environmental Action Plan. The United States' role at the Conference was significant. By introducing the proposal for a Voluntary Fund the U.S. showed that it was serious about its concern for world environmental problems. The proposal offered a new and flexible means of additional financing for international environmental programs and provided a way for the industrialized nations of the world to back up their verbal concerns about world pollution with the means to stop it.

The United States is one of a number of highly industrialized countries that is in the unusual position of being both a pioneer in developing sound environmental standards and at the same time having a major

environmental impact by virtue of our dependence on overseas resources, the extent of the pollution we create, and the extent of our international trade and investment. The Government has indicated that it is especially concerned about atmospheric and marine pollution. In order to set up effective measurement and control mechanisms to monitor air and water pollution, the assistance of international agencies will be needed to provide access to other countries. It is through the Fund that these programs will be at least partially financed. The Fund as you know is to be used for financing regional or global monitoring, assessment, and data collecting systems, and for programs the 58-member Governing Council may decide upon. It will also be used to finance wholly or in part costs of new environmental actions undertaken within the U.N. system as a means of infusing environmental concern into international programs. It may be used at times to supplement an existing program in order to complete it faster or to support a project that might not otherwise be done.

Maurice Strong, the Executive Director of the Environment Program, perhaps best described the manner in which the secretariat intends to use the Fund in his statement before the 2nd Committee of the U.N. General Assembly:

"The proposed Environment Fund is designed to support the policy and programme objectives established by governments through the Governing Council. It would help to provide the international funding required to enable agreed program activities to proceed with the greatest possible participation by national and other institutions. By using wisely the relatively modest resources of the Fund as a stimulant, a catalyst, and a supplement to other sources of funding, the new organization would be in a position to influence and facilitate the effective utilization of . . . larger sums that will be spent on the environmental activities . . . by national governments and intergovernmental and . . . nongovernmental bodies.

The U.N. Environment Program thus has two major functions: (1) to point out where environmental considerations must be added and (2) to provide support at sensitive points to ensure consideration.

The Fund was formally approved in December 1972 at the 27th U.N. General Assembly. By June 1973, the U.N. Environment Program will have received assured pledges of $6.3 million for the first year. This combined with support from the United States will be adequate to move quickly into the first year of program.

Since January the new environment secretariat has been developing a program for its first year of operation to be submitted to the first session of the Governing Council for the Environment Program in 1973. This program will outline major objectives and immediate priorities and detail specific action projects to be carried out by international agencies, governments, and non-governmental organizations, with the secretariat acting as a focal point. The secretariat will remain small for maximum flexibility and efficiency. Maurice Strong has explained that he intends to use existing facilities that have proved their effectiveness to carry out projects. There will be no need to add program staff to his office.

The U.N. Environment Program, by broadening the concept of environment to include all aspects of the quality of life—from preservation of wilderness areas to concern for squatter settlements in developing countries, from careful management of natural resources to adequate health and sanitation standards—has enlisted the cooperation and commitment of all countries of the world.

"The central theme of our age," Mr. Strong has said, "is interdependence—the interdependence of all elements which sustain life on this planet." It is an extraordinary opportunity for countries to learn to work together for common purposes. The Environment Fund provides the financial means for the United States to show its commitment to this unique effort at world cooperation. It is a first step toward developing international structures to protect the air, and sea, and land at a global level. It is truly our own best protection of our environment.

NEWARK'S ATTUCKS-KING MEMORIAL PARADE

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, April 15, in my home town of Newark, N.J., our 8th annual Attucks-King parade was celebrated. This year our gathering took on added significance, for "character building through sportsmanship" was selected as our theme and in addition to recalling the lives, achievements, hopes and dreams of Crispus Attucks, and Dr. Martin Luther King, we also set aside this time to reflect upon another man—the late Jackie Robinson.

Jackie Robinson—No. 42, second baseman for the Brooklyn Dodgers, rookie of the year in 1947, most valuable player in 1949, and in 1962, the first black member elected to baseball's Hall of Fame. And all the time, through his skill, his intelligence, his belief in himself, his determination to prove he was not only good, but the very best, he was saying, "Judge me, look at me, for my ability and my achievements, judge me for what I can do and for what I hope to attain." Jackie Robinson, who cracked the crust of bigotry in the baseball world, achieved a breakthrough which had an incalculable effect on the texture of all American life. Jackie Robinson, succeeded in breaking down the barriers that for 70 years made baseball a solely exclusive sport and made it possible for an unbroken string of black stars to enter the big leagues. Jackie Robinson—a man who remained throughout his life a tireless crusader for social and racial justice.

For this first step which Jackie Robinson took on the field of competition in 1947 demonstrated not only that the National Leagues had room for one outstanding black man but that American society was open for all men, regardless of color or creed.

So, too, did Crispus Attucks, by his presence among the early American revolutionaries, demonstrated that freedom and self-determination were to be the inherent rights of all participants in American life. Crispus Attucks, tall and heavily built, carrying only a large wooden stick stood forth as the leader for the courageous gathering of Boston citizens who defended the sentinel at the King Street Custom's House against the British that March night in 1770. Little is really known of his background and historians have been known to quibble over conflicting accounts. What is to be remembered, however, is that Crispus Attucks just seemed to arise and act upon the feelings pounding in his heart and the hearts of all our early colonists to become one of the first martyrs to stand forth for the cause of American liberty. What is to be remembered is that in fighting for justice and freedom, all men work together as a team and are judged by their ability, their accomplishments, and their success.

John Boyle O'Reilly, in dedicating a poem to Crispus Attucks, called upon all of us and asked:

Have we learned through affliction's teaching what our Crispus Attucks knew,
When right is stricken, the white and the black are counted as one, not two?
And so we must come to the learning of Boston's lesson today.
The moral that Crispus Attucks taught in the old heroic way,
God made mankind to be one in blood, and one in spirit and thought;
And so great a boon, by a brave man's death, is never dearly bought.

And Dr. Martin Luther King, could not he have easily stated these words, almost two centuries later, "When right is stricken, the white and black, are counted as one, not two?" Martin Luther King stood as a symbol above color for the imperishable rights of us all. He held a dream for the black, and this same dream for the poor and the disadvantaged, and this same dream still for peace for his country for men at home and abroad.

He said:

It is the need for men to overcome oppression and violence without resorting to violence and oppression.

Martin Luther King—whose militant nonviolence accomplished more in his short lifetime in bridging the gap of fear and misunderstanding than all the violence of the racists, black or white. He made us aware that the better angels of our nature can dominate the struggle of the United States and her people. And the dream of true equality of rights and opportunity for all men is nearer today because in our lifetime there lived a Martin Luther King.

Thus, we can take that baseball field in which Jackie Robinson played and we can do many things to it. We can fence it in. We can build the highest of walls around it and cut if off from the outside world. We can forget to cut its grass and clean its stands and let it remain neglected in years to come. Or, we can open up its doors and build the very best of teams, with the most qualified and the most skillful of players, let us all join together and take the latter course. For I believe, in so doing, we can accomplish a great deal.

Among the numerous officials who were present last Sunday, I was particularly pleased that my distinguished colleague and friend, the Hon. CHARLES RANGEL, was our keynote speaker. I would very much like to share his words with you at this time:

Ladies and gentlemen of Newark, New Jersey I thank you for the opportunity to be with you as we commemorate the death of Crispus Attucks, Dr. Martin Luther King and Jackie Robinson. I am certain that you could include many more on this list of fallen heroes, the late Adam Clayton Powell and Malcolm X come immediately to mind, but there are a host of others who we remember and honor here today.

The newspapers have focused their attention upon the community unity demonstrated in this historic parade on this beautiful day, and it is right that the emphasis be on the common goals that the people of Newark share.

We in Central Harlem, which is just across the river, and our brothers in Bedford-Stuyvesant, South Bronx, in St. Louis, Chicago, Detroit and all the major metropolitan areas of this country have suffered the same common prejudices which are part of the history of the city of Newark. The question is whether or not we will allow the past to determine the future for us, to drag us down to the level of our basest emotions so that our cities literally fall apart from the internal stress of group against group, race against race and person against person, or whether or not the good people will stand forward and protest this trend towards self-destruction and come together in a joint effort to rebuild our cities.

I am confident that under the present leadership of your Mayor Kenneth Gibson and the Congressional leadership of my colleague Peter Rodino, the bad past we have shared will give way to a future of hope and constructive change.

We have leaders that will make a contribution towards making the dreams of our fallen heroes, Crispus Attucks, King and Robinson become a reality. Education, job opportunities, housing and the well-being of our citizens have to be some of our vital concerns so that together we can seek a better life for ourselves and better opportunities for our children.

SELF-HELP AND SENIOR CITIZENS

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, in our complex and bureaucratic modern society, individual and group efforts based primarily or solely on voluntary nonsubsidized and self-help motivations are regrettably becoming more uncommon.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, it is with pleasure I call your attention to a recently activated group of senior citizens in the Milwaukee area who have organized the Society of Retired Catholic Persons, with the purpose of helping themselves by taking advantage of benefits available through the power of group purchasing. The group, originally organized and headquartered in Milwaukee, Wis., also has societies established in other States and is aiming to become an active national organization serving the elderly. State charter enrollments have already been established in the States of Florida, Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Michigan, Illinois, Louisiana, Kentucky, New Jersey, and New York.

Through the use of organized action and group purchasing power, the society is helping Catholic senior citizens qualify for needed services, especially in the areas of hospital, life, and auto insurance. For instance, the society has secured adequate hospital insurance at a lower cost for their individual members than similar insurance would cost the individual arranging for his own private purchase. The price of hospital insurance for a couple under a private plan would be $360 annually, while comparable insurance under the group plan sponsored by the society costs slightly more than $100 a year.

Another example of useful service the society offers to its members is a catalog of non-prescription drugs, prepared and published by the society; a bottle of vitamins which previously cost the individual purchaser $5.87 is available to members of the society for $2.75.

As the membership increases and the society is able to proportionately increase its group purchasing power, the society plans to offer additional benefits and services such as low cost tours offering members a wider diversity of activities now unavailable.

To date, Mr. Speaker, the Society of Retired Catholic Persons has more than 1,700 members, obtained primarily on a word-of-mouth publicity campaign. I commend the society for their efforts thus far and wish them every success in their self-help efforts to assist needy fellow senior citizens.

THE PRESIDENT'S PRESS CORPS QUESTIONS "PEACE WITH HONOR"

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, since the announcement of the Vietnam peace agreement in January most of the journalists that supported the President's policy all along continued to mouth the administration line. We were told that the Vietnam agreement assured "peace with honor," despite the fact that a realistic reading of the document indicated that it assured nothing of the kind.

Now that our POW's have been returned, however, these same journalists are spouting a different line. In an uncommon fit of honesty William Randolph Hearst, Jr., declared on April 1 that:

> While it is true that the U.S. has achieved its own "peace with honor," it would appear that both North and South Vietnam—far from desiring a real peace—have never expected to stop fighting each other.

Columnist Stewart Alsop echoed Mr. Hearst's assessment on April 9 when he declared that:

> He (the President) has endlessly reiterated that the settlement in Vietnam, a major achievement for which he deserves much credit, is "peace with honor." It is not peace, and he will be left vulnerable when it becomes clear that it is not peace.

Mr. Speaker, I commend these men for their perceptive analysis of the Vietnam accords. As I have stated before, the Vietnam accords are being billed as something that they are not. They did succeed in freeing our POW's, and in ending a large part of our involvement in Vietnam, which is no small task. The Vietnam agreements did not succeed in achieving peace, nor, as we have seen from our continued involvement in Cambodia, have they insured the complete extrication of the United States from Indochina.

I am pleased that Mr. Hearst and Mr. Alsop have chosen to speak out on the obvious deficiencies in the Vietnam agreements, and I insert their two articles in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues.

The articles follow:

PEACE WITH HONOR

(By William Randolph Hearst, Jr.)

NEW YORK.—Now that the last of our prisoners and fighting men finally have returned home from Vietnam, today seems an appropriate time to pause in our elation to consider what has been accomplished and—more particularly—what may happen next in that war-ravaged land.

President Nixon, in his eloquent televised speech to the nation on Thursday night, outlined with justified pride what he and the nation have done in the last four years of our 12-year military involvement.

He pointed out, properly, that despite all the frustrating handicaps imposed by his enemy-aiding critics, he has succeeded in his personal vow to withdraw our forces peaceably and with their honor intact.

Far more significant, as he noted, is the fact that the ceasefire reached between the United States and the Communist invaders marked fulfillment of an idealistic commitment which no other nation on earth would have honored at such a cost to itself.

"We have prevented the imposition of a Communist government by force on South Vietnam," he said. "Never have men served with greater devotion abroad with less apparent support at home."

All of which is true. The U.S. has indeed achieved the "peace with honor" sought for so long by the President—a formal peace agreement obtained after halting the mass invasion of a helpless country and leaving that country with all the training and military hardware it needs to protect itself.

Unfortunately, as the President himself was forced to add, what we have seems to be a peace whose terms have been lived up to in general by the enemy only so far as our prisoners are concerned.

It is a peace signed by an enemy to whom the concept of national honor has little meaning, men who regard power as all important and treaties as mere tools in diplomatic maneuvering for eventual achievement of their real goals.

Even more unfortunately, these same conditions and attitudes seem to prevail in the government of the country for which we have sacrificed so much.

It is this combination of facts—and the little understood reasons for them—that call for more understanding if we are not to be disillusioned by possible future events.

Now I certainly don't want to throw away any cold water on the situation, or our part in it. We went into this thing to assure the right of a long-suffering people to choose their own government without outside interference—and we were true to our word, to our everlasting credit.

An enormously complicating factor, however, is the extreme cultural gap which exists between Western societies and the rest of the world—a gap so large that one group frequently doesn't really understand what the other means though he understands his words.

We have all noted, for example, how Communists refer to enslavement as "liberation," or their dictatorship as a "peoples democracy." What is less known is that our Christian ideals of inviolable international law and organization have no basic validity for leaders who consider the conference table as the extension of a battlefield—or for people whose sole idea of good government is the one which interferes not at all in their lives.

This point is touched upon in a fascinating new book, "The Storm Has Many Eyes," written by my long-time friend, Henry Cabot Lodge, who was our ambassador to Saigon in 1963-64, and again in 1965-67. Here is how

he explains many common misconceptions about Vietnam:

"My view (as ambassador) was that the people of South Vietnam had a right to exist independently of North Vietnam . . . (but) the North wanted to conquer the South. I thought from the beginning that an exclusively military solution to the problem was impossible.

"It is important never to forget that South Vietnam is a land without a Western democratic tradition. It did not occur to most Vietnamese that an election was a good way to decide an important problem. The Confucianist tradition, founded on the idea of respect for the ruler, holds that a ruler stays in office and gets respect as long as he deserves it. In their tradition, a coup was the acceptable way to get a change.

"North Vietnam, on the other hand, under Chinese and Russian influence, had become an efficiently authoritarian police state in modern dress, governed with iron control by a small group of determined men. About the only thing in common, governmentally speaking, is that neither Vietnam is a Western democracy."

For a fuller explanation of what this can and has meant to us your attention is called to certain perceptive writings I have been reading recently by Mrs. Adda B. Bozeman, who is Professor of International Relations at Sarah Lawrence College and one of the most brilliant women I have ever had the privilege of knowing.

The main thrust of a paper written by Dr. Bozeman entitled "Law and Foreign Policy" is that the concept of law as held by Western culture is virtually unknown in cultures motivated by such principles as religion, local ethics, social traditions or political forces which use law for its protection, not its people.

"Law," she writes, "is not uniformly accepted in the multicultural modern world whether as a major value, a basic norm, or a symbolic language. It ought not to be viewed (by us) as a mainstay of foreign policy-making."

In other words, don't assume that everyone means the same thing by signing a piece of paper, or that you can apply your laws to them and expect it to mean anything.

In one of her many books, entitled "The Future of Law in a Multicultural World," Dr. Bozeman explores this subject at great length. Only a very few pertinent quotes can be reproduced here:

"The convergence of Asian traditions of state-craft on the idea that politics is war and diplomacy the art of deliberate make-believe or deceit is amply documented.

"The records of the present and the past do not suggest that law will be the basic principle of political organization in Southeast Asia, or that peace and respect for the territorial integrity of states will be dominant ideals. Conflict is a way of life there, perhaps even a major principle of organization.

"There is false sense of moral unity in the Western disposition to identify meaningful accords with firm contractual commitments. This is likely to be illusory, firstly because this form of obligation is not a transculturally valid norm, and secondly because it is more difficult today than it was in an exclusively Occidental state system to know just what sovereignty and independence mean, and how credible and durable any accord is likely to be.

"Under the impact of these developments, war and peace can no longer be viewed as polarized, mutually exclusive conditions. Indeed, the most that can be said of peace today—whether contemplated as a concept or as a political reality—is that it denotes a situation where conflict is controlled."

The quotes which have been offered here on what could be called the conflict between "law" and "lore" are certainly revealing when applied to the situation in Vietnam.

While it is true that the U.S. has achieved its own "peace with honor," it would appear that both North and South Vietnam—far from desiring a real peace—have never expected to stop fighting each other.

I don't want to sound like a pessimist. It is, after all, POSSIBLE that they really have decided to settle their differences political rather than militarily. But it seems increasingly doubtful.

President Nixon, meanwhile, has warned that he will take drastic steps to insure that Hanoi doesn't go too far in its illegal infiltration of the South.

This presumably would mean resumption of a congressional challenge of his power to do so. I earnestly hope they don't provoke him, as he has shown that he doesn't make a threat lightly.

However, the American people have had it up to here with Vietnam.

Our Supererogatory President

(By Stewart Alsop)

WASHINGTON.—The word "Watergate" has become a portmanteau word for all the rascally shenanigans indulged in by supporters of President Nixon, supposedly in the interests of re-electing him. A lot of details about the grubby affair are being uncovered, and there are more to come, but two mysteries remain.

The first mystery is this: as Nixon himself told a reporter before the election, as soon as it was clear that George McGovern would be the Democratic candidate, it was also clear that Nixon would win, and big. So how could any sane person suppose that it was to the President's advantage to bug Larry O'Brien's office, to pay college kids to work as spies in the McGovern headquarters, and the like?

The second mystery is this: from the beginning, the Nixon campaign managers had money coming out of their ears, their eyeballs and every other mentionable orifice. So how could any sane person suppose that it was to the President's advantage to cut legal corners, to take large sums from suspected crooks or to cart great mounds of cash around in suitcases?

It may be that there are no sensible answers to these questions, except that seemingly sane people sometimes act in an insane way. And yet it is interesting to speculate about the answers. The place to start is with the President himself. It seems safe to assume that the President had no detailed knowledge, and more probably no knowledge at all, of what was going on.

OBVIOUS

Mr. Nixon is not at all a fool. It therefore seems obvious that if he had known about the bugging, the money washing, and all the other hanky-panky, he would have recognized the danger instantly, and put a stop to it.

And yet the President sets the tone of his Administration, as an experienced hostess sets the tone of her party. The President has, and always has had, one unvarying characteristic—an almost ungovernable impulse to indulge in supererogation. He has a compulsion to go too far, to try too hard, to press, as the athletes say, when he ought to hang loose.

In the 1934 Whittier College year-book, there is an easily recognizable photograph of a skinny football player with a ski-jump nose and a do-or-die expression. Nixon was, by all accounts, a terrible football player—he was used as a sort of animated tackling bag by the better players, and he hardly ever got into a game. When he did, a football lineman who was a Nixon classmate once told me: "I always braced myself for those 5-yard penalties. Dick was so eager he'd be offside just about every play."

HALLMARK

The supererogatory impulse that took the young Nixon off side just about every play has been a hallmark of the President's career. The "old Nixon" was given to rather sleazy debating tricks ("Isn't it wonderful, finally, to have a Secretary of State who isn't taken in by the Communists?"). This sort of thing was not worth a vote to him—in fact, the memory of the "old Nixon" probably elected John Kennedy in 1960. So the things the President said and did in the "rocking, socking" campaigns of his youth seem less a matter of cool calculation than of impulse, of some inner necessity.

These days, the supererogatory impulse takes a somewhat different form. It has repeatedly led him to go too far, to exaggerate each achievement in such a way as to leave him vulnerable later. He called the Apollo 11 flight "the greatest week in the history of the world since the Creation." This irked his friend Billy Graham and other churchmen, since it rather downgraded the birth of Christ.

He called the Smithsonian agreement (which subsequently collapsed) "the most significant monetary agreement in the history of the world." He has endlessly reiterated that the settlement in Vietnam, a major achievement for which he deserves much credit, is "peace with honor." It is not peace, and he will be left vulnerable when it becomes clear that it is not peace.

A President with a supererogatory impulse attracts around him people with a similar impulse to overdo, to press, to indulge in the superfluous. Charles Colson cannot have helped much with the grandmother vote, when he said that "I would walk over my grandmother if necessary" to insure Nixon's re-election, but the remark was typical enough of a lot of over-eager young men in the Nixon entourage.

"In the campaign, there were maybe a couple of hundred young guys in the White House or near it you and I never heard of," says a Republican Senator. "They'd all walk over their grandmothers to elect Nixon, and most of them think a liberal Democrat is next thing to a Communist."

The "couple of hundred young guys" were strictly political amateurs, like the bell-bottomed McGovern youths, initially hailed as geniuses by the gullible press. Like McGovern's bellbottoms, Nixon's button-downs were essentially ideologues, with the tunnel vision that always leads ideologues to muck things up.

President Nixon has always had curiously few true political pros in his inner circle. In campaign time, the only pro fairly close to the throne was Clark MacGregor, who wisely but futilely argued for a policy of lancing the Watergate boil by indignant full disclosure right away.

AMATEURS

The other old hands were amateurs. Like many men with long faces who smoke pipes and grunt a lot, John Mitchell acquired a reputation for political shrewdness, but the only thing he did to earn it was to follow his wife's advice to get away from "all those dirty things that go on." Maurice Stans is undeniably expert at squeezing the fat cats, but he squeezed them in such a way as to cause maximum embarrassment to his principle.

Add to the supererogatory impulse and political amateurishness a dash of Walter Mittyism—it is clear that some of the CREEP types who went in for bugging telephones and lugging cash around in suitcases had been watching too much private-eye television—and you have a recipe for disaster. One wonders if the President realizes just how disastrous it may be to his prestige and authority when the Sam Ervin show hits the television screens.

There is a sadness here. President Nixon is an intelligent, able, hard-working man who, as Walter Lippmann said recently, has "done pretty well" at playing a "disagreeable role . . . imposed upon him by historical necessity." In some ways, he has done better than that. The extrication from Vietnam, the détente with the Communist pow-

ers, were great achievements. Yet the big things he has done may all be obscured by a silly, tawdry and purposeless exercise in political supererogation.

DIMMING THE LAMPS OF LEARNING

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

OF NEW YORK

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, of late I am getting a distinct feeling that our Nation is quick-stepping to the rear insofar as vital social progress is concerned. No sooner does one vital social program stumble and fall because of a quick stabbing hamstring cut by the Office of Management and Budget, than another crashes to earth.

In education and health, we are witnessing the disastrous dismantling of 40 years of social advancement. Programs long considered sacrosanct are being crippled with satisfaction by this President.

Federal aid to handicapped citizens was not only vetoed, but when that veto was sustained, the President noted it with great satisfaction and even threw a party at the White House for those noble souls who cut off Federal aid to 12 million handicapped Americans.

No more hospital building. No more aid to impacted area schools. No more community mental health centers. And now, no more libraries will receive Federal aid funding.

Millions upon millions of our people owe their major advancement in life to free libraries. Untold numbers of immigrants found the key to the locked doors blocking them as a result of the gift of knowledge available through our free library system. Now the President proposes to end Federal aid to this network of institutions. No worse shame can darken the brow of our Nation. No greater confession of moral and intellectual bankruptcy could be proclaimed. No more selfish, unfeeling act has been forthcoming from this administration, which seems to specialize in such actions.

For 1974, the Library Services and Construction Act is slated to receive zero funding. This applies to library programs under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act and the Higher Education Act.

Simultaneously, however, this President piously proclaims National Library Week. Hark to his message to America's librarians:

> An efficient and readily accessible library system is essential to the Republic.

How nice of him to tell us.

Here is how funding cuts will affect us. There are two major kinds of impact. First, innovations reaching the poor and previously unreached will be eliminated. This means storefront branches and bookmobiles. Second, much of the entire attempt to reach the deprived will wither. This includes the blind, physically handicapped, homebound, hospital patients and people in prisons. Few will maintain access to library resources as a result of the cuts. The White House mumbles on about revenue sharing taking up the slack. That, it seems, is its standard answer to anguished protests greeting its massive surgeries on domestic programs. Yet there are some who remember that when revenue sharing was offered, it was pointed out that the concept was not offered as a substitute for already existing, functioning program. So much for veracity.

The administration says Federal aid to library programs have been notably successful. Therefore, runs its rather convoluted logic, such programs should be terminated forthwith. This is the same overpowering reasoning employed on ending aid to community mental health centers. Either way, the American people lose.

Here are some facts for Americans to ponder: For the final 6 months of last year, the University of Michigan library was unable to buy any books. Nearly 40 percent of U.S. elementary schools lack libraries. In some States as many as 95 percent of elementary schools have no libraries. Twenty million Americans live in neighborhoods where no library exists.

The American Library Association has begun to fight back. On May 8, libraries across America will dim their lights in symbolic protest against the President's action.

What is at stake here is the precious right of the public to know. Millions of citizens use these libraries for a wide variety of access to what is being said across the Nation and around the world. Periodicals in libraries are accessible to people who ordinarily would not be able to afford or otherwise read them.

But then, much of this administration's stock in trade is restricting the right to know of both the public and the Congress.

Administration mouthpieces and flacks blather on that all cuts are being made in the name of saving public money. Why do we pay taxes? For certain essential services. Among them is the right to be informed and to be enlightened by publicly supported institutions such as libraries, which have proven their worth again and again in generation after generation. This administration, embracing secrecy as an article of faith and self-preservation, is doing more than burning books. It is smothering information.

However, this administration has set several precedents for all this, so we should not be all that surprised.

The handicapped have already been advised to shift for themselves. Now the blind, and others dependent upon libraries, are told to do the same.

Only congressional action can save this program. Only leadership and determination on the part of Congress can prevent the lamp of learning from being dimmed across the land.

AMERICAN HERITAGE

HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues a unique educational venture which is available to students in Indiana which I believe has some merit as we attempt to give our young people a heritage of which they can be proud.

The Imperial Equipment Corp., of Lafayette, Ind., has brought some 11,000 Hoosier students to Washington, D.C., since February of 1970. Through well-planned, 1-day field trips to the Nation's Capital, these students are exposed to the scientific, governmental, and historical background of our great Nation.

At a nominal cost, these young people are exposed to much of the heritage of which we Americans have come to be so proud.

It is my wish that everyone in America would someday be able to visit their Nation's Capital and other historic places which have meant so much in making America the greatest country in the world. I believe that Imperial educational programs has come forward with a way in which that wish may someday come true.

INCREASE FEDERAL GAS TAX TO SET UP A FUND FOR MASS TRANSIT

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, as one who has been an enthusiastic supporter of the highway trust fund and an original endorser of the Federal Highway Act which set up this unique method of financing and constructing a true Interstate Highway System, I have been concerned by the attempts of the advocates of mass transportation to violate the original concept of the fund for the purpose of financing much-needed urban transit systems.

As long as there are unfinished portions of the Interstate System it does not make sense to me to dilute the fund for other uses. It is true that the number of automobiles has more than doubled and the gasoline tax receipts are more than originally conceived when the plan was put into effect back in the 1950's but it is also true that despite the balance of dollars that have come into the trust fund there are incomplete links that keep the system from being truly effective. Two such relatively short missing links are in San Diego County and this is the reason for my personal concern.

If a priority can be put on the completion of the network of highways I am inclined to vote for the Anderson/Grover amendment which the administration supports and which gives a modicum of relief to the badly congested urban areas.

I do believe the most logical answer, however, is an increase in the Federal gas tax to set up a fund especially for mass transit. We have seen in recent years the establishment of an airport development fund and there is no reason why such a financing system should not be worked out for mass transit. In addition to gasoline taxes an override on subway and urban rail transportation

systems should also be levied as a means of correcting this increasingly horrendous problem of transportation congestion in our cities. An article in the Los Angeles Times of April 16, authored by A. Alan Post, a distinguished California legislative analyst suggests a means of producing the revenue to alleviate the pollution and congestion that are the twin plagues of our urban freeway systems.

I include Mr. Post's thoughtful article as a portion of my remarks:

FASTEST ROUTE TO CLEAN AIR: HIGHER GAS TAX TO TURN CAR DRIVERS INTO BUS RIDERS

(By A. Alan Post)

The Los Angeles air pollution problem calls for a rather immediate solution. I don't think anybody questions that.

The only way a reasonable, immediate solution can be developed is to approach the problem in terms of "what is now"—that is, making do with what we have—as opposed to thinking about the ideal public transportation system.

If we are going to use public transportation as a tool to discourage the use of the automobile and thus reduce pollution in Los Angeles, we must in the short run talk about buses and deploying them for a more efficient use of our freeway and street system.

While a rail rapid transit system may, conceivably, be the best long-term mass transit solution, it is just that—a long-term solution. The hard facts are that if everyone agreed today that a rail transit system should be constructed, a short-term solution would still be needed because of the seven to ten years that would be required to build it.

So how do we go about making the most efficient use of what we have?

We must, first and foremost, create the desire to use mass transit. The most likely group of automobile users who would, under certain conditions, switch from the car to public transportation are persons who commute to work.

This group is not only the most important because of numbers but because it is responsible for the greatest concentrated travel and, therefore, is the producer of the highest concentration of vehicle emissions. In addition, as a practical matter, no major expansion of a public transit system can be successful unless the commuter market is penetrated.

Obviously, a solution calls for more than simply purchasing more buses to move more people. Transportation studies invariably cite the same factors as determinants when people are deciding among modes of travel. When an alternative to the auto exists, prime variables that travelers consider in arriving at a decision are cost, travel time and comfort.

Initially, cost would seem to be the most effective tool for discouraging automobile use and inducing use of public transportation. Thus, in order to change travel patterns in the Los Angeles Basin, various economic incentives could be instituted. The sales tax on gasoline could be increased, graduated weight fees could be imposed on cars, and license and parking fees could be raised.

However, studies also show that the desire to use the car is highly inelastic and that most of these taxes, especially if used alone, would not be very effective in discouraging auto travel.

On the other hand, transportation studies indicate that a reduction in travel time, particularly as it pertains to the commuter, seems to offer the greatest incentive for switching from the automobile to public transportation. This is especially true when shorter travel time is linked to a cost disincentive for automobile users.

Based on these factors and assumptions, I would like to suggest an approach using a combination of disincentives to offset the continued reliance on the automobile coupled with a corresponding set of incentives to encourage the use of public transportation.

I propose an increase in the sales tax on gasoline within the counties of the Los Angeles Air Basin. The added tax revenue would be utilized to expand the present bus transit system—essentially that of the Southern California Rapid Transit District. In addition, I urge a more effective utilization of the present 700-mile freeway system by designating high-speed freeway lanes in selected areas during peak travel hours for exclusive use by buses.

It is astonishing to me that a system of special bus lanes has not already been instituted. In 1969, the Legislature authorized the Department of Public Works to provide for preferential or exclusive use of freeway lanes for public transportation. While the department does not bear the full responsibility for not implementing the legislation, what it has chosen to do in constructing the 11-mile El Monte-to-Los Angeles Busway must be termed a marginal effort.

Many experts claim that the busway, which is physically separated from the rest of the freeway, is simply not long enough to bring about a significant change in use patterns. They also believe that physically separate busways have a built-in disadvantage as a solution to the immediate air pollution problem in that time is required for construction. By contrast, the use of existing highway lanes for buses has the advantage of economy and immediate availability.

If gasoline were made more expensive by an increase in the sales tax, most automobile users would simply accept the higher cost and continue to shun public transportation. However, by using high-speed freeway lanes, buses would develop a clear travel time advantage over the private auto, and those persons continuing to drive their cars would realize no advantage for the added cost and, in addition, would suffer a predictable disadvantage relative to the bus—in part because the automobile capacity of our freeways would be effectively reduced.

At present, the seven transit organizations in the basin have a combined fleet of approximately 1,800 buses. The largest system, the Southern California Rapid Transit District, has more than 1,500 buses.

The RTD has broadly projected that a system developed around preferential bus lanes would require 5,000 to 8,000 new buses. (The system I contemplate may eventually require even more vehicles.) For 8,000 buses the capital cost would be approximately $360 million, which could easily be financed by a gasoline sales tax increase.

I can only generalize as to the amount of a tax increase until precisely defined estimates of the cost of the program are determined. However, a 15% per gallon sales tax on gasoline in the Los Angeles Air Basin would generate approximately $281 million per year, which would be sufficient since the capital cost of $360 million for purchasing 8,000 buses would be expended over approximately two years because of the manufacturing time involved.

RTD is currently subsidized at a rate of approximately 34% of operating expenses, with the funds being raised by the 0.25% added to the general sales tax and earmarked for transportation. If 8,000 buses were added to the system, an additional $156 million per year would be necessary under the current levels of subsidy. Since an increase in the sales tax on gasoline would particularly affect low-income groups, various levels of additional operating subsidies should be considered.

No estimate can be given at this time for the cost of constructing on and off ramps along freeways for buses. However, the latter cost would be flexible, given the fact that buses could begin to operate immediately on existing freeway facilities.

I appreciate that a major increase in gasoline prices by imposing higher sales taxes would have a rationing effect that would not be acceptable to many people, yet I would not have suggested it if I did not think that this method would be less disruptive and more effective than quantity rationing of gasoline.

The approach I suggest is flexible. There is little doubt that it is economically possible to impose sufficient taxes on gasoline to produce a reasonable reduction in driving. Thus, the consequences would be similar to quantity rationing.

But whether as a rationing device or as a disincentive, another result of a higher sales tax would be to produce the funds for public transit in lieu of the automobile. The tax could be adjusted in the future to compensate for, or recognize changing public attitudes toward, the use of automobiles in the basin.

Obviously, not everyone who desires to use public transit would be able to use it because of the complex and scattered travel patterns in the Los Angeles area. This is a critical aspect of the problem. Some people may suffer inconvenience, some may use car pooling in public transit does not meet their needs, and some simply may be unable to commute or travel as much as they do now.

This is a real cost that has to be balanced against better air quality, and also is the reason for doing everything possible to provide good quality, convenient and speedy public transportation.

Yet some residents may still have such serious transportation problems that they will have to make decisions about changing their living places or jobs. As I see it, this is the impact of vehicle emission controls on land use—an increasing number of people must think about travel distances and mobility problems when selecting places to live and to work.

Such a long-term adjustment, would, I hope, cause more people to make decisions that reduce rather than increase their travel—while still maintaining as nearly as possible the quality of life that they want.

Eventually the result should be higher land use densities around centers of employment, increased availability of public transit and decreased propensity to scatter the location of schools, shopping centers, businesses and public facilities.

The foregoing is an approach rather than a program. It attempts to deal with people's attitudes and ways of life—critical factors that cannot be quantified in calculating oxidant values.

This approach is realistic, I believe, in that it puts into perspective the broad range of economic, regulatory and other considerations that confront any effort to attain the goal we all seek: a major improvement in the air quality of Los Angeles.

COPERNICUS AND THE CHANGING WORLD—A NEW EDITION

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Edward C. Rozanski, general chairman of the Copernicus Observance Committee for Illinois, has brought to my attention a fine publication and excellent reference source on the life of Mikolaj Kopernik titled "Copernicus and the Changing World." This account of the life and

background of Copernicus, whose 500th birthday the world is celebrating this year, is told with great sensitivity, and should appeal to a wide group of readers.

At this point in the RECORD I wish to insert an introduction by Dr. Rozanski regarding the conception of this publication. His statement follows:

Since its inception, the Mikolaj Kopernik—Copernicus — Quincentennial Observance Committee of Illinois decided that the occasion called for a program of historical publications. That program was formulated with the advice of a committee headed by Mitchell Kobelinski, President of the Illinois Division, Polish American Congress. We are grateful to the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences in America, Canadian Branch at McGill University and to Prof. Tadeusz Romer, Director of the Canadian Branch for making this edition possible in the United States.

Wanda M. Stachiewicz has placed us all in her debt for an outstanding monograph depicting the life and works of Mikolaj Kopernik, the great Polish astronomer, founder of modern astronomy and author of "De revolutionibus orbium coelestium."

Mikolaj Kopernik—Copernicus—represents one of the most brilliant minds of the Renaissance. We hope that this monograph will reach as wide a readership as it deserves.

EDWARD C. ROZANSKI,
General Chairman.

UNLIMITED TRADE AUTHORITY CAN BE A TWO-EDGED SWORD

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, a Nashville newspaper, the Tennessean, recently published an editorial concerning the request by the President for new discretionary powers with respect to international trade.

Because of the tremendous interest in this subject by my colleagues and the American people, I place the editorial in the RECORD herewith.

The editorial follows:

UNLIMITED TRADE AUTHORITY CAN BE A TWO-EDGED SWORD

The President's trade measure is as sweeping as predictions had indicated. He wants unrestricted power to do as he likes in the arena of international trade.

That might not be so bad if the Congress and the American people had any idea of how he would use such enormous power. Mr. Nixon has often spoken in ways that would lead one to believe he is for free trade and against any kind of economic isolationism.

But the President has a record of major flip-flops on positions. At one time he was against any immediate moves to improve relations with Communist China. At one time, he was staunchly opposed to controls on the economy. He steadfastly criticized budget deficits among other things.

Nobody can say with certainty that Mr. Nixon won't be as fully committed to protectionism tomorrow as he seems to be in favor of free trade today.

The legislation he is asking is in part ambiguous.

There is something for both sides. The thrust of the message is one of favoring free trade, but it also contains provisions for instant protectionism, almost at the whim of the chief executive.

The proposed legislation would give "most favored nation" status to the Soviet Union and China, putting their exports to this country in a competitive position with products of free world nations entering the U.S. market.

It would give the administration power to decide when a trading nation appeared to be discriminating against American goods, and to retaliate with temporary higher tariffs or quota restrictions against products of that country. At present such retaliation can only be imposed against a country which is violating international trade agreements.

The danger here, if that power were not used wisely, would be in setting off an old-fashioned trade war, or the use of "dollar diplomacy" to force other nations to do what the U.S. wants. In either case, the results could be damaging to the United States economically and diplomatically.

There are problems of trade discrimination against the U.S.

There are instances in which the administration needs a bargaining lever to negotiate an end to unfair treatment of American goods. Obviously, some of the bargaining has to be rather tough.

But the Congress should be extremely wary of handing over to this—or any—administration unlimited and unchecked power to deal with the flow of commerce in the world. It should not shackle the President's hands, but it should build into any trade legislation enough safety valves to prevent the country from plunging into a self-destructive course of action without means of escape.

RETIREMENT OF DR. ROGER CONANT

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Roger Conant, director of the Philadelphia Zoological Garden and who has been affiliated with the zoo for nearly 38 years, will retire May 31 to join the faculty of the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque. His place will be taken by Ronald T. Reuther who is currently serving as director of the San Francisco Zoo.

In announcing the pending change in the zoo's top position, John G. Williams, president of the Zoological Society of Philadelphia, stated, "We are sorry indeed to lose Dr. Conant. His career has been long and distinguished, and thousands of persons think of him as "Mr. Zoo." He has asked for an early retirement in order to resume his scientific studies with reptiles and amphibians, and we have reluctantly complied with his request."

Dr. Conant joined the zoo on July 1, 1935, as curator of reptiles, a title he still holds. He soon also became public relations director and played a large part in the building up the attendance from fewer than 300,000 visitors a year to the well over a million of the past seven seasons. He was named director of the zoo on January 1, 1967, when he succeeded Freeman M. Shelly.

Many residents of the Philadelphia area remember Dr. Conant for his numerous television appearances and for the "Let's Visit the Zoo" radio program he personally conducted for nearly 34 years.

Less well known to the general public is his scientific output, which has included 3 books and more than 150 papers, he is widely recognized as one of the country's leading herpetologists.

Dr. Conant played a major role in developing the new naturalistic techniques at the zoo in which the animals live in areas resembling their native habitats. During his regime the hummingbird exhibit and the reptile house were completed, the wolf woods will open in the spring, and work is now underway on an African plains exhibit that he conceived and which was enthusiastically supported by the zoo's board of directors. He personally, in collaboration with the architects, designed the reptile house. He is particularly proud of the zoo's new educational program, which recently was inaugurated with the aid of a professional teacher, supplied by the school district of Philadelphia, and with the support of the Docent Council, a group of volunteers who are taking children on tours of the zoo.

SUPPORT FOR MASON NECK

HON. STANFORD E. PARRIS

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. PARRIS. Mr. Speaker, because of planned budget cuts by the Department of the Interior, the Mason Neck Wildlife Refuge located in my district, is losing its last full-time employee. The resident manager's job at the refuge has been eliminated and the employee now holding that position is being transferred. Mason Neck, according to Department of the Interior officials, will now be under the control of the Blackwater National Wildlife Refuge, which is more than 60 miles away on the other side of Chesapeake Bay.

This action has caused great concern among my constituents, because Mason Neck is the only national refuge for bald eagles and one of the few nesting areas for eagles on the east coast. At present there are two mating pairs of eagles at Mason Neck, but without the protection of the Department of the Interior their future is uncertain.

The Virginia Sentinel recently wrote an editorial on the growing concern about this situation and I would today like to insert that article in the RECORD:

SAVE MASON NECK FROM INTERIOR

The Fairfax Board of Supervisors this week voted to opposed a budget cutback by the U.S. Department of the Interior which is leaving the Mason Neck National Wildlife Refuge bereft of daily supervision.

We join the Board in its concern.

The 904 acre refuge is the first and only one for the Great Bald Eagle, symbol of this country. It is on a peninsula whose indigenous flora and fauna are fast disappearing in other areas of the East Coast.

The Board position was spearheaded by Mt. Vernon Supervisor Herbert E. Harris II, and he phrased the problem succinctly in a letter to Interior Secretary Rogers C. B. Morton. We quote:

". . . this action would have the immediate effect of closing the refuge and the long term prospect of destroying it forever.

"As I am certain you are well aware, the 904 acre Mason Neck National Wildlife Refuge is the first and only refuge for the Great Bald Eagle. It was established in 1969, under the provisions of the Endangered Species Act of 1966. The preservation of this emblem of our great nation in its nesting habitat,

just 15 miles from the District of Columbia, as well as the protection of the valuable flora and fauna indigenous to this peninsula is absolutely essential.

"The conservation effort represented here on Mason Neck is, in and of itself, most significant and would certainly warrant continued operation; however, when viewed as part of a broader picture, the significance becomes even more demonstrable.

"Efforts over the past decade by the Audubon Naturalist Society, the National Wildlife Federation, the Wilderness Society, the National Parks Association, the Izaak Walton League, the Regents of Gunston Hall, the Northern Virginia Conservation Council, the Nature Conservancy, the Conservation Committee for Mason Neck, the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments, the Virginia State Board of Conservation and Economic Development/the Virginia Division of Parks, the Northern Virginia Regional Park Authority, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, the Fairfax County government, and literally thousands of concerned individual citizens have managed to save almost 5,000 acres of Mason Neck's 8,000 acres for the enjoyment and education of all our citizens by placing it in the hands of public agencies for park and wildlife refuge purposes. I know of no other instance where so many divergent groups, both private and public, have worked so well together in a coordinated effort.

"The Virginia Commission on Outdoor Recreation has stated that 'the Mason Neck complex is one of the finest composite park areas on the Eastern Seaboard.' I would go even further and unequivocally state that it is *the finest*. To allow an integral part of the foundation of this complex to be yanked out from underneath it would destroy . . . the complex."

Lack of supervision would leave the refuge open to vandals, persons riding forbidden motorized vehicles and unauthorized hunters, Harris and others fear. This quiet refuge could easily be destroyed, its nesting eagles scattered and the work of countless individuals and organizations who labored to save the Mason Neck peninsula as unspoiled wilderness turned into a wasted effort.

The change will save Interior $25,000 a year. "Supervision" will be carried on by one person who will have to travel from his station in Cambridge, Md., to look the site over. Such a supervisor it expected to visit Mason Neck about once a month.

This lack of supervision is patently incompatible with preservation of the bald eagles' nesting area.

We do not believe that Americans will not pay $25,000 a year to aid the fast-disappearing eagle when millions are being spent to bail out investors in defense industries.

For Secretary Morton to leave 904 acres open to any predators in the name of economy is unconscionable and ultimately a waste of the public funds used to acquire the refuge. We urge him to reconsider his action.

PAKISTANI PRISONERS OF WAR ARE NOW PRISONERS OF THE PEACE

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, over 15 months ago the war between India and Pakistan was concluded. Indian and Bengali objectives were achieved; Pakistan, as the vanquished foe, was stripped of a large portion of the territory it once controlled. This area has since become the nation of Bangladesh.

Since that time, according to our State Department, Indian POW's held by Pakistan have been released. India, however, still holds 90,000 Pakistani POW's in camps in India. The purpose of holding POW's in wartime is to neutralize them as effective fighting forces. This is a legitimate wartime aim, and I do not mean to challenge it here. This war, however, has been finished for some time. Since there is no legitimate wartime objective to be served by their continued detention, why, 15 months after the end of hostilities, have these men not been repatriated?

The United Nations has called for full implementation of the 1949 Geneva Convention on the part of all sides by a unanimous vote of the Security Council. Pakistan has made a material contribution to the final settlement of this dispute by its release of the Indian POW's. Viewed in this light, the continued detention of Pakistanis in India makes them solely and completely political prisoners held hostage to Indian foreign policies. There is no war, thus there can be no compelling military reason preventing their release.

This type of playing of politics using POW's was widely condemned very recently when indulged in by the North Vietnamese on a much smaller scale; certainly it cannot be condoned now. It is to be hoped that India will soon release all these POW's in consonance with its obligations to the world community.

DEBATE ON THE ISSUE OF ABORTION CONTINUES

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, as the debate on the issue of abortion continues in Congress and across the Nation the significance of the Supreme Court's January 22, decision becomes more and evident. Today I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to a recent article by William F. Buckley, Jr., regarding an appeal by the State of Connecticut asking the Supreme Court to review its January decision. The article follows:

[From the New York Post, Mar. 31, 1973]

CONNECTICUT'S APPEAL

(By William F. Buckley, Jr.)

The press has not widely noticed an extraordinary appeal that has been lodged by the States of Connecticut asking the Supreme Court to review its decision of last January in respect of abortion. On that occasion the Court ruled that no state can deny a woman the right to an abortion during the first few months of her pregnancy on the grounds that the fetus is not a "person" in any constitutional sense and is not therefore entitled to the protections given to a person. The court was not itself anxious to rule just when in the embryonic process someone comes alive, satisfying itself to say that "We need not resolve the difficult question of when life begins."

The State of Connecticut reminds the Court that in 1966, in Brookhart vs. Janis, the Supreme Court observed that "When constitutional rights turn on the resolution of a factual dispute, we are duty bound to make an independent examination of the evidence in the record." It is such an independent examination that the State of Connecticut has conducted. And 14 states of the union have joined Connecticut, as amici curiae. The Court is considering the matter at this moment.

Connecticut has imposed upon itself rigorous scientific responsibilities, to which end it begins its 55-page brief with testimony from scientists. Dr. Albert William Liley is professor in perinatal physiology in the Postgraduate School of Obstetrics and Gynecology at the University of Aukland.

"In 1963," says Dr. Liley, "I developed a technique for the transfusion of blood to the baby *in utero*. This work demonstrated conclusively that the unborn child, like any other person, could be ill and could have his disease diagnosed, his condition, assessed, and his malady successfully treated."

In a number of genetic and biochemical problem, definite diagnosis can be established as early as the 14th week, and, in the Rh baby, therapy has been undertaken as early as the 18th week of intrauterine life. With advances in technology these limits will be moved back earlier in pregnancy. The unborn child is my patient, and I respect and protect his life as I would the life of any other patient."

Dr. Hymie Gordon is chairman of the dept. of medical gentics at the Mayo Clinic. He introduces his testimony philosophically. "The modern biological concept of human individually is remarkably in harmony with that of some of the oldest theological concepts. The Rabbis of the Talmudical period and the early Christian Fathers taught that life entered the fetus at the moment of conception. Modern biology teaches the same thing.

True, environmental influences both during the intrauterine period and after birth modify the individual's constitution and continue to do so right until his death, but it is at the moment of conception that the individual's capacity to respond to these exogenous influences is established. It is an ignorant presumption to suggest that we are in a position to weigh its (the living cell's) life against that of another. A clear distinction must be made between the unquestionable right of the mother to decide whether or not she is to become pregnant, and the unquestionable right of the unborn baby to life."

Dr. Micheline Mathews-Roth of the dept. of microbiology and molecular genetics at Harvard deposes that "studies in embryology and genetics have conclusively proved that the embryo from conception to birth is a living human individual. . . ."

Dr. Paul Rockwell, director of anesthesiology at Leonard Hospital in Troy, N. Y. writes that "in 1958 or thereabouts, while giving an anesthetic for a ruptured ectopic pregnancy at eight weeks gestation, I observed what I believe was the smallest living human being ever seen. A tiny human male (approx. 1 em.) was swimming vigorously in the amniotic fluid from the end of his umbilical cord within the intact, transparent embryo sac. This tiny male was perfectly developed with fingers and hands, toes and feet . . . It is my opinion that if the lawmakers and people realize that very vigorous human life is present, even at this early stage of development, it is possible that abortion would be found much more objectionable than euthanasia."

The Supreme Court would do well to recognize that there is a quite general soul-sickness in America about its abortion decision, the implications of which are altogether staggering. Critics of the decision have thus far mostly insisted that the decision was bad law and bad philosophy. Connecticut and fourteen other states are now saying that it is

bad science, that the factual basis of it was incorrect.

MICHIGAN'S MOTHER OF THE YEAR

HON. WILLIAM S. BROOMFIELD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. BROOMFIELD. Mr. Speaker, at this time, I would like to extend my congratulations and best wishes to Mrs. Eula Abbey of Lake Orion Township, Mich., who was recently named Michigan's mother of the year by the Michigan State Mothers Committee.

The mother of 6 children and 21 grandchildren, Mrs. Abbey has devoted a lifetime of loving care not only to her own family but also to hundreds of Lake Orion families through her volunteer activities. She has donated her time to organizations such as the Girl Scouts, the PTA, the United Fund, and many others too numerous to name here. She is also a member of the Women's Club, the Oxford-Orion FISH program and serves as chairman of the administrative board of the Lake Orion United Methodist Church.

Needless to say, we are all very proud of Mrs. Abbey and wish her well as she carries Michigan's banner to the national mother of the year competition to take place in Denver next month.

Mr. Speaker, the following article from the Oakland Press describes Mrs. Abbey's activities and her well-deserved award.

The article follows:

LAKE ORION'S EULA ABBEY: MICHIGAN'S MOTHER OF THE YEAR

(By Jody Headlee)

"I'm not a model mother," said Eula Comstock Abbey, her knitting needles working back and forth on the afghan that was taking shape on her lap.

"And I would be the last person to ever try and tell others how to raise their children. We just had very good luck," she smiled proudly.

Mrs. Abbey, a 67-year-old widow of Orion Township, was named "Mother of the Year" Monday by the Michigan State Mothers Committee, a nonprofit organization dedicated to strengthening the American family.

Mother of six children and 21 grandchildren, Mrs. Abbey has lived in her 140-year-old farmhouse for 38 years. Originally on 40 acres, the house and its land have been sold and soon Mrs. Abbey will leave. She plans on moving into a condominium.

"My children have all invited me to come live with them—but I wouldn't do it for anything. We get along awfully well apart—and I love all of my grandchildren but for 24 hours a day—NO!," she said as the needles gained momentum for emphasis.

A member of the Lake Orion Woman's Club (the group that entered her name into the state competition), Mrs. Abbey has always been active in her community. For a time, she worked with brain damaged children.

"A couple of youngsters from our community were enrolled in the program," she said. "One of their mothers was a former girl scout of mine and I wanted to help out. It took at least three persons every hour all day long to work with the children. I spent 1½ hours once a week."

In addition, Mrs. Abbey was a clothing and food project leader for 4-H on a local, district and state level. She has done volunteer work for the P.T.A. the United Fund, Girl Scouts, Michigan Cancer Foundation, the American Farm Bureau, the Orion Township Library and the Orion-Oxford Social Development Center.

Currently, Mrs. Abbey is involved in the Orion-Oxford FISH program.

"I'm on the transportation committee and since my name is Abbey, it's on the top of the list so I get quite a few calls to take people back and forth—at least two a week.

"I also pick up food stamps and bring them back for local use."

Religion has played an important part in the Abbey household. Mrs. Abbey is presently chairman of the administrative board at the United Methodist Church of Lake Orion.

"We went to church as a family. And the children are still active in church, all of them—different churches—but still active."

Asked if she had any advice to young people raising a family today, her ready grin spread as she shook her head.

"Me? I don't even give advice to my own children. That way, my in-laws all think I'm wonderful and I know they are. It isn't too much different raising youngsters today than it was when my children were young. My grandchildren are just like my children—every generation has its problems."

Last Sunday was reunion day as all of the Abbey children and most of the grandchildren met to congratulate Mrs. Abbey on her honor.

Since the judging committee decides if a mother is outstanding by the character and achievements of her children, it goes without saying that the Abbeys are all achievers.

Marion Medler (Mrs. Robert) lives in Berkley, is a substitute school teacher and has three children. Marilyn Kamischke (Mrs. Rudolph) has six children, lives in Roseville and has returned to teaching junior high math full time.

From Binghamton, N.Y., Gene, an electrical engineer, has three children. Lawrence, a resident of Lake Orion and member of the Lake Orion Community School Board, has four youngsters. Like his dad (Dan Abbey), he works for Consumers Power Co.

Lorraine Wethy (Mrs. Basil) helps her husband in his Lake Orion electrical contracting business and has three children.

Kathleen Abbey Hogan has two sons, lives in Rogers City and teaches French and English.

Mrs. Abbey has a philosophy that has strengthened her through the years. She lives for "right now."

"If it's happened, it's happened," she said. "I don't even think back. I live for right now. I can't change the things that are coming or the things that have passed."

"Doesn't the silence of an empty house ever bother you?"

"Silence bother me? After six kids, I appreciate it. The minute they came home on went the record player and the radio as loud as they could go. And it does me good now, when my grandchildren turn everything on to find out everyone of my kids feels exactly as I used to.

Having raised her children through the depression, Mrs. Abbey is familiar with the battle of the budget. But she is against food boycotts.

"My sympathy is with the farmer" she said. "I know what he goes through."

"And you have to raise your youngsters so they realize they can't have everything they want just because the other fellow has it. They feel badly at the time but when they grow up, they understand and thank you for it."

And for when she grows old (which she'll never do, her spirit wouldn't let her) Mrs. Abbey's saved television.

"That's when I'm so old I can't do anything else," she said. "Then all those reruns will be brand new to me and I'll think they's wonderful."

Mrs. Abbey will compete with 50 other women for "American Mother of the Year" May 7–11 at Denver, Colo. The American Mothers Committee sponsors the national competition.

OEO LEGAL SERVICES—A SUCCESS STORY FOR EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

HON. SHIRLEY CHISHOLM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Mr. Speaker, the 93d Congress has been a dismal place for those of us who are concerned about social welfare programs but occasionally there is hope. The action of the courts, in placing an injunction upon any further dismantling of OEO and the recent column by Mr. James J. Kilpatrick which clearly and enthusiastically outlines the need for legal services is a clear sign that many in the land—including conservative members of the President's own party—do not agree with the administration's meat-ax approach to the problems of the poor in our country.

For those of you who may have missed Mr. Kilpatrick's column, I hereby insert it into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

CONTINUE LEGAL SERVICES? BY ALL MEANS

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

There are times, sad to say, when American 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."

Unhappily, 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 a 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 judgments 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.

EXECUTIVE PRIVILEGE BOWS TO CONGRESS

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, the entire Congress owes a debt to Senators SAM ERVIN and HOWARD BAKER for their steadfast defense of the Congress right to get the information it needs from the Executive branch.

On Monday the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities adopted ground rules which have effectively put the so-called doctrine of executive privilege in its place. The ground rules, apparently agreed to by the White House, will compel the testimony of White House aides before the committee. The aides wil be accorded the right to counsel and a White House Counsel may also be present. If the witness, by counsel, feels that a particular question should not be answered by reason of a claim of privilege belonging to the President, the Committee will hear arguments in favor of the privilege and then make its own ruling on the matter. If the committee rules against the claim of privilege that then the witness will be compelled to answer the question.

This criteria is of course available to other witnesses on claims of other privileges which may be available.

The ground rules also require the appearance of White House aides under any circumstance, the right to claim a privilege being only available for specific questions during testimony.

I believe that these rules have finally put the question of executive privilege in perspective. They make it clear that it is the Congress which will make the final determination as to what should or should not be considered a privileged communication to the President or by a Presidential aide.

Congress has always recognized that as a matter of comity and good practice each of the coordinate branches of the Government should be privileged to conduct certain internal affairs in privacy. This is as it should be and I am confident that the Congress will exercise its good judgment when it seeks information from the Executive. However, as the Ervin-Baker ground rules exhibit, the final determination on these questions belongs to the Congress.

With these rules as precedent I am hopeful that the warfare between the Congress and the Executive which we have endured for the past year may be at an end.

I now enclose the full text of the Senate guidelines for the benefit of my colleagues:

GUIDELINES OF THE SENATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES

In investigating the matters mentioned in S. Res. 60, the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities will observe its standing rules, its previously established procedures for staff interviews of prospective witnesses, and these guidelines:

1. The Committee will receive oral and documentary evidence relevant to the matters S. Res. 60 authorizes it to investigate and matters bearing on the credibility of the witnesses who testify before it.

2. All witnesses shall testify before the Committee on oath or affirmation in hearings which shall be open to the public and the news media. This guideline shall not abridge, however, the power of the Committee to take the testimony of a particular witness on oath or affirmation in an executive meeting if the Committee would otherwise be unable to ascertain whether the witness knows anything relevant to the matters the Committee is authorized to investigate.

3. All still and motion picture photography will be completed before a witness actually testifies, and no such photography shall occur while the witness is testifying. Television coverage of a witness and his testimony shall be permitted, however, under the provisions of the Standing Rules of the Committee.

4. In taking the testimony of a witness, the Committee will endeavor to do two things: First, to minimize inconvenience to the witness and disruption of his affairs; and, second, to afford the witness a fair opportunity to give his testimony without undue interruption. To achieve the first of these objectives, the Committee will honor the request of the witness to the extent feasible for advance notice of the time and place appointed for taking his testimony, complete the taking of his testimony with as much dispatch as circumstances permit, and release the witness from further attendance on the Committee as soon as circumstances allow, subject, however, to the power of the Committee to recall him for further testimony in the event the Committee deems such action advisable. To afford the witness a fair opportunity to present his testimony, the Committee will permit the witness to make an opening statement not exceeding 20 minutes, which shall not be interrupted by questioning, and a closing statement summarizing his testimony, not exceeding 5 minutes, which will not be interrupted by questioning: Provided, however, questions suggested by the closing statement may be propounded after such statement is made.

5. The Committee respects and recognizes the right of a prospective witness who is interviewed by the staff of the Committee in advance of a public hearing as well as the right of a witness who appears before the Committee to be accompanied by a lawyer of his own choosing to advise him concerning his constitutional and legal rights as a witness.

6. If the lawyer who accompanies a witness before the Committee advises the witness to claim a privilege against giving any testimony sought by the Committee, the Committee shall have the discretionary power to permit the lawyer to present his views on the matter for the information of the Committee, and the Committee shall thereupon rule on the validity of the claim or its application to the particular circumstances involved and require the witness to give the testimony sought in the event its ruling on the claim is adverse to the witness. Neither the witness nor any other officer or person shall be permitted to claim a privilege against the witness testifying prior to the appearance of the witness before the Committee, and the Committee shall not rule in respect to the claim until the question by which the testimony is sought is put to the witness.

7. The Committee believes that it may be necessary for it to obtain the testimony of some White House aides if the Committee is to be able to ascertain the complete truth in respect to the matters it is authorized to investigate by S. Res. 60. To this end, the Committee will invite such White House aides as it has reason to believe have knowledge or information relevant to the matters it is authorized to investigate to appear before the Committee and give testimony on oath or affirmation in open hearings respecting such matters. In this connection, the Committee will extend to such aides the considerations set forth in detail in guideline No. 4 and the right to counsel set forth in detail in guidelines Nos. 5 and 6. In addition to these considerations and rights, the Committee will permit the White House to have its own counsel present when any White House aide appears before the Committee as a witness, and permit such counsel to invoke any claim that a privilege available to the President forbids a White House aide to give the testimony sought by the Committee, and the Committee shall thereupon rule on validity of such claim or its application to the particular testimony sought in the manner and with the effect set forth in guideline No. 6 in respect to a claim of privilege invoked by a witness or his counsel. The Committee will not subpoena a White House aide to appear before it or its staff unless such aide fails to make timely response to an invitation to appear.

8. The Committee may require the Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, or any of his assistants or deputies, or any available law enforcement officer to eject from a meeting of the Committee any person who willfully disrupts the meeting or willfully impedes the Committee in the performance of its functions under S. Res. 60.

9. Whenever the Committee takes testimony through the agency of less than the majority of the members of the Committee as authorized by its standing rules, the member or members of the Committee taking the testimony shall be vested with the powers set forth in these guidelines and shall be deemed to act as the Committee in exercising such powers.

MANPOWER REFORM

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, I submit that the House of Representatives today gave strong indication that they do not wish to merely extend one more categorical

manpower program, but rather they desire to develop and consider legislation for total manpower reform. I believe that their action was a clear mandate to the Education and Labor Committee to pursue aggressively the development of an effective program that emphasizes decategorization and decentralization of the present manpower maze. I am requesting Chairman PERKINS and Mr. DANIELS, our subcommittee chairman, to proceed immediately to develop legislation that will encompass total manpower reform. Hopefully, this legislation can be developed in a bipartisan manner, so that in the future the House will be able to approach this issue in a more analytical and thoughtful manner.

OEO SUPPORT OF MILLE LACS INDIAN RESERVATION CLINIC

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, since it was created in 1965, OEO has worked closely with other agencies to provide services for Americans who are moving out of welfare and into the mainstream of our economy. This year the President has decided—against a great deal of evidence and public opinion—that OEO is no longer necessary and should be disbanded. We in the Congress cannot allow this to happen. Hopefully, we will salvage OEO and its most valuable programs.

In my home State of Minnesota, OEO has supported the clinic at the Mille Lacs Indian Reservation. One of the staff, Dr. Dennis Jacobson, recently wrote to indicate his concern about the possible termination of this clinic. He described the clinic's accomplishments and the effect disbandment would have on the reservation population.

I commend his letter to my colleagues and insert it at this point in the RECORD:

MILLE LACS CLINIC,
Onamia, Minn., March 9, 1973.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE FRASER: There have been numerous reports that, as a result of President Nixon's cutbacks of money designated for use by the Office of Economic Opportunity, many of the Community Action Programs will have their funds cut off. I am writing to you to plead with you to do all you can to keep the C.A.P. at Mille Lacs Indian Reservation funded. I believe that great strides forward have been made in the health, living conditions, and productivity of the Indian people affected by this C.A.P.

At present there is a Community Center which houses the C.A.P., the Headstart Program (funded by H.E.W., not O.E.O., as you know) and a medical clinic. Most striking to me is the improvement in health seen in these people since 1966 when the Community Center was built. The various program mentioned above were all instituted since then. As an example the Minnesota Department of Public Health did an infant mortality study for a 18 year period ending in 1968. During this time there were about 350 babies born to mothers residing on the Mille Lacs Reservation. Of these, 35 (one in ten) died before he reached his first birthday. Since 1968 there have been no children residing on the Mille Lacs Reservation who have died, much less any infants. This is only one statistic, but does reflect health standards. I can assure you from first hand experience that the health of these people has improved a great deal in all respects.

I feel that the improved medical situation cannot be accounted for by any one factor. Many of the factors are at present supported by O.E.O. funds, however, and cutting off these funds is certain to result in a marked increase in disease and health problems. The old water and sewage systems were responsible for much of the health problems. The present water and sewage systems were instituted and are maintained thru C.A.P. funds. The previous deplorable living conditions were markedly improved when O.E.O. funds made it possible to build simple but adequate, much improved, homes for these people.

The Community Health Representative, Maggie Sam, does much to improve health standards with home visits, aid in transportation, referrals to various agencies, etc. Many of the older people used to have much trouble finding transportation to the clinic or hospital for medical care until this was made available by C.A.P. funds.

The Headstart Program is housed in the Community Center which depends on C.A.P. funds for heat, lights, and water. Even if the Headstart funds are not cut off the program could not function without a building.

Sister Gertrude Lampbert, R.N. is a young nun who is an extremely capable and valuable member of the health delivery team here. She is a public health nurse and functions as clinic nurse and Headstart nurse. Her position is funded partly by O.E.O. funds and partly by Headstart funds. In my opinion she is the most valuable single person involved in health care on the reservation. She made a total of 677 home visits in 1972 in addition to her functions as clinic nurse and Headstart nurse.

The clinic on the reservation is housed in the Community Center and is therefore dependent on C.A.P. funds to stay open since we must have space, lights, heat, and water to have an adequate clinic. This clinic is manned by the three physicians in the Mille Lacs Clinic, Onamia (10 miles away). The clinic is open three afternoons a week and in 1972 we had 2,113 clinic visits.

The C.A.P. has done much more to improve life for the Indians on the Mille Lacs Reservation but their health is one area I feel qualified to comment on. The improved health standards depend on many factors including transportation, home visits, available clinic and M.D.'s, improved water and sewage systems, and improved housing. All of these factors are dependent on O.E.O. funds. I therefore urge you to do all you can to insure continued federal funding of the Mille Lacs Indian Reservation Community Action Program. The health and, indeed, the very lives of many people are dependent on this program.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,

DENNIS JACOBSON, M.D.

A MEANINGFUL BICENTENNIAL COMMEMORATION

HON. ANDREW YOUNG

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. YOUNG of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, Congress will soon have to decide what kind of bicentennial the Nation will observe in 1976. Hearings have been held on H.R. 3695, relating to the proposed American Revolution Bicentennial Administration, by subcommittee No. 2 of the House Judiciary Committee.

Robert A. DeForrest, executive vice president of the Afro-American Bicentennial Corp., testified at the hearings on March 15, and I wish to insert in the RECORD his prepared statement. I commend to my colleagues Mr. DeForrest's persuasive case for maximum participation in the bicentennial by Afro-Americans, and his appeal to Congress to take an active role in making the bicentennial an historic event which will be meaningful to all Americans.

The testimony follows:

STATEMENT OF ROBERT A. DEFORREST

Mr. Chairman: On behalf of the officers and board of the Afro-American Bicentennial Corporation, I wish to thank you, and this Committee for inviting me here today to present testimony on H.R. 3695 (the recently introduced Administration bill to establish the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration).

As you may know, the Afro-American Bicentennial Corporation (ABC) was established in December of 1970 out of a concern that the forthcoming Bicentennial include projects and programs which would express the desires and meet the needs of Black Americans in line with the principles and ideals of the American Revolution.

Before commenting on the specifics of the bill under consideration, however, I would like to take a few minutes to discuss some of the factors which have influenced our own involvement in certain bicentennial program areas.

The guiding consensus of ABC's directors, as well as its distinguished advisory board, is that the bicentennial commemoration be viewed as a timely and appropriate vehicle for revitalizing America's continuing revolution in line with the philosophy and aspirations of such early American revolutionaries as Jefferson, Paine and Sam Adams. It should be apparent to any reader of the original legislation which created the American Revolution Bicentennial Commission in July of 1966 (PL 89–491) that its sponsors, Senator Mathias and Representative Morse, were quite comfortable with language such as: "Individual Liberty," "Representative Government," and "Inalienable Rights."

Such references are used extensively throughout the first section of PL 89–491, establishing the mandate of the ARBC, and are clearly expressions of concern for the quality of life among Americans, and a commitment to address these concerns as a feature of the forthcoming Bicentennial.

In earlier testimony presented before the Subcommittee on Federal Charters, Holidays and Celebrations of the Senate Judiciary Committee on August 2nd, I suggested the possibility that the architects of the original legislation, while setting the tone for a truly meaningful celebration, might well have been designing a legislative mandate which would insure against the kinds of activities and interpretations that have given rise to the mounting criticism of the ARBC, and which, it may be suggested, have brought us here today.

My subsequent discussions with the Senator on this matter have more than confirmed this assumption. Further clarification regarding the intent of PL 89–491 was provided by Senator Mathias himself even earlier on the Floor of the Congress on December 2nd, when in citing the lack of meaningful program development by the Commission, he stated, "We believed not only that the Revolution was the most important event in our history, but, even more, that the ideas and ideals of that Revolution are as real and relevant today as they were 200 years ago."

Mr. Chairman, in our appearance last August before the Subcommittee on Federal Charters, Holidays, and Celebrations of the Senate Judiciary Committee, I stated our organization's support of the mandate enunciated in the original ARBC Legislation and then proceeded to state the "historical case" for maximum Afro-American participation in

this most important event. (The latter mainly for the benefit of those still reading from pre-1970 history books and who had earlier questioned the role of Blacks during the period of the American Revolution).

While stating our support of PL 89–491 at that time, we were not convinced that the Commission leadership was committed to the kind of commemoration clearly intended by the sponsors of that legislation. The Bill under consideration today, leaves us even more doubtful.

While retaining most of the original language in Section (I) of the original legislation, H.R. 3695 is nonetheless conspicuous in its deletion of a number of important references in that section of its proposed legislation.

ITEM

(*Original*)

It is appropriate and desirable to provide for the observation and commemoration of this anniversary (and these events) through local, state, national, and international activities, planned, encouraged, developed, and coordinated by a National Commission (Representative) of appropriate public and private authorities and organizations.

(*Proposed*)

It is appropriate and desirable to provide for the observance and commemoration of this anniversary. And for those activities of local, state, national, and international significance to be coordinated, scheduled, and facilitated by a government unit, drawing on the resources of public, private, civic, and other organizations for planning and implementation, to insure that the appropriate observances take place.

In addition to these concerns over the deletions and changes proposed in Section (I) of H.R. 3695, we are equally apprehensive about the unusual authority and role of the Administrator of the proposed ARBA, as described in Sections 2, through 5, of H.R. 3695.

ITEM

Sec. 2(d) The Administrator shall have power to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as he deems advisable. Not more than five (5) such personnel may be appointed, compensated or removed without regard to the civil service laws and regulations and Chapter 51 and sub-chapter III of Chapter 53, of Title 5, United States Code.

Why is this authority being requested when findings contained in the recently concluded staff review on the activities of the ARBC clearly show that such practices by the Commission leadership have in the past contributed to low morale among staff personnel and may have resulted in reducing the effectiveness of the staff (Re–167, ch. 5, "Personnel Practices and Staff Morale," a review by the Staff Dec. 21, 1972).

ITEM

Sec. 3 (a) There is hereby established an American Revolution Bicentennial Advisory Board hereinafter referred to as the "Board" to be composed of twenty-five members appointed by the President. The members shall serve at the pleasure of the President, and their terms of office shall not extend beyond the termination date of the Administration. In appointing persons to the Board, the President shall give due consideration, among others, of the Nation's youth, elders, racial and ethnic minorities, artists and craftsmen, and learned professions. The Administration shall act as Chairman. The Board shall meet at *the call* of the Chairman and shall render advice to the Administration on all matters relating to the purposes of this Act.

We note here that the criteria for the establishment of the proposed ARBA Advisory Board remains essentially the same as that contained in the original legislation except:

That it gives its member absolutely no responsibility for preparing an overall program.

Meets only at the call of the Chairman.

Creates a glaring loophool for the appointment of individuals who might not otherwise qualify for membership on this August Body. Reference is made to the addition in Sec. 3(a) of the questionable term "among others."

Does not insure that any meetings held, would be open to the public.

ITEM

Sec. 10. Whenever the President determines it to be in furtherance of the purposes of this Act, the functions authorized under this act may be performed without regard to such provisions of law or limitations of authority regulating or relating to the making, performance, and the exepnditure of Government Funds as he may specify.

Under what conditions would the exercise of this authority be warranted?

Sec. 11(c) It shall be the function of the Committee to make a continuing study of the activities of the American Revolution Bicentennial Administration. The Committee shall from time to time report to the Committees on the Judiciary of the Senate and House of Representatives, and to the Senate and the House of Representatives concerning the results of its studies, together with such recommendations as it may deem desirable. It shal: make a final report thereon by June 30, 1977.

It should be apparent in light of past criticism of the ARBC, that the role of the Congress, relative to its responsibility in insuring a meaningful bicentennial commemoration for the nation, will not be enhanced under Section (11) of H.R. 3695. On the contrary, under this section of the proposed bill, Congress would again be in the embarrassing position of being able to react "after the fact."

It is our strong feeling that the Congress must play a major role in all bicentennial planning, from encouraging active participation by states, local municipalities and private citizens to exercising veto power through the proposed "Joint Congressional Committee on the American Revolution Bicentennial."

ITEM Sec. 13(d) The President may authorize any person, who immediately prior to the effective date of this Act held a position in the executive branch of the government to act as Administrator until the Office of Administrator is for the first time filled pursuant to the provisions of this Act or by recess appointment, as the case may be.

We find this section of the proposed legislation especially objectionable on two (2) counts:

(1) Its insistence that the "Interim Administrator must have held a position in the Executive Branch of government immediately prior to the effective date of this act.

(2) The obvious loophole provided by an appointment of the Administrator during a Congressional recess, thereby eliminating the requirement for Senate confirmation.

Why is executive experience "immediately prior to the effective date of this Act necessary?

Why not experience gained in the Legislative Branch, or in the private sector? or executive experience gained under another Administration?

Mr. Chairman, a thorough analysis of H.R. 3695 can only conclude that in its present form, this bill offers little hope for a truly meaningful bicentennial commemoration, but, in fact, contradicts its own officially stated mandate by proposing "an autocratic", operational structure accountable to none but the President, himself.

The real question, it seems to us, is whether or not there is a commitment on the part of the Congress and the Administration to forthrightly respond to the challenge of its own legislative mandate.

PL 89–491 directed the ARBC to develop plans for the commemoration of the Bicentennial of the American Revolution. Most state statutes establishing bicentennial commissions conform in spirit, if not in letter, to PL 89–491. However, the prevailing interpretation of PL 89–491 seems to be a variance with what seems its clear meaning. That interpretation, as we understand it, is that the ARBC shall develop plans for celebrating (a) a 200-year slice of American history and (b) the 200th birthday of the republic. The Bicentennial Era has now been defined by the President, at the request of the ARBC, as extending from now until 1976, and the period beyond 1976 is seen by the chairman of the ARBC, according to a comment made by him at Williamsburg, as primarily one of "cleaning up."

There seems to us to be a number of disadvantages attending this interpretation.

(a) At best, it is a very narrow construction of the mandate of PL 89–491. Celebrating either a "200-year slice" of American history or the 200th national birthday seems to be a qualitatively different thing from commemorating the bicentennial of the American Revolution.

(b) 1976 is not, in fact, the 200th anniversary of the founding of the republic. It is the 200th anniversary of thirteen colonies declaring independence from the British empire. It signifies neither the beginning, the climax, nor the conclusion of the American Revolution.

(c) It conflicts with the initial ARBC *Report to the President* which explicitly recommended that the commemorative period extend through the bicentennial dates of the Constitution-making period. It also conflicts with bicentennial periods implicitly defined by PL 89–491 and most state statutes covering the subject.

(d) The definition of the Bicentennial Era as 1971–76 does not conform to any professionally reputable or generally accepted defintion of the span of the American Revolution.

(e) This compression of the Bicentennial Era severely restricts the potential for planning and executing bicentennial-related projects requiring more than three years time. This, in turn, has a manifest tendency to promote programs and projects of an ephemeral and superficial nature.

The legislation passed by the Congress establishing the ARBC authorized it to "plan, encourage, develop and coordinate a nationwide bicentennial program." It further directs "that the thrust of the Bicentennial program should be an enunication of the basic principles upon which our republic was founded." The President himself interjected criticisms of terms such as "Festival Freedom" which seem to connote a commemorative "fair" rather than a movement that would have long-term effects in renewing the institutions of our society.

It would appear that the President favored a modern-day extension of Jefferson's "pursuit of happiness" as the fundamental theme—translated today as a renewed concern for the "quality of life."

It would seem, therefore, that proposals for programs directed at eliminating conditions adversely affecting the "quality of life" of millions of Americans should be "planned, developed, encouraged," and fostered by the ARBC as its primary area of focus.

While we would agree with Mr. Mahoney's statement of August 1 that:

"The Commission is not an action agency to carry out projects of ecological improvements. The Commission is not an agency to find a cure for cancer or heart ailments. The Commission is not an agency for social action, civil rights or public welfare. . . ."

Each of the areas identified in his statement are among this nation's most critical problems, and are in desperate need of a "Marshall Plan" type of assistance. While agreeing with Mr. Mahoney that the Commission is not an action agency with the mandate or the monies to actually implement such programs, it does have a mandate to plan and encourage such programs . . .

and it should. Then, it should seek support for these programs from the Administration, the Congress, and the American people.

We disagree strongly with Senator Hruska and others who have suggested that the Congress would not support authorization requests of the size necessary to underwrite "quality of life" programs such as those mentioned previously.

The major criticism of the ARBC to date has been primarily directed at its lack of significant program development as well as the charges of "political manipulation" and commercial exploitation, published in the Washington "Post" in August of last year.

We note in (part III) of it's recently concluded review of the ARBC, the House Judiciary staff concluded the following:

"We believe that as presently structured, the ARBC will be unable by 1976 to provide this country with a meaningful bicentennial commemoration. Unless reorganized, given a clear definition of role, and afforded an unambiguous mechanism for executive direction, the Commission will continue to flounder, 'planning, encouraging, and coordinating' in its current haphazard fashion."

We note further that the bill under consideration today differs substantially from the suggested legislation drafted by the House Judiciary staff on page 130 of its report.

Having commented on those sections of H.R. 3695 to which we are opposed, and having earlier submitted to this committee our specific observations and recommendations on proposed changes.

Mr. Chairman, while we would agree that a more effective operational structure is desirable for the ARBC, its Head must be accountable to the Congress, as well as to the President. But of far greater importance and urgency is the question of whether the Congress or the Administration is truly committed to a meaningful Bicentennial Commemoration.

This question must be answered by both the Administration and the Congress by their prompt and positive actions toward that end.

COMMENTS ON THE DUAL PRIME RATE

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, I am quite confident that I managed to convey to my colleagues in the House my strong feelings as to the inadequacy of our actions this past Monday on H.R. 6168, the Economic Stabilization Act extension amendment.

My first endeavor in our activities on that legislation was to insure not only the recognition of, but to develop as well a means of filling constructively, the needs of the small borrower, the borrower who is always the first to be bumped off the borrowing bench when the money market gets tight. I argued strongly that the corporate borrower had sufficient independent economic muscle to find a place at the loan window, but that the little man was rightfully entitled to our direct and indirect assistance in having access to that same window, that we needed to provide him with more muscle than he could independently develop in competing with the corporate borrower.

One of the major supports the corporate borrower has enjoyed has been the somewhat questionable importance which various activities of the Federal Government have attached to the prime rate. I am pleased, therefore, to note the first recognition of the need for credit and capital allocations as epitomized in the proposal reported in the Wall Street Journal of April 17, which I include below, by the Federal Reserve System for a two-tier prime rate structure. The philosophy behind this proposal is that same approach I have been trying to impress upon the Banking and Currency Committee and the House in recent weeks.

On the other hand, it is interesting to note that at the present point in time the administration in general and Dr. Burns in particular feels that voluntary guidelines will be sufficient. While I am appreciative of the revised position taken in the guidelines, I do think a more than mere voluntarily effort is necessary specifically on the need for the banks to "continue to meet legitimate credit needs of home buyers, consumers, small businesses and farmers." Banks realistically must respond to their stockholders in the most profitable manner possible and voluntarism permits excessixe evasions of the necessary commitments to the aforementioned loan activities—evasions avoidable with mandatory standards. It is, after all, much easier for the bank to tell its stockholders that it had no choice than to attempt to explain an unprofitable choice despite the existence of Government pressures therefor.

For whatever cause and to whatever degree the decision has been made, I am pleased to see this virtual endorsement of my position. It is long overdue, but we have been striving for something so akin to this proposal that we are delighted to see the appropriate Government agencies taking a more enlightened approach to this problem.

As a matter of general interest, Mr. Speaker and esteemed colleagues, I would like also to take this opportunity to put on the public record the language contained, at my insistence, in H.R. 6879, the originally proposed substitute to H.R. 6168. I ask the indulgence of my colleagues while I explain in some detail what this language could have done and why.

You will note that instead of speaking in the language of a freeze on rates, the language merely stated that ceilings shall be set. This in itself provided for a flexibility that is important. The President would not have been restricted by the arbitrary level of any given day. He would, instead, have been instructed to select ceilings for the loans for the classes of small borrowers designated which will achieve stability. Members will note that ceilings could have been imposed in each of the categories—not necessarily one common rate to all.

Next, the President would have been required to address the possibilities for reductions of rates in these classes of loans. Again, flexibility was assured in the language which refers to "pervasive and dominant pressures of the money markets." This language was added to make clear that the committee and the Congress are cognizant of the relationship between the yields dictated by the market conditions and the interest rates paid by all borrowers. All Members of Congress are aware of two sources of loanable funds—savings and investment capital. It is the potential gap between the level of controlled interest rate and the yield demanded for marketed paper to achieve liquidity for which the Congress should have demonstrated concern. The administration of the authority granted in this language would have been forced to remain consistent with these market realities. In the absence of this flexibility, the controls imposed would surely have had the effect of drying up credit to the small borrower—and it is just such a market reaction that this section sought to avoid.

This section also would have forced the President to use all the institutions, instruments, and powers his administration possesses to assure a reasonable allocation of funds for credit to those classes of borrowers, the little people, who have historically been bounced down and, sometimes completely, off of the borrowing bench. In all the recent tight money periods the immediate "drying up" of credit is in the sectors enumerated in this bill—the consumer, the small businessman, the farmer, the home purchaser, and personal loans. When the money crunch hits banks and savings and loans, large borrowers have access to other money markets.

Paragraph (1) in its totality assured the President the necessary flexibility in responding to the pervasive market realities—to roll back rates wherever possible and, when such was not possible, to adjust appropriately reasonable ceilings with a full explanatory order and message to the Congress.

Our Government monetary agencies must be so used that they act as interveners for the small borrowers. The President has easy access to data which can give him a realistic indication of the credit demands in each of these controlled areas. The Federal Reserve can project the demand for personal loans and consumer credit. The Departments of Housing and Urban Development and Commerce can project mortgage money demand. The Small Business Administration can project the demand for small business loans. The Farmers Home Administration in the Agriculture Department can anticipate the demand for farm loans. With these data sources at his disposal, the President should have been able to carry out the directives of the proposed legislation.

Colleagues, this allocation of credit section was of paramount importance because of the grim future for capital competition. Capital demands associated with the energy crisis have been measured as between $600 billion and $1 trillion in the next 10 years. Enormously increased capital will be required to solve our present transportation dilemmas in the metropolitan area. Environmental protection is already demonstrating a disturbing appetite for investment dollars. The national debt rollover has alone been a growing burden on available money markets. This list is not exhaustive for all segments including corporations, States, municipalities, and governmental agencies are also increasing their demand every year.

We failed, however, in this effort, and I can only express hope that the Federal Reserve System's proposals will be enough and that they will be in time.

The proposal and the interest rate control language follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal, Apr. 17, 1973]

BURNS UNVEILS DUAL PRIME-RATE GUIDELINES, INCLUDING A LIMIT ON BANKS' PROFIT MARGINS

WASHINGTON.—The Nixon administration's previously promised "voluntary" guidelines on bank interest rates, unveiled yesterday, include the government's first restrictions on bank profit margins.

The guidelines, issued by the Committee on Interest and Dividends, are intended to help banks establish a dual prime, or minimum, rate system. Such a system will allow the interest rate banks charge large national corporations to fluctuate with minimum government interference while the lowest rate banks charge small businesses and farmers will remain more stable and closely watched by the administration.

Analysts said the issuance of the guidelines makes it likely banks would soon boost their prime rates to major borrowers to 6¾% from 6½%.

The new guides, which take effect immediately, generally follow the broad outlines administration officials indicated earlier, but spell out some of the details and inject the surprise element of a profit-margin limit for banks. The concept of a dual prime-rate system is still a new one, however, and officials indicated the guidelines will be further refined and clarified as the new bank interest-rate structure evolves.

The guidelines drew quick support from the American Bankers Association. Rex J. Morthland, president-elect of the trade group, said he is "confident the American banking industry will observe the guidelines." He added, "while there are problems in any system of administered rates, we feel the dual-rate concept announced today is an appropriate measure in a time of economic stress."

This two-tier prime rate concept grew out of a recent series of government-banking industry confrontations over increases in the prime rate, which is the interest banks charge their most credit-worthy customers, mainly big corporations. While protecting smaller borrowers against burdensome increases in borrowing costs, the guidelines will permit the Nixon administration to make a strategic withdrawal from the recurring battle of the prime rate.

The Committee on Interest and Dividends, headed by Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur Burns, said in its five-page guideline paper that the prime rate charged large companies "may respond flexibly to changes in open-market interest rates." Mr. Burns has conceded this politically sensitive interest rate has been artificially held down by the government's jawboning under the "voluntary" program he heads.

While the big-business prime rate is to be freed from the government hold-down, the guidelines stress increases in it should be made "in moderate steps in order to avoid disruptive market effects." Mr. Burns indicated this statement was meant to deter any quick, large jump in the big business prime rate from the present 6½%. Officials earlier indicated the rate currently might be as high as 7½% if it hadn't been for federal jawboning, but they clearly don't want to see an overnight boost of that size.

Interest rates charged small businesses and farm borrowers, the guidelines say, shouldn't rise from present level "unless an increase can be fully justified by increases in costs." If banks do raise such rates, the committee added, the boosts "are to be decidedly smaller, and are also to be made less frequently, than changes in rates on loans to larger firms." The guidelines didn't define "decidedly smaller" or "less frequently."

The guidelines define a small business as any commercial, industrial or agricultural borrower whose nonmortgage borrowings outstanding in the previous 12 months never exceeded $350,000 and whose assets don't exceed $1 million. The definition covers "the great majority of business establishments and farms," the committee said.

Banks may extend the more favored small-business interest structure to any size firm, the guidelines said. They also said such rates "may vary from bank to bank."

Interest rates charged by banks on home mortgage loans and consumer loans "should remain under special restraint," the guidelines state. They say such rates should remain "relatively stable" even if the big business prime rate moves up "significantly."

The Nixon administration may have to issue similar guidelines to cover thrift institutions, such as savings and loan associations, and consumer finance companies, to keep their practices in line with the banks, Mr. Burns told newsmen. "We'll probably have to get into that," he said.

The committee said that since the administration's wage-price controls system began in August 1971, companies and workers have been required to sacrifice "earnings they might otherwise have realized," and so "banks should accept similar restraints." It said that despite the new flexibility being granted for the big-business prime rate, "increases in a bank's entire structure of lending rates must in no instance lead to undue increases in the bank's profit margin."

Laying down a new bank profit-margin restriction, the guidelines say increases in interest rates shouldn't raise a bank's overall profit margin from domestic operations (excluding service functions such as trust departments and data processing) above the average of the best two years in the prior four calendar years.

The paper defined the profit margin as "the ratio of net operating income, on a fully taxable equivalent basis before income taxes and securities gains or losses, to gross operating income on a fully taxable equivalent basis."

The guidelines also state banks should "continue to meet legitimate credit needs of home buyers, consumers, small businesses and farmers." That admonition reflects a committee fear that because interest rates on such loans will be restrained by the guidelines, such smaller borrowers might find credit difficult to obtain.

HANNA INTEREST RATE CONTROL LANGUAGE

"Sec. 204. Ceiling on prices and certain interest rates

"(b)(1) Notwithstanding any other provision of this Act, ceilings are imposed on interest rates on—

"(A) mortgage loans for single or multifamily dwellings,

"(B) installment or noninstallment consumer credit loans,

"(C) loans for farm production or capital improvement loans,

"(D) loans to small business concerns as defined under section 3 of the Small Business Act, and

"(E) personal loans,

at levels no higher than those prevailing on March 16, 1973, and the President shall, by written order stating in full the considerations for his action, roll back the interest rates described in this paragraph to levels lower than those prevailing on March 16, 1973. The President may make adjustments to avoid gross inequities resulting from pervasive and dominant pressures of the money markets with respect to such interest-rate ceilings and roll backs as are imposed under this paragraph by written order stating in full the considerations for any such adjustment.

"(2) The President shall take all necessary steps to insure a reasonable and adequate flow of loanable funds into the types of loans upon which interest rate controls are imposed under this subsection based upon reasonable estimates of satisfiable demands for such types of loans.

"(3) This section does not annul, alter, or affect, or exempt any personal from complying with, the laws of any State relating to the rate of interest which may be imposed in such State, except to the extent that those laws exceed the ceilings established by the provisions of this section or any order or regulation issued hereunder.

THE ECONOMIC SCENE IN INDIA

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM
OF NEW YORK
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, as the most populous democratic nation in the world and a long-time friend of the United States, India holds a special place among the nations of the world in American foreign policy concerns. Recent reports in the press and elsewhere have included some dire predictions about the state of the Indian economy, and the conditions of the agricultural sector in particular. G. V. Ramakrishna, Economic Minister of the Embassy of India, recently spoke to the Far East-America Council of Commerce and Industry in New York on "Some Aspects of the Current Economic Scene in India." His remarks include a number of interesting and more optimistic observations on the economic and social conditions in India, and I am pleased to provide the text of Mr. Ramakrishna's statement for the RECORD:

SOME ASPECTS OF THE CURRENT ECONOMIC SCENE IN INDIA

(By G. V. Ramakrishna)

Ladies and Gentlemen: I am happy and privileged to be here today and I wish to thank the Far East America Council and, in particular, its charming Vice President Mrs. Hilda Russel for the honour they have done me by very kindly inviting me to address this distinguished gathering this afternoon.

The subject on which I would like to dwell today is some aspects of the current economic scene in India. The foremost questions that are likely to arise in the minds of keen observers of the current Indian economic scene are, I think,

(i) What is the impact of the drought that we had last year?

(ii) Has the Green Revolution in India failed?

(iii) Can India really become self-sufficient in Food?

(iv) What has planned economic development achieved in terms of improving the standards and quality of life of India's millions?

(v) Is there any need or justification for the recent re-dedication to social and distributive justice alongside with economic growth?

These are important questions and the answers are not always easy. However, to do justice to my task today, I should at least make an attempt to deal with some of these questions and I shall do so briefly.

The year 1972 saw very large areas of India with irregular or late rainfall or no rainfall at all. This was the second consecutive year of drought for many of these areas. The consequences of this drought have been particularly adverse in three main aspects—the level of foodgrain production (particularly in course grains) in the Kharif or Fall crop

fell substantially by nearly eight million tons, many parts of the countryside which depended on rainfall to replenish their wells for drinking water went dry and pastures for livestock also dried up. Power generation from hydro-electric soruces also suffered a set back owing to inadequate storage in reservoirs. We were fortunate in having built up a reasonably good buffer stock of over nine million tons of foodgrains as a result of the four good years we had from 1967–68. The distribution of foodgrains through Government ration and fair price shops has been organized on a very large scale and tens of thousands of these shops are distributing grains all over the drought affected areas. Deep tube wells were bored to provide water supply in the countryside. Employment in the countryside had to be provided for large numbers of people who are dependent on farming operations for their living. Several major schemes of rural development and reconstruction have been undertaken in the form of maintenance and construction of roads, irrigation works, soil conservation, etc. The Central Government has provided special assistance of nearly Rs.4.5 billion ($600 million) to the drought affected areas for these development schemes which provide a living to nearly 5 million people who had temporarily been displaced from agriculture. The foodgrain buffer stocks were run down in the process of maintaining an adequate distribution system. It became necessary to arrange for imports of about two million tons of foodgrains to replenish the buffer stocks for future use. As the result of these various measures and mainly as a result of the large buffer stocks that had been built up during the earlier years, it has been possible for Government to minimize the adverse impact of the drought on the large numbers of people living in these areas. The current crop mainly of wheat on ground is reported to be very promising and we hope to regain the momentum of our agricultural growth with a good spring harvest beginning from about the end of this month.

The question that next arises naturally is why India is still so dependent on rainfall for ensuring an adequate supply of foodgrains and whether the Green Revolution has not really had the kind of impact that has been attributed to it in the four years of rapidly rising foodgrain production. It must be admitted that Indian agriculture is still to a disconcertingly large extent dependent on rainfall. This is not to say that there has been no major progress in tapping the water resources of the country or in new agricultural technology. To put matters in proper perspective, India's presently known water resources can irrigate over 200 million acres out of the total cultivated area of about 400 million acres. Cumulatively by the end of this year, irrigation facilities would have been provided for over 100 million acres. Thus only half the irrigation potential is being tapped and less than 25% of the cropped area has assured irrigation facilities. The rest of the area has to depend on rainfall for growing mainly what we call dry crops which do not need substantial or heavy and assured irrigation. Of the areas that have irrigation facilities, a good part depends on water that is accumulated during a season of rainfall and stored in reservoirs and distributed through surface canals. These sources of irrigation are also in a very major sense dependent on rainfall. The main difference is that the storage facilities will enable the even distribution of water as a result of accumulation that takes place during periods of heavy rainfall and enables the distribution of water during periods when there is no rainfall. Apart from the surface irrigation, there is another major source of irrigation which has come to be tapped rather intensively during the last few years. This is the ground water resources which are available to a very substantial degree in many parts of the country. While a number of projects have been executed in the last ten years or more to build major irrigation storage facilities for surface irrigation, in the last four or five years there have been a very large number of tube wells constructed for tapping the ground water resources. To give you an illustration of the extent of development in this, the following figures would be of some interest:

Nearly 500 major and medium irrigation works costing $4 billion (Rs.30.5 billion) have been constructed from 1951 till now. In addition, nearly 1.8 million pumpsets were installed in the last ten years. The outlay on minor irrigation in the Fourth Five-Year Plan is about Rs. 5200 million or $700 million. Nearly 300,000 wells and over 340,000 pumpsets were installed in one year—1971–72.

As a result of these major investments in irrigation and the technological advances in developing high yielding varieties of seeds the base of Indian agriculture has been considerably strengthened. Although the drought in 1972 was almost as bad as in 1966–67 the foodgrain production in 1972–73 will be 25 million tons higher than in 1966–67.

Now to the Green Revolution. This major break-through in agriculture, not only in India but in several other countries, came in the middle Sixties mainly as a result of the introduction of Mexican dwarf varieties of wheat which were highly responsive to water and fertilizer and had certain favourable characteristics which enables them to give very high yields. In India, the Green Revolution really began as a wheat revolution. This has indeed been a revolution and a very significant one at that. Wheat production reached a level of nearly 27 million tons in 1971–72 as compared to around 12 million tons hardly five years before. The area under wheat increased by 50% during this period and the productivity increased by a similar margin. In some areas of the Punjab the wheat productivity is 2,700 lbs. per acre, which exceeds the yield rates in the United States and Mexico. All this is not to say that we have reached the end of the possibilities for increase in wheat production. There still are very large areas which normally grow wheat where the full benefits of the improved technology and agricultural practices have not yet reached. It is also true that the bounties of the wheat revolution have initially benefited the more progressive, the better educated and the wealthier farmer. Special measures have therefore been taken in the last few years to enable a wider dispersal of these benefits to the relatively small farmers. A further encouraging feature is that in purely technical terms the benefits of the wheat technology can go down to the lowest farm size of around two acres and the productivity of wheat can be maintained in such a small farm almost at the same level as the productivity in a much larger farm provided the right techniques are followed. And so we still have some way to go in reaping the full benefits of the wheat revolution. There is clearly assured potential within the country for a further substantial increase in the level of wheat production.

Coming next to rice, our largest single crop, in which we reached a level of over 42 million tons of production in 1970 and 1971, we find that the technological problems of developing higher yielding varieties of rice are considerably more difficult than in the case of wheat. Although we have been able to evolve rice strains which are responsive to water, fertilizer and light, there have been problems in regard to developing the rice strains which are resistant to disease and water logging. It has been found that those varieties which are responsive to more fertilizer and water are precisely those varieties which are also highly susceptible to disease. Research is under way to evolve disease resistant strains by bringing about genetic mutations. Present indications are that with a measure of luck we should be able to achieve a breakthrough in rice production in the next year or so.

Another major area of our foodgrain production is the category of coarse grains like corn, sorgum, millet, etc. These crops are grown almost wholly in what we call rain fed areas which do not have assured irrigation. These are also generally the relatively less fertile area. In these crops also we have evolved several high yielding varieties of seeds and encouraging results have been obtained in the yields from these new varieties, but by far the most significant development in research in dry farming took place last year which was a year of drought. A Research Project which we now have under implementation with the assistance of agricultural scientists from Canada, managed by following certain agricultural techniques to not only protect the coarse grain and pulse of lentil crops from total destruction owing to the failure of rains, but even succeeded in getting yields two to three times the normal. If the benefits of this research in dry farming are eventually stabilised and extended not only to coarse grains but also to other crops like pulses and oil seeds, there is every hope of a real breakthrough in Indian agriculture as a whole. This will mean not only a reduced dependence on the vagaries of the monsoon but also higher levels of production of dry crops, pulses and oil seeds.

What I have said so far will indicate that (1) we have assured potential for further increases in the levels of wheat production, that (2) we are on the threshold of a breakthrough in rice production and that (3) major developments are taking place in the field of dry farming and (4) there is a continuing major effort to add to our irrigation potential—both surface and underground. There is, therefore, every reasonable hope that the rate of increase in our food grain production will be stabilised at a satisfactory level and will keep ahead of the rate of growth of our population.

We come next to the more general question as to the impact of planned economic development on the standards and quality of life of the people of India. When India became independent in 1947, one of the major concerns of the popular Government was to raise the standards of living of the vast population of the country and to give the people a better quality of life in terms of education, housing, medical facilities etc. Even before we gained our independence, our political leaders were constantly reminding our people that political independence was not an end in itself but was only the beginning of the long road towards economic emancipation. So, it would be of some interest to you, I would assume, to see what India has achieved during the past two decades and more of planned economic development in a truly democratic system. One way of measuring this progress would be by looking at a few indicators of economic development. Taking the 20 year period from 1951 to 1971, the output of foodgrains more than doubled from about 51 million tons in 1961 to 108 million tons in 1971. The per capita availability of foodgrains increased by 14%, that of edible oils by 22%, sugar by over 140%, and cotton cloth by about 25%. On the industrial front, steel production increased six-fold from one million tons to nearly six million tons. Aluminium production from a mere 4000 tons in 1951 to over 170,000 tons in 1971. Cement output now exceeds 14 million tons a year which is more than five times the output in 1951. Nitrogenous fertilizer production increased from 9000 tons to nearly a million tons. Output of petroleum products increased from about a fifth of a million tons in 1951 to over 17 millions tons in 1971. Power generating capacity increased from 2.4 million Kw to 17 million Kw. There was practically no Indian shipping in 1951; today we have over 200 ships, big and small, with a gross tonnage of 2.5 million and 40% of our trade is carried in Indian ships. Let us look at other socio-economic indicators. There were 14 million children in schools in 1951. We now have over

83 million children in schools. College enrollment is now at two million and has doubled in the last decade. The number of college students in India now ranks third behind the U.S. and USSR. There were 45 universities in 1960 and there are now over 80 universities. The death rate has dropped from 28 to 16 per thousand. Major diseases like cholera, malaria and smallpox have almost been eradicated. The number of doctors has been doubled and the number of nurses has increased eight-fold during the period of about two decades. There have been other gains too. The industrial base has been greatly diversified and expanded. A large reservoir of skilled and highly trained manpower has been built up. A good deal of experience has been gained in planning for development and many lessons have been learnt.

Even so the question has been asked with increasing frequency and urgency in the last few years as to why, in spite of these significant and substantial gains during the last two decades, there still are millions of Indians who still subsist below the poverty line without the minimum wherewithal of food, clothing and shelter. There has been a great deal of thinking and public debate on this difficult economic and human problem and it is now generally realised that merely to wait for economic growth to take place and for the benefits of such growth to trickle down to the masses is no longer an acceptable alternative and would significantly affect the continuance of the free, open and democratic society that we have. It is no longer possible in India or perhaps anywhere else in the world, to expect a politically and socially stable society to exist with the polarisation of the 'haves' and 'have nots', of the few conspicuously rich and the poverty ridden masses and if there has to be a preservation of the social and human values that we have cherished and for which we fought for our independence, it is urgently essential for society to make a conscious effort towards alleviating poverty as it exists at the lowest levels for vast millions of our people. The concept of social justice is not new in Indian thinking. It has in fact been built into our Constitution which says that "the State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting, as effectively as it may, a social order in which justice-social, economic and political—shall inform all the institutions of national life." Our plans for economic development have aimed at providing a better life for the poorer sections of the people. The need for special action to bring about a reduction in inequalities and a degree of social justice in the form of a better distribution of the fruits of development, more equal opportunities for employment and advancement and a special concern for the weak, the young, the aged and the infirm, has been one of the major concerns of our Government during the last five or six years. There is often a question asked as to whether it is appropriate for a country like India, with a long way to go in terms of economic growth, to attempt to bring about distributive justice at such an early stage in the process of development. What I have just said explains the compelling political, social and humanitarian reasons for the Indian Government's special concern for the poorest of the poor. However, it must be clarified that when we are talking of greater social justice, we do not mean that there should be any less *emphasis* on *growth*. In fact, over 20 years ago, our first Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru had said that social justice does not mean a distribution of poverty and that there has to be more production and more growth for social justice to be effective. In a large country like India with a multi-lingual, multi-ethnic society and a federal system of Government operating under truly democratic conditions, it is necessary even for the process of economic growth to have the involvement of the large number of people in the major effort and to make use of the human resources in the process of achieving a faster rate of growth. It is in this context that we now regard growth and social justice as not mutually exclusive but as really inter-linked and mutually reinforcing concepts. Social justice needs growth to be meaningful; a mere redistribution at existing levels of production will not constitute social justice. On the other hand, growth needs social justice to be sustained and durable. In a system where we are able to show economic growth only in statistical terms but with a great deal of inequality among the people, development will not be a durable process as the social fabric, which is an essential component of our growth process, is likely to be terribly strained and perhaps irreparably damaged if the economic and social inequalities are not only allowed to exist but are in fact aggravated in the name of growth. We are, therefore, consciously following a policy not only of achieving faster economic growth, but also of taking special measures to attack the widely prevailing poverty at its lowest levels. Special measures of housing, special measures for provision of food and drinking water, employment for the lowest sections of our population are therefore an integral and important part of our planning today. In this task we continue with optimism and confidence. Temporary set back like the drought will not be allowed to distract us from the main purposes and goals of our economic progress.

The Fifth Five-Year Plan will begin from the 1st of April, 1974. The broad outlines of the Plan have been approved. An average rate of growth of 5.5% in the GNP has been envisaged. Out of the total outlay of about $62 billion, over a third will be private investments in the corporate, cooperative and household sectors. Given reasonable luck with the rains this summer and fall, we have every hope of beginning the Fifth Plan in the right tempo and getting on the path of steady and self-sustaining growth.

GENOCIDE CONVENTION SHOULD NOT BE RATIFIED

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, although this House does not pass on treaties, there has been reported from the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations a treaty whose grave dangers to the United States and our present form of government makes necessary my speaking out in opposition to it. This treaty is the United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.

It is instructive to look briefly at the history of this convention. The Genocide Convention was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948, and was submitted by President Truman to the Senate for its consideration in June 1949. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee appointed a subcommittee which reported to the full committee that the United States should not ratify the convention unless the Senate adopted four substantial understandings and one substantial declaration.

After the 1950 hearings, the convention went into hibernation for 20 years. During the Eisenhower administration, Secretary of State John Foster Dulles announced that the administration would not bring up the convention. At the 1950 hearings, then Assistant Secretary of State Dean Rusk presented the State Department's position in favor of the treaty. As Secretary of State under both Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, Dean Rusk did not revive the treaty. It was not until February 1970, after 20 years of dormancy, that the Genocide Convention was sent by President Nixon to the Senate.

In 1949, the American Bar Association announced its opposition to the treaty—reaffirming that opposition in 1970. In part, its statement says:

> That the suppression and punishment of genocide under an international convention to which it is proposed the United States shall be a party involves important constitutional questions which the proposed convention . . . does not resolve . . . in a manner consistent with our form of government.

This statement coupled with a letter signed by then Senator Richard Nixon in 1951 flatly opposing ratification of the convention leads to serious questions on the advisability of the Senate ratifying this unwise document. In the words of then Senator Richard Nixon:

> The major objection to the treaty is that its provisions would not apply to the persecution of political minorities of the Soviet Union. In addition, the treaty, in its present form, grants far more power to the international organization (the United Nations) than the United States should agree to, particularly in view of present world conditions.
>
> You can be sure that in view of these objectionable features, I shall continue to oppose the approval of the Genocide treaty in its present form.

In the intervening years the treaty has not changed. Obviously, the American position in the United Nations has not improved.

I ask my distinguished colleagues on the other side of the Capitol not to ratify the Genocide Convention with its many dangers and problems for our free American system of government.

HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER

HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, for several years I have had the good fortune to be associated with the Honorable WILLIAM H. NATCHER, U.S. Representative from the Second District of Kentucky. He is one of the most effective Members in this body. He is chairman of the Subcommittee on Appropriations for the District of Columbia, and a member of two other subcommittees of this very powerful committee. He has served his people well for many years. The accolade accorded him in last evening's Star News deserves the attention of this body:

KENTUCKY FLAVOR COMES OUT

(By Martha Angle)

At 10:02 a.m. yesterday, Donald H. Weinberg, director of personnel for the District, slid into the witness chair, adjusted his

papers and apologized for his two-minute tardiness.

"Why that's okay," drawled Rep. William H. Natcher, D-Ky., chairman of the House D.C. Appropriations subcommittee. "I'm a little late myself now and then."

"Off the record," Natcher said, "did you ever hear about the little first-grader down home in Kentucky who was late for school one day? The teacher stood him up in a corner and fussed and fussed and fussed, and then finally asked why he was late.

'I was following a slow dog,' the little boy said."

A gentle chuckle rippled through the hearing room, the stenographer prepared to go back on the record, and another day's testimony on the District's proposed fiscal 1974 budget got under way.

When the hearing record is published, the "slow dog" anecdote won't show up. Neither will countless other little stories, many of them ostensibly Kentucky tales, that Natcher recounts each day.

The anecdotes are mostly "off the record," along with a good many personal salutations to witnesses, recollections of shared experiences and observations about human nature that Natcher sprinkles over each day's testimony.

Until this year, hardly anyone except committee members and the city government witnesses who appear before them even suspected that Natcher had a sense of humor.

The tall, 63-year-old Kentuckian has been far better known for his implacable opposition to funding the Washington area subway system while local freeways remained unbuilt than for any personal warmth, professional fairness or legislative skill.

But a reform of House rules this year opened up the annual city budget hearings to the public for the first time, and Natcher—an intensely private man who has always avoided any contact with the Washington press corps—is emerging in a new light.

Natcher has headed the D.C. Appropriations subcommittee for 12 years. He has served in the House almost 19 years, and proudly notes, "I've never missed a day, and I've never missed a vote. I've been right lucky."

What he's been, actually, is right conscientious.

Assignments to the D.C. Appropriations subcommittee are not exactly coveted, in either House or Senate. And the only thing regarded as worse than membership on the two panels is the responsibility for heading them; inevitably, the chairman ends up doing all the work.

Yet Natcher has never sought relief from the burden.

He carries on, year after year, patiently plowing through the incredible minutiae of a municipal budget, never missing a tell-tale detail that might signal the presence of a little fat.

He is occasionally critical of, but never rude to, the city officials who troop before him. And many of them win his ultimate accolade: "You're doing a good job, and I want to commend you for it."

Natcher clearly admires Mayor Walter E. Washington, and despite their differences over Metro funding, the feeling appears to be mutual. Last week, the two men wandered down memory lane together for more than an hour, while committee members and waiting witnesses fidgeted.

"You'll be interested to hear this, Mr. Roush . . . Mr. Myers . . . Mr. Burlison," Natcher would say every so often when a member's attention appeared to stray.

Most of the members, in fact, do appear interested in the daily hearings, even when the going is slow. Attendance is excellent, and Natcher is scrupulous about insuring every committee member a chance to question each witness for as long as the member feels like it.

No District government official is ever cut short, either, although the old hands know that brevity may be the better part of budget wisdom.

When Samuel T. Eastman, the District's director of public affairs, sat down to present his office's spending request he began by noting he was seeking a reduction—rather than increase—in funds.

Natcher and other members were so astounded at this aberration that they asked not one question, and Eastman was safely and happily on his way back to the District Building less than two minutes after he began his testimony.

Natcher has little patience with chicanery or incompetence. "God help you if you haven't done your homework," said one experienced city official who appears before the chairman each year.

But he has a professional's admiration for skillfully presented testimony and documentation. "Mr. Coppie (budget director Comer S. Coppie) has a right sharp pencil," Natcher observed several times last week.

"But that's all right," he added. "Mr. Silsby (his own staff aide) has a pretty sharp pencil, too."

COMMONWEALTH AGAINST BRUNELLE

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, earlier I inserted excerpts from the testimony in the criminal abortion trial "Commonwealth Against Brunelle" held in the State of Massachusetts. Today, I would like to continue inserting a commentary on this testimony previously printed in the RECORD by Dr. Herbert Ratner, M.D., public health director of Oak Park, Ill., and editor of Child and Family Quarterly. The commentary was printed in Child and Family Quarterly, volume 9, No. 2, page 159:

COMMONWEALTH AGAINST BRUNELLE

If witnesses are to testify under oath as medical experts, it seems that either candor or competency demands scientific and accurate statements concerning the humanity of the fetus.

Exemplary is the following comment of pro-abortion Roderick W. Childers, M.D., of the University of Chicago:

"I think it should be said first of all that a great deal of discussion that you hear now on the question of abortion involves trying to define individuality in terms of the fetal age in the uterus: that at two months he isn't entitled so much to live as he is at three months, and when is the cutoff point? It's only fair to say that the theological argument is much the most consistent, that from the moment of conception something is there and that's that. But I think we have to be absolutely honest about this and be practical. Obviously, there has to be reform of the abortion laws, but I don't think that the endeavor is helped by the deception that one is doing anything other than interrupting, or destroying life. I think one has to face that and take it from there. Everything else is specious."

Equally exemplary is the honesty of Mary Dratman, M.D., Associate Professor of Endocrinology in the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology, Women's Medical College, Philadelphia:

"I can't bring myself to tell some sort of phony lie about the fact that the fetus isn't alive or that we can make a sharp distinction between the living organism after birth and the living organism before birth, but I think there is a difference in the value and the concerns that we have to exert toward the mother as compared to the fetus. And I favor the concerns of the mother."

In closing this section, it is perhaps appropriate to turn to the conscience of an earlier age when obstetrical sensibilities to human life in the womb were greater and when respect for life was paramount in the healing art of medicine. Professor Joseph B. DeLee of the University of Chicago Medical School and Chief of Obstetrics at the famous Chicago Lying-In Hospital, one of the great obstetricians of American medicine, reflects this conscience.

For decades DeLee edited the *Annual Yearbook in Obstetrics and Gynecology*, a collection of abstracts of the significant articles published in the preceding year. Most notable were his sage editor's comments following many of these abstracts. Prophetic in its way is the comment following an article entitled, "Clinical Observations and Study of Results of Abortion Performed for Social Indications," published in Germany in 1933 at the beginning of the Nazi era:

"Is civilization progressing backward? What kind of men will develop in a society that recognizes the slaughter of innocents in such a wholesale fashion? To those of us who get a shock and a sickish, sinking feeling around the heart when we have to do a therapeutic abortion, such a wholesale business as is done in Russia evokes inexpressible sentiments. 'Abortion for social indications.' Social!"

THE SECOND SET OF WITNESSES

Even more disturbing is the testimony of the second group of proabortion witnesses. The first two witnesses, Hall and Tietze, had the right principles but failed to use them: they accepted the principle that biology, the science basic to medicine, is authoritative in determining who is a human being, and, accordingly, what animal species is the recipient of the physician's art as differentiated from the veterinarian's. As physicians, they recognized the professional man's overriding dedication to the good of the individual patient, and obligation which transcends the perversities of the political state and the sophistries of a sick culture regarding who is or is not a human being deserving of health and life.

Hall and Tietze contradicted these principles, however, by denying the humanity and the right to patient-hood of the previable fetus, as established by a fixed predeterminable age even though the state of viability varies according to intrinsic factors, namely, the vitality of the newborn, and extrinsic factors, such as, the degree of available infant care skills and the state of technologic advance. (The capricious nature of the term "viability" is demonstrated by the New York law which permits abortion up to 24 weeks, four weeks past the period of viability.) These witnesses preemptorily narrowed the obligation of obstetrics from two patients—mother and child—to one patient, the visible patient, the mother. They also negated the pediatric subspecialty of fetology which holds that although the fetus "is the littlest patient, he is by no means the least." But at least these witnesses accepted fundamental principles which make dialogue possible.

In sharp contrast were the principles implicit in the testimony of the second set of pro-abortion witnesses. They abandoned the medical profession's responsibility to be governed by the teachings of biology, which irrevocably establish the medical art's constituency—its patients. Despite an occasional token disavowal they assented to the doctrine, foreign and inimical to the tradition of the medical profession, that physicians are primarily skilled technicians instrumentally subserving state and society—both its philosophy and its members—dutifully, compliantly and willingly.

For example, psychiatrist Liberman testified under oath that "whether the fetus is

human goes outside the area of medical science and psychiatry," and, "when a fetus becomes a human being is up to the mother." Psychiatrist Notman testified that "whether a fetus is human is not a medical issue"; that "the concept of human being is not a medical concept"; and that though the child is human after birth "what transforms a fetus into a human being by virtue of passing from the womb is not a medical question." Completely irrelevant to this twentieth century physician is the absence of any significant difference in the infant before and after birth. For Notman to disregard the observable and the evident for the mystical and the obscure is anachronistic and a throwback to the dark ages of a prescientific era. It recalls ancient preoccupations with *pneuma*: the soul or spirit thought to inspire and animate new life.

Biologist Hardin, who defines his science as dealing "with the structure, functioning, and activity of living *objects*, both plant and animal," (italics added) testified that it is "society which defines what is human and some societies define it differently." Since Hardin lists among his qualifications membership in the International General Semantics Society, this statement should be seen as an instance where his semantic inclinations took precedence over his biologic training. Nowhere in his testimony did Hardin comment that one society's concept of *human* may be more humanistic than another's. Nor did he take issue with Nazi Germany, a society which defined *human* in Aryan terms, or with former periods which classified Blacks and Asiatics as subhuman. To have such a doctrine voiced in the latter half of this century in a country which has defended the inalienable rights of the individual to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness adds fuel to the fire of today's pervasive emotions of alienation and aggression.

These witnesses held that in regard to the life and death of human beings, the state, any given society, or individual laymen, but *not* the physician, determines who is or is not a human being. Not only did they tolerate, but they readily acquiesced to the right of the state and society to graft on to medicine the function of executioner. In opposition to the character and tradition of medicine, they would add to Curative, Preventive and Perfective Medicine, a fourth end, Exterminative Medicine. To kill, however, goes counter to the very nature of medicine which is constituted by definitive ends: to cure, to prevent disease and to perfect health. These instrinsic ends underlie and are encapsulated in every code of medical ethics ever written. To add killing to healing as an end of medicine is as monstrous as adding the goal of injustice to justice in our sister learned profession, law.

At least one physician amenable to abortion has discerned the incongruity of a profession governed by conflicting ends. Michael J. Halberstam, a practicing internist in Washington, D.C., views the inclusion of abortion in the practice of medicine as a professional deviation of grave import. He finds the role of physician as a lethal instrument and an agent of society and state, when society and state decide for social or other reasons that certain categories of human beings are eligible for extermination, to be contrary to the physician's prime ordination to life and health and, thus, unacceptable. He felt sufficiently concerned about this subversive aspect of the abortion movement to make a counterproposal in an article addressed to the public at large.

In his introduction he notes that States that "have enacted 'liberalized' abortion laws . . . have changed the status of abortion within the medical profession itself, from unorganized criminally to organized hypocrisy" with the result "that the honesty of the medical profession has been subjected to continual erosion."

He expresses his concern that:

"More and more doctors are beginning to wonder if abortion should be the doctor's business . . . . The Hippocratic Oath in its classic form enjoins the physician from performing an abortion. Physician-abortionists have always worked on the fringe of the profession—known . . . but somehow despised. The reason for this is quite obvious. Medicine basically is the business of life. The physician is enjoined to protect and preserve life . . . The physician is taught to make no distinctions as to the stage or quality of the life he is to protect . . . as a physician I know that (the fetus) lives and as a human being I am in awe of it."

Halberstam believes that, although some of the thinking of abortion protagonists may be valid, "it misses one vital point:"

"By the very nature of his training and function the physician is committed to the preservation of life . . . regardless of its stage or quality. As a guardian of biological life I can understand that my distaste for abortion stems from the way I believe it compromises the basic fiber of my profession."

He then enunciates his position:

"The most compelling reason why doctors should not be required to perform abortions is that one arm of society, medicine, should continue to be devoted to life . . . Let the psychiatrists, social workers, social planners and population experts have their way; their reasons are socially valid. But when people we love are in the hospital—or when we ourselves are—we should never have to wonder if the doctor is thinking about his patient or about what is best for society.

"If abortions are to be made easier to obtain . . . the last people in the world to do them are physicians . . . Medicine now quite simply should renounce responsibility for performing or certifying the need for abortion.

"The biological facts about the fetus . . . are incontestable. The proper function of the physician in society is implicitly and explicitly agreed upon by physicians and those they serve, and that function is to preserve biological life. If the time has come when our civilization's sociological interpretation of fetal life has changed, it does not necessarily mean that the physician's role has changed along with it.

The suggestion that if abortions must be done they be done by non-physicians is not a copout. It is a recognition of a medical ethic that has served society well in many areas other than fetal life. And this medical ethic may be the individual's greatest protection in the future."

These thoughts of a physician sympathetic to certain elements of the abortion movement call for sober deliberation. That physicians tolerate and even welcome the exploitation and misuse of their technical skills for killing purposes suggests that they have been unreflective victims of today's barrage of propaganda by foundations and power groups fascinated by social engineering, and of demands for unrestricted personal freedom by a confused, unpurified and deeply resentful women's liberation movement.

Unfortunately, the avarice associated with a materially-oriented culture, to which physicians are not immune, makes them more susceptible to the siren song of increased opportunities for surgery. This has been confirmed by their exorbitant and sometimes extortionist fees for abortion and by lucrative assembly line practices. (Although it is claimed that abortion is an easy as pulling a tooth, the modest fee attached to an extraction is ignored.)

In either case, the willingness of physicians to cater to the consumer to the extent of destroying the very character of medicine as a profession shows how far we have wandered from the true physician's commitment to his learned profession. Halberstam, sensitive to the heritage of medicine, echoes in the above quoted passages what has been so forcefully expressed by Prof. Edelstein of Johns Hopkins University in his *Commentary on the Hippocratic Oath:* that the heart and backbone of a learned profession is the integrity, fidelity, dedication and allegiance of its members to its vocation and the further willingness of its members to suffer even martyrdom in the face of debasing and degrading forces.

The proclivity of the medical profession to succumb to corruptive cultural influences such as today's clamor for abortion-on-demand has been noted before. The nineteenth century Harvard professor, Oliver Wendell Holmes, father of the equally famous Supreme Court Justice of the same name, in an historical address to the Massachusetts Medical Society in 1860, forewarned us of this perennial predisposition.

He decried "the statesman who works in policy without principle [and] the physician who, calling himself a practical man, refuses to recognize the larger laws which govern his changing practice" pointing out that they "may all find that they have been building truth into the wall, and hanging humanity upon the cross." He spoke, too, of the inapparent "relation between the medical sciences and the conditions of society and the general thought of the time." Although he was aware that "theoretically medicine ought to go on its own straight-forward inductive path without regard . . . to fluctuations of public opinion," he also recognized its vagaries. "The truth is," he stated, "that medicine, professedly founded on observation, is as sensitive to outside influences, political, religious, philosophical, imaginative, as is the barometer to the changes of atmospheric density." (pp. 176–7)

As Holmes and others before and after him have stressed, however, the physician faithful to his learned profession has a commitment that overrides anti-professional onslaughts. In this sense, medicine, as a profession, is radically distinguished from today's transmuted concept of profession in which professional achievement is measured by the degree of monetary remuneration or the plaudits of the public. 'Professional' athletes and 'professional' entertainers come to mind. Today's abortionists qualify on both these grounds: on the basis of financial rewards, and popularity with highly vocal pro-abortion groups: upper-class, single, white males; women 'liberators'; 'liberal' mass communicators; and 'brave new world' politicians.

DeLee's earlier expression of abhorrence for the act of abortion, even when done to save one life when, otherwise, two would die, and his deep repugnance for abortion based on social indications, epitomizes medicine's timeless pro-life tradition. What, then, has caused us to swerve from a commitment intrinsic to the very nature of medicine as a profession? After all, DeLee was contemporary to many physicians practicing medicine today. He not only edited and annotated the *Year Book On Obstetrics* over a forty year period (1903 to 1942), and wrote the most widely used textbook on obstetrics, but he, more than any other physician, pioneered in reducing the scandalously high maternal mortality rates that characterized American medicine in the thirties and forties. (In the thirties, our national maternal mortality rate compared to other developed countries was as high as our infant mortality rate so compared is today. Our continuing high infant mortality rate reflects the same indifference that permits us to accept huge numbers of induced fetal deaths and makes us tolerant of the infanticide occurring in states where abortion is legal.)

BANNED FOR INDECENCY

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, in a 6-to-3 decision the other day, the U.S. Supreme Court once again demonstrated the serious legal problems which this Nation now faces in seeking to maintain its customary high moral standards.

The Court majority, in what it assumed to be its wisdom, ordered the University of Missouri to reinstate a female graduate student who had been expelled for distributing on campus an underground publication which had been banned for indecency.

And no wonder the ban. The paper carried a cartoon, according to the Associated Press, which pictured the "Police" in the act of raping the Statue of Liberty and the Goddess of Justice. Corny as was the idea itself, the cartoon nevertheless was a crude libel on law enforcement officers and obviously, in the minds of the university authorities, a disgusting piece of pornography.

But, no matter, the majority jurists, in an unsigned opinion, informed the university officials that, although they had the legal right to control conditions relating to the spread of ideas at their school, they could not halt the "mere dissemination" of them "no matter how offensive to good taste."

The majority held that the girl was dismissed because of the paper's content and not because of how she handled it and ordered that she be returned to her classes. The "facts," the Justices said, supported this finding.

In my judgment, this is one more of those Court exercises in nit-picking to which the Nation is being subjected in cases having to do with loose morals and obscenity. I agree, as I am sure most Americans do, with the Court minority in this instance, Chief Justice Burger and Justices Rehnquist and Blackman, that the true issue was circumvented and that the publication in question, being "obscene and infantile," was properly subject to university control. Justice Rehnquist made the added point that the victory for smut in the majority decision could add to the growing reluctance of taxpayers to finance higher education.

What can be done about this situation? Granted, the sincerity of the Court majority cannot be questioned. The Justices found what in their minds was the law of the case and based their findings upon it. Whether their determination damaged the Nation morally may have been beyond what they considered the scope of their jurisdiction.

We can disagree with them and condemn, as laymen, their seeming disregard of the consequences of what they did. But we cannot fault it, because the Court majority is the highest legal authority in the land. And yet, as Members of Congress and as parents and troubled Americans, we can face up to the results of this widespread Court permissiveness. This is our responsibility and I am sure the time has come for us to do something about it.

We need new laws dealing with pornography and, if Congress finds it possible to draft them so as to meet Court challenges, then we must submit the issue to the public in the form of a proposed constitutional amendment. I am sure an antismut amendment, one to rid our society of the rising tide of filth which has come in the wake of the Court rulings, would be supported overwhelmingly.

LIVE FETUS RESEARCH DEBATED

HON. STANFORD E. PARRIS

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. PARRIS. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article published recently in the Washington Post concerning the debate over live fetus research. Many of my constituents have been shocked and angered by this debate and I think it appropriate at this time to include this article in the RECORD.

NIH CONSIDERING ETHICS—LIVE-FETUS RESEARCH DEBATED

(By Victor Cohn)

The possibility of using newly-delivered human fetuses—products of abortions—for medical research before they die is being strenuously debated by federal health officials.

So is the question of whether or not federal funds ought to be used to support such research in a country where abortion is considered immoral by millions.

A proposal to permit such studies was recommended to the National Institutes of Health 13 months ago, it was disclosed yesterday by a doctors' newspaper, Ob.-Gyn. (Obstetrician-Gynecologist) News.

Officials at NIH, prime source of funds for American research laboratories, differed yesterday on whether the recommendations had at least temporarily become "NIH policy."

But they agreed that NIH is considering the ethics of the matter afresh in the light of last year's revelation of an Alabama syphilis study in which the human subjects were neither informed about their disease nor treated for it.

They also agreed that most scientists feel that it is both moral and important to health progress to use some intact, living fetuses—fetuses too young and too small to live for any amount of time—for medical study.

Most such scientists would apparently agree with the recommendations of still another NIH advisory body—made in September, 1971, but again not disclosed until yesterday—that a fetus used in research must meet at least two out of three criteria: (1) it be no older than 20 weeks: (2) no more than 500 grams (1.1 pounds) in weight; and (3) no longer than 25 centimeters (9.8 inches) from crown to heel.

Such tiny infants if delivered intact, may often live for an hour or so with beating heart after abortion.

They cannot live longer without aid, primarily because their lungs are still unexpanded. But artificial aid—fresh blood and fresh oxygen—might keep them alive for three or four hours.

Scientists in Great Britain and several other countries are regularly doing studies in this way, medical sources said yesterday.

British scientists generally work under a set of strict though unofficial guidelines set last year by a government commission named to end what virtually everyone agreed was an abuse—obtaining months-old fetuses for research and keeping them alive for up to three or four days.

Before permitting research on fetuses said the British commission, a hospital ethics committee must satisfy itself "that the required information cannot be obtained in any other way."

This is often the case, one well-known genetics researcher, Dr. Kurt Hirschhorn of New York's Mount Sinai Hospital and Medical School, said in an interview yesterday. Indeed, he added, some U.S scientists are going to Sweden or Japan or other countries to do such research and doing so with the help of their NIH funds.

Using the fetus, Hirschhorn said, it may be possible "to learn how differentiation occurs"—the way cells develop into different parts of the body. "We could learn more about inborn anomalies," or birth defects.

"I don't think it's unethical," he said. "It is not possible to make this fetus into a child, therefore we can consider it as nothing more than a piece of tissue. It is the same principle as taking a beating heart from someone and making use of it in another person."

Dr. Andrew Hellegers, professor of obstetrics at Georgetown University and director of the Kennedy Institute for the Study of Human Reproduction and Bioethics, argued with this view at one NIH advisory meeting. "It appears," he said, "that we want to make the chance for survival the reason for the experiment."

"Isn't that the British approach?" another member asked him.

"It was the German approach, 'If it is going to die, you might as well use it.' " Hellegers replied, referring to Nazi experiments on doomed concentration camp inmates during World War II.

Despite some views like his, an NIH Human Embryology and Development Study Section decided in September, 1971, that: "Planned scientific studies of the human fetus must be encouraged if the outlook for maternal and fetal patients is to be improved. Acceptable formats for the conduct of . . . carefully safeguarded, well controlled investigations must be found."

For example, this group warned, "under no circumstances" should attempts be made to keep a fetus alive indefinitely for research.

The study section's recommendations were greatly modified by the National Advisory Child Health and Human Development Council—the advisory group to NIH's National Institute of Child Health and Human Development—in March, 1972.

"It was my understanding that the advisory councils recommendations were accepted last year," Dr. Philip Corfman, acting director of the Child Health Institute, said yesterday. "But everyone knew they would require more work on specific guidelines."

However, Dr. Charles U. Lowe, the institute's scientific director—who was asked last year to head a group to help develop such guidelines—said: "The council statement was sent to the director of NIH, but it is not at the present time policy. It has no standing except as a council expression."

The Child Health Institute is supporting no research using live, intact fetuses, he said. Other sources said they knew of no such projects supported by any NIH institute, though, one added, "we'd have to survey some 12,000 projects to be sure."

Lowe said he personally agrees with the British commission's feeling that such research is proper and ethical if properly controlled.

"But I haven't decided in my own mind yet," he added, "whether we can go along with Great Britain, using federal dollars First, we have an articulate Catholic minority which disagrees. Second, we have a substantial and articulate black minority" sensitive on issues of human life.

Hirschhorn for his part argued: "How do

we know what drugs do to the fetus unless we find out?" A position is needed, he maintained, between those "who say we're not doing any harm to a fetus that's going to die anyway" and those who would require "highly complex forms" before a medical scientist can do anything.

CONSERVATISM: NEW ATTENTION, NEW RESPECT

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, it has been said for many years that both young people and the Nation's academic community have been moving steadily to the left and that the conservative approach to government, a belief in limited government, in national strength, in fiscal responsibility, was not to be found either within the academy or among our youth.

Nothing could be further from the truth. As a recent article in the Los Angeles Times pointed out, there is a definite trend toward conservatism, even in the academic world. The article noted:

Stanford's prestigious Hoover Institute is stepping up research in domestic affairs that will aid conservative scholars. . . The import of this trend extends far beyond the academic institutions and publications where the debate between conservatives and liberals is hottest. What is at stake is the shape of public opinion and, ultimately, the thrust of national policy for years to come.

Even at Harvard University, long considered a citadel of liberalism, students are engaged in studying the subject of "traditional conservatism in the 1970s." The teacher is Jeffrey Bell, former Washington representative of the American Conservative Union, and currently a fellow at Harvard's Kennedy Institute of Politics.

Part of the renewed interest in conservatism is surely the fact that liberal programs such as urban renewal, agricultural price supports, welfare, school busing, inflationary deficit spending, and a host of other governmental interventions into problem areas previously considered outside of the jurisdiction of government, have not solved any of our difficulties. Instead, Americans feel more and more out of control of their own government which is, increasingly, dominated not by elected officials but by bureaucrats who have been elected by no one and who are not obligated to return to the people at stated intervals for their approval or disapproval.

With the mounting evidence of the failure of liberalism and the bankruptcy of its belief that social problems can all be handled by the appropriation of government funds and the creation of government bureaus, conservatism has become of interest to many who truly seek a government which is responsive to the people and their real desires.

Discussing one of the major intellectual centers of the Nation, Los Angeles Times writer Robert Shogan states that:

Conservatives can expect more ammunition for their battles from Stanford University's Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace. The Hoover Institution, generally regarded as conservatively oriented, has in the past devoted nearly all its attention to international affairs. But last summer it announced a major expansion of research into economic, political and social problems on the domestic front.

The tide is turning in American politics, and that turn is one away from dependence upon government and the naive belief that huge financial expenditures can, in reality, solve problems of crime, alienation, and meaninglessness in an increasingly complex society. The problems we have must be faced. But we will need something better than the shopworn liberal slogans of the past with which to face them.

I wish to share with my colleagues the article concerning the renewed vigor of conservatism which appeared in the Los Angeles Times of March 15, 1973, and insert it into the RECORD at this time:

RENEWED VIGOR—CONSERVATISM: NEW ATTENTION, NEW RESPECT

(By Robert Shogan)

WASHINGTON.—This semester about 25 Harvard students are spending Tuesday nights boning up on the subject of "traditional conservatism in the 1970s." A feature of the new study group is a hard-nosed critique of conservatism's traditional adversaries—among them Harvard University itself.

The teacher, 29-year-old Jeffrey Bell, former Washington lobbyist for the American Conservative Union, came to Cambridge last month as a fellow at Harvard's Kennedy Institute of Politics. Officials there, Bell says, "told me quite frankly that they wanted more balance because they had underrated conservatism as a force."

Harvard's interest in Bell, and in the subject closest to his heart, is a sign of the ideological times. In their long underdog struggle against liberals, conservatives are now commanding increasing attention and respect, even in quarters where they had often been ignored or rebuffed.

MORE TIME AND SPACE

Two pillars of the so-called liberal Eastern Establishment, the Columbia Broadcasting System and the New York Times, are giving conservative views more time and space. Stanford's prestigious Hoover Institution, is stepping up research in domestic affairs that will aid conservative scholars. And a fiercely individualist brand of conservatism, called libertarianism, is spreading on campuses.

The import of this trend extends far beyond the academic institutions and publications where the debate between conservatives and liberals is hottest. What is at stake is the shape of public opinion and, utlimately, the thrust of national policy for years to come.

Conservative thinkers are trying to exploit the general disenchantment with liberalism that set in during the late 1960s. Because theirs has long been the dominant ideology, liberals have taken much of the blame for the nation's frustration with the Vietnam war and with urban and social problems.

"Liberals have come a cropper," William A. Rusher, publisher of the conservative National Review, says flatly.

NIXON SHIFTS TO RIGHT

Moreover, conservatives have gained impetus and enthusiasm from President Nixon's apparent sharp shift to starboard since last November's election. In his first term, Mr. Nixon's policies on China and welfare irked many right-wingers.

But now, says Patrick Buchanan, one of the most fervent conservatives on the White House staff, "the President has moved in a conservative direction, both in his budget and in his overall view of government. These are issues that could bring about a broad realignment of forces in the country."

Some conservatives hark back to the dawn of the New Deal as a model for their resurgency.

"Franklin Roosevelt rallied the liberals in the 1930s by making the 'economic royalists' a target," says one influential Administration official. "We conservatives can do the same thing by making our target the liberals in the media and the universities who control the manufacture and dissemination of knowledge."

The forces of modern American conservatism vary widely in doctrine and tactics. And the word "conservatism" itself resists simple definition, just as much as "liberalism" does.

But it is fair to say that most conservatives share a strong suspicion of government activity, particularly in the economic sphere. Most also view schemes for the perfection of society with considerable skepticism, founded on a dour view of human nature.

Though the hopes of conservatives are bright, their optimism is tempered by a recognition of their own shortcomings. For one thing, conservatives as a group do not seem to generate as much intellectual energy as liberals do.

NOT VERY STIMULATING

They are not particularly eager to join organizations or to buy books and publications that support their views. And on a personal level, one young conservative activist says: "Many conservatives are just not very stimulating to talk to."

Because they have been on the defensive for so long, conservatives tend almost instinctively to assume a negative stance on many public issues. "Criticizing the failures of the past is what we've been best at," White House aide Buchanan says.

Despite all this, many conservatives are now hastening to take advantage of a long-sought opportunity to contribute to the present, and to the future.

AGNEW HAS HELPED

Some conservatives believe that the willingness to grant them a hearing has been fostered by the charges of pro-liberal bias leveled against the communications media by Administration spokesmen, notably Vice president Agnew.

National Review's Rusher says the Administration criticism has, "no question about it, made the media more sensitive about whether they are fair. So now we get calls for conservative spokesmen to give conservative viewpoints on public events."

The CBS Spectrum program, started in 1971, presents the views of such conservative spokesmen as columnist Jeffrey St. John and American Conservative Union chairman M. Stanton Evans on a regular basis on network radio and TV.

The New York Times has opened its opinion pages to conservative writers including Buchanan, Rusher and Victor Gold, former press secretary to Vice President Agnew. And William Safire, one of President Nixon's top speech writers, will become a columnist for the New York Times when he leaves his White House post next month.

In some public controversies, the conservative chorus has been swelled by voices outside the fold. Irving Kristol, Sidney Hook and other eminent scholars previoulsy identified with liberal causes nowadays often seem to agree with conservatives on issues such as campus dissent and law and order.

"They're social issue conservatives, as distinguished from economic conservatives," says Thomas S. Winter, editor of the conservative weekly, Human Events. "But they're important because they can reach people we can't get to."

Human Events itself is trying new tactics to reach people. Its latest gambit is a set of cassette tapes featuring lectures by leading conservative spokesmen in defense of free enterprise.

"Stop liberal arguments cold," says an ad

in a recent issue. "Hear these seven famous conservatives in your own home." The complete set of tapes sells for $50.

Conservatives can expect more ammunition for their ideological battles from Stanford University's Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace.

RESEARCH EXPANDS

The Hoover Institution, generally regarded as conservatively oriented, has in the past devoted nearly all its attention to international affairs. But last summer it announced a major expansion of research into economic, political and social problems on the domestic front.

The program would provide scholars with a "think tank" comparable to Brookings Institution in Washington, though on a smaller scale. Brookings, says Martin Anderson, former special assistant to President Nixon and now a senior fellow at Hoover, "is 99% liberal-oriented. We're trying to develop our materials on a bipartisan basis."

By contrast with the John Birch Society, "we don't look for hidden causes and conspiracies," says Human Events' Winter. "We think things are pretty much what they seem."

"You've still got guys running around who want to sell the sidewalks," says William Baroody, president of the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, a Washington think tank which tries to offset liberal intellectual domination. "I want people who are concerned with picking out viable solutions to problems."

IN-DEPTH STUDIES

Under Baroody's leadership AEI's budget has jumped from $80,000 and "slipping" in 1954 to more than $2 million a year, contributed by companies, individuals and foundations. It churns out in-depth studies of national and international issues, analyzes major legislative proposals and sponsors TV confrontations between liberals and conservatives on controversial issues.

"My fundamental approach is that public policy is pretty largely determined by public attitudes," Baroody says. "What you've got to do is assure effective competition in the area of idea formulation."

The renewed vigor of conservatism is reflected on campuses from coast to coast. "Ten years ago it was hard to find students who would identify themselves as conservatives," says Don K. Price, dean of Harvard's Kennedy school of government. "Now there's a distinct minority which is growing in interest and aggressiveness."

STUDENT LIBERTARIANISM

Catching on particularly fast among students is an offshoot of conservatism called libertarianism. Libertarians oppose government intrusion not only in economic affairs, but also in what they regard as matters of personal liberty and conscience.

On some issues such as abortion (they are against most legal restrictions) and draft amnesty (they support it) libertarians are closer to the American Civil Liberties Union than to traditional conservatives.

Nevertheless, most traditional conservatives count libertarians as part of the right-wing flock. "I was a libertarian in college myself," says the Kennedy Institute's Bell. "I think it's kind of a young man's thing."

The largest libertarian group, the Society for Individual Liberty, started with chapters on 10 campuses in 1969. Today, according to co-director Don Ernsberger, it has 232 chapters and a total membership of about 10,000.

Last year the libertarians founded a political party, which nominated John Hospers, director of the University of Southern California school of philosophy as its candidate for President. Though the party started too late to get on the ballot in most states, Hospers did get one electoral vote, cast by a maverick Republican elector from Virginia.

For next month, the Society for Individual Liberty is planning what co-director Ernsberger calls a "major nationwide demonstration," to protest the income tax, and "tax tyranny of all kinds."

Looking ahead, with a sense of history, Ernsberger recalls the progressive movement of the 1890s which helped to usher in an era of national political reform. "If we can reach enough people that affect public opinion, the same thing will happen," he says. "If we can educate the people, a political movement will grow out of it."

THE HIDDEN CUTS IN FUNDING FOR RESEARCH INTO MENTAL DISORDERS

HON. ROBERT L. LEGGETT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. LEGGETT. Mr. Speaker, much of the discussion over the President's proposed budget has centered on cuts that we can see—the termination of OEO, the cuts in funds for higher education, the increase in costs to medicare recipients and so forth. What we have not heard much about are the budget reductions that are not readily apparent.

One cut that is hidden inside the maze known as the Federal budget is the massive slash slated for research on mental disorders. The President's 1974 budget proposes $124 million in grants to fund research on mental disorders, but not 1 cent of this $124 million is programed for new projects. This money is only going to be used to fund projects that are now in their 2d and 3d years. When this money is exhausted Federal research into mental disorders will cease to exist.

Mr. Speaker, this is a quiet, but nonetheless effective, way to kill much-needed research in this area. We have come a long way toward discovering cures for some of the most disabling mental disorders. Thanks to research, we now can use psychotropic drugs to limit the effect of schizophrenia and depression. No longer are patients doomed to spend the rest of their lives in mental hospitals as a result of these disorders. Hospitalization now often lasts a matter of weeks. Thousands have been released from hospitals in California.

Unfortunately, the actions of the Nixon administration threaten to mar this encouraging record. Much has been accomplished, but much needs to be done. The causes of schizophrenia have not yet been identified, and unless we continue a strong research effort those causes may never be discovered.

The National Association for Mental Health, a voluntary citizen organization that receives no money for research from Government agencies, has informed me that 250 research projects should be initiated in the next fiscal year in order to maintain the present level of research progress. This could be accomplished if the 1974 budget were at the same level as the current year, $145 million. The NAMH indicates, however, that this funding level is significantly low considering the need and opportunities for research.

At this point in the RECORD I would like to insert the full text of the Mental Health Association's comments on Federal funding for research into mental disorders for the benefit of my colleagues and also the credentials of the author, the very distinguished Dr. James Lowry, M.D.

The articles follow:

CALIFORNIA ASSOCIATION
FOR MENTAL HEALTH,
Sacramento, Calif., March 23, 1973.

Hon. ROBERT L. LEGGETT,
Congressman, Fourth District, California, Sacramento, Calif.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN LEGGETT: Thank you for taking time from your busy schedule to discuss with me the Administration's 1974 budget proposals for support of research on mental disorders. As you requested, I have put into writing some of what we discussed.

The amount in the President's 1974 budget for research supported by grants to universities and other research facilities is $124,000,000. There is not one dollar for new projects. This fiscal year there are $145,000,000. The $124,000,000 will continue those projects which will be in their second and third (final) year. It is obvious that the President has decided to terminate the support of research on mental disorders by the end of fiscal year 1975. I say it is obvious even though it is unstated and has never been discussed with the Congress.

The record shows that progress in the treatment of patients with mental disorders has been made as the result of the application of research. The utilization of psychotropic drugs has been one of the major factors in shortening the time of disability from the most disabling mental disorders—schizophrenia and depressions. No longer are patients doomed to spend the remainder of their lives in mental hospitals if they develop a mental disorder. Instead of years, hospitalization now lasts only weeks.

Not only has human suffering decreased, but recovered patients are able to be productive members of society instead of costly patients. When I became director of the California Department of Mental Hygiene in 1964, there were 35,000 patients in the state hospitals for the mentally ill. When I retired in 1971, there were less than 10,000. And the population in California had increased by almost 4,000,000 during this period.

Progress in treatment of some mental disorders has been made thanks to new knowledge from research being applied in clinical practice. However, our lack of knowledge exceeds our knowledge. The causes of the most disabling and widespread mental disorder, schizophrenia, have not been identified. We are at the same level of ignorance as in the field of cancer and cardiovascular diseases. However, recent advances in knowledge about geuetics, biochemistry and neuropharmacology have opened the doors to encouraging progress. Unless we have continued research, hundreds of thousands of people will become mentally sick every year.

Very little research is now being done on the mental disorders of children and the aged. While schizophrenia is the curse of middle age, the young and the old have their full share of illnesses.

Rather than terminating the support of research, it should be strengthened. Since the results of research benefit everyone in our nation, it is an appropriate area for federal support. The National Association for Mental Health is a voluntary citizen organization with state and local chapters in every state. Like other such organizations, it has limited funds but is investing what it can in research, about $170,000 per year. Its support of the budget of the National Institute of Mental Health for research grants is not motivated by self interest, since it neither asks nor receives money for research from the Institute or any other government agency. Those of us who serve on the Research Committee do so without monetary compensation, but with great personal gratification.

To maintain the present level of research progress, at least 250 new research projects should be initiated in the next fiscal year. This could be done if the budget for 1974 were at the same level as the current year. There are projects waiting to be supported in genetics, biochemistry, neurophysiology, children's disorders, schizophrenia, the effects of environmental stress and other important areas. The National Association of Mental Health has considered the research program very carefully and recognizes that the present level of research is disproportionately small compared to the need and the opportunities for research. It recommends that the research budget for 1974 be $164,000,000 in order to make significant advances in knowledge that will result in prevention and effective treatment.

My professional career has been in the delivery of medical services and this has enabled me to see the progress resulting from research during the last thirty-five years. Very little progress would have happened without the federal support of research. What I am writing about is not just next year's budget, but the fate of the entire research program. If you and the other members of Congress do not act on behalf of the people of this country, there will be no research grant program in 1976 even if there is legislative authorization.

With best regards,

JAMES V. LOWRY, M.D.

SEPTEMBER 1972.

CURRICULUM VITAE

James V. Lowry, M.D., 700 Woodside E. Ln. Apt. 3, Sacramento, Calif.

Born 1913, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

B.S.—University of Wisconsin, 1935.

M.D.—University of Wisconsin, 1937.

Internship—U.S. Marine Hospital, New Orleans, 1937–38.

Psychiatric residency—U.S. Public Health Service Hospital at Fort Worth and Colorado Psychopathic Hospital.

Psychoanalytic training—Washington Psychoanalytic Institute.

EXPERIENCE

1. Research—National Institute of Health, 1940–1943;
2. Chief, Psychiatric Service, U.S. Public Health Service Hospital, Fort Worth, 1943;
3. Clinical Director, U.S. Public Health Service Hospital, Lexintgon, Kentucky, 1944–1947;
4. Chief, Community Services Branch, National Institute of Mental Health, 1947–1954;
5. Medical Officer in Charge, U.S. Public Health Service Hospital, Lexington, Kentucky, 1954–1957;
6. Assistant Surgeon General and Deputy Chief, Bureau of Medical Services, U.S. Public Health Service, 1957–1958;
7. Assistant Surgeon General and Chief, Bureau of Medical Services, U.S. Public Health Service, 1958–1964;
8. Director, Department of Mental Hygiene, State of California, 1964–1971; and

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS

1. American Board of Psychiatry, diplomate, 1946.
2. Mental Hospital Administrator, certified, 1956.
3. American Psychiatric Association, Fellow; Vice-Chairman, Council on Mental Health Services.
4. Sigma Sigma, honorary medical fraternity.
5. Alpha Omega Alpha, honorary medical fraternity.
6. Central California Psychiatric Society.
7. Consultant, National Association for Mental Health, non-pay.
8. Consultant, California Conference of Local Mental Health Directors, non-pay.
9. Consultant, National Institute of Mental Health.
10. Consultant, California Association for Mental Health, non-pay.
11. Consultant, California Department of Corrections.

THE NEW BUDGET TWIST: IMPOUNDMENT VIA NEW GUIDELINES

HON. SHIRLEY CHISHOLM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Mr. Speaker, I noted with great interest that the Senate Finance Committee Chairman RUSSELL LONG has announced that he will begin hearings on the proposed new guidelines for social service programs directly after Easter recess on May 8.

As a day care teacher, director, and consultant with 19 years of experience in the field of child care, and as a legislator deeply concerned about social welfare programs, I was deeply shocked at the effect which these proposed guidelines would have on the quality of services provided to our elderly, our handicapped, our retarded, and to the small children of working mothers.

And as a Member of Congress I am incensed at the highhanded liberties which the bureaucrats in HEW have taken in rewriting these guidelines. The guidelines are clearly contrary to congressional intent and are but one more example of the arrogance which the executive branch has displayed toward Congress.

Because of the great interest in the social service guidelines by both Members of Congress and citizen groups, I am today inserting into the RECORD copies of my critique of the proposed guidelines and a letter which I sent to Representative WILBUR MILLS, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee.

I would urge everyone who is interested in this issue to write to Chairman RUSSELL LONG of the Senate Finance Committee before May 4 so that they may be afforded the opportunity to register their views of the proposed guidelines.

The proposed guidelines and letter follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., April 3, 1973.

HON. WILBUR D. MILLS,
Chairman, House Ways and Means Committee, Washington, D.C.

DEAR WILBUR: I had wanted to speak to you personally about this but I have been ill the past few weeks.

As you know, the proposed new Guidelines for the Social Services Programs have created an uproar around the country.

I realize that you are deeply involved in the hearing on tax reform right now but I hope you will consider holding hearings on the effect of the new regulations.

I am opposed to them on several grounds. First, I am incensed at what seems to be an arrogant attempt to rewrite the Social Services legislation via these new guidelines.

I know that the Committee was disturbed about abuses—many of which could have been corrected if H.E.W. had simply enforced the old guidelines, and that you were disturbed about the fact that H.E.W. could not account for or give even the vaguest estimate of how each of the state were spending these monies. But, this did not give the H.E.W. bureacrats a license to rewrite the law.

Congress clearly wanted to spend the full $2.5 billion.

Congress did not indicate that *past* and *potential* welfare clients were to be denied assistance.

Congress did not indicate that they intended that the quality of programs should be so weakened and watered down as to render them purely custodial.

As a Day Care instructor, teacher, and director with nineteen years of experience, I am very distressed at the attempts to save money at the expense of little children. The proposal to double the teacher/child ratio, to eliminate expenditures for the health and nutritional aspects of the programs, and the elimination of monitoring and code enforcement costs as a reimburseable expenditure, quite frankly gives me the horrors. I have seen the effect of shoddy, unlicensed, or unenforced programs. You end up with some pathetic soul who needs help herself, taking in children to make a little money. The children sit on a bare floor in wet diapers, munching potato chips without any diversion except a television. That is not Child Care!

The change in the definitions for past and potential recipients from 2 years to 3 months and 5 years to 6 months, is both contrary to the law because it would virtually eliminate past and potential welfare recipients from participation, and foolish because it forces current wage earners back into a dependency status which is, in fact, more costly to the taxpayer.

The proposed guidelines are nothing but a kick in the teeth to those women who are struggling to get off or stay off welfare. As I indicated in my enclosed comments on the proposed regulations, H.E.W. has set up a Catch 22 situation for these women. Under the Talmadge Amendments, she is forced to accept job training and employment, then 3 months after she gets her job, she becomes ineligible for day care and the only way she can become re-eligible is to go back on welfare.

There are some 25.5 million poor in the nation, of which only 21.5% are on welfare. Under these new regulations, none of these struggling people would be eligible for help. I thought after all that hoopla about Family Assistance Plan that they had finally gotten it into heir heads that the solution to welfare was to help people to work!

In fact, I wish that the Committee, in recognition of the close interrelationship between day care and family planning and the ability of an individual to get off and stay off welfare, would exempt day care and family planning from the Social Services Ceiling.

The final ironic twist is that the same Administration which talks so much about putting decision-making power at the state and local level, has with these guidelines, taken away from the states decision-making power, which they used to exercise regarding eligibility, fee schedules etc. And; the same Administration which speaks so eloquently of volunteer donations and the role of the private sector, now comes up with guidelines which forbid the use of private funds.

I realize that I have gone on a bit but this attempt to thwart Congressional intent and abuse people in the name of "targeting our priorities on those with the greatest need", as Secretary Weinberger puts it, has just incensed me. Apparently the only thing they understand down there is for Congress to hit them over the heads with a two by four.

Sincerely yours,

SHIRLEY CHISHOLM,
Member of Congress.

To: The Administrator, Social and Rehabilitation Service, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

From: The Honorable Shirley Chisholm, Room 123, Cannon House Office Building, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

Re: The proposed H.E.W.–S.R.S. Regulations for Social Services Programs for Families and Children.

As the Representative of a Congressional District, the constituents of which will be severely effected by the proposed changes in guidelines, as a former day care and child development center director, and teacher of some twenty years experience, and as a member of Congress, who is intensely interested in our welfare and child programs, I am deeply concerned about the proposed guidelines for social services.

In the last few months, we have seen a variety of methods utilized to cut back expenditures for social welfare programs. First, there have been outright budget cuts, second, impoundment of funds authorized and appropriated by Congress, and third, a more subtle device, impoundment by the redrafting of guidelines, thus making it impossible to spend the money allocated by Congress. In the instance of the social services programs, various groups from the Child Welfare League, to the American Public Welfare Association estimate that under the new guidelines the states will only be able to spend about one half of the 2.5 billion Congress mandated for social services.

Many members of Congress were deeply concerned about the rapid rise in social service expenditures. Indeed, this was the reason that the $2.5 billion dollar ceiling was imposed but, the Congress clearly intended that all of the $2.5 billion should be spent and in no case did they intend such a drastic change in the quality and kind of services to be provided. As Chairman Wilbur Mills stated on the floor, "we have not changed the definition of Social Services that are available for those who are recipients of or applicants for welfare."

Unfortunately, as in a number of other instances in the past few months, the Administration has seen fit to assume responsibilities which constitutionally belong to Congress. The effect of the new guidelines is to completely rewrite the Social Services legislation. I would submit that however much H.E.W. might like to assume that responsibility, it is not theirs to assume.

Since the 1967 amendments, the social security laws have provided that the states shall provide appropriate social service programs to *past, current,* and *potential* welfare recipients. The language of the law has not changed but, the effect of the new guidelines on eligibility and the new income limitations would be to eliminate past and potential welfare recipients from participating.

All of this is being done in the name of targeting monies on those with the greatest need and eliminating wasteful spending but the effect will be to take away benefits from the working poor who have managed to get off or stay off welfare and in many instances, force them to go on the welfare rolls at considerably greater expense to the public than the cost of the original supportive service! Not only is this a hardship on the families involved, it is a misuse and abuse of public tax monies.

Under the old regulations, a past recipient was defined as one who had been on welfare up to two years ago. A potential recipient was defined as one who might slip onto the welfare rolls in the next five years. When the new regulations are combined with the Talmadge Amendments, they set up a Catch 22 situation for the recipient. Under the Talmadge Amendments, she is forced into work training and employment, then 3 months after she gets her job, she loses her day care eligibility. The only way she can become reeligible for child care is to go back on the welfare rolls!

Under the old regulations, there were no specific income limitations. Instead, each state established its own criteria based upon local needs and the local economic situation. Under the proposed new regulations, potential recipient cannot earn more than 133⅓% of the actual welfare payment level. In some states, principally the southern states which have a high incidence of poverty, benefit levels are so low that this new regulation would prohibit families below the poverty line from receiving assistance. In the state of Mississippi, for example, a mother could not earn more than $71.83 a month and still utilize the day care that makes it possible to stay off assistance.

Similarly, a retired social security beneficiary in Florida, receiving more than $85.73, could not benefit from the home-maker service that makes it unnecessary for him to turn to assistance for the far more expensive care in a nursing home.

While the 133⅓% limitation will wreak havoc in the poorer states of the nation, it will also create serious problems in New York. Under the new formula, the state would have to terminate service to anyone with an income over $5,400 as the $7,500 cut off point in the present state plan. This may seem like a high benefit level but the plain fact is that it costs more to be poor in New York City than it does in Hattiesburg, Mississippi.

If these working mothers have their day care eligibility taken away from them, they will be forced onto the welfare rolls. Of the 40,000 children now served in New York City, approximately one half, 20,000, will no longer be eligible for assistance. As Greg Color, a day care director from Minneapolis, Minnesota, pointed out in testimony before the House Education and Labor oversight hearings, welfare is three times as expensive as providing day care.

Clearly, some method of determining eligibility other than the 133⅓% formula, will have to be devised. One that has been suggested is to provide free services up to a specific income level and then a graduated fee schedule above that point. If H.E.W. chooses to consider a sliding fee scale as one of the alternatives to the 133⅓% formula, I would like to suggest that they consider the fee schedules devised by the House-Senate Conferees when we were considering the Day Care and Child Development Bill. The Fee Schedule had bipartisan support and although it would have to be revised to take into account the increase in the BLS Standard (Bureau of Labor Statistics Lower Living Standard budget for an urban family of four), it provides a useful indication of Congress' view of an appropriate fee schedule. It allowed free child care for any family earning up to $4,320. Families earning from $4,320 to $5,916 would pay 10% of the increase over $4,320 or $159 for the first two children. From $5,915 to $6,960 the family would pay $159 plus 15% of the increase over $5,916. At the $6,960 level, the cost would be $317 and the Secretary of H.E.W. would set the fees above that income level. (See p. 18, Section 516(8) (A) and (B) Conference Report 92–682 Economic Opportunity Amendments of 1971, U.S. House of Representatives, November 29, 1971.)

Since the cost of living varies greatly in different parts of the country, any fee schedule should be based on *disposable income* rather than gross income. It would be appropriate to deduct fixed items such as taxes, court ordered support, social security, health insurance, pension and union dues, rent, utilities, and transportation expenditures so that eligibility can be determined on a more equitable basis.

By focusing only on *current* welfare recipients, H.E.W. is establishing a disincentive to work and is ignoring the very real needs of the working poor. It should be pointed out that:

According to the 1970 Census, there are still some 25.5 million poor in the nation (e.g. incomes under $3,968);

Only 21.5% of these families are on welfare;

Over 40% of these poverty families are headed by women;

Over 50% of all poor black families are headed by women;

And, the number of female headed families is growing. In 1960, 25% of all marriages ended in divorce or annulment. By 1970 the figure was up to 35%;

Among women as heads of household, 215,000 worked sometime during the year but fewer than 10% worked full time year around. It is mainly their duties at home that kept them out of work;

Of those who worked, over half are employed as service workers or maids. And more than half the women who headed families worked as maids in 1970 had incomes under the federal poverty line (the median income for domestics is $1,800):

Among married women in 1970, 8 million earned between $4,000 and $7,000 and two-thirds of them were married to men who earned less than $10,000;

The median income 1969—all males: $6,429.

The median income 1969—minority males: $3,891.

Median income 1969—all females: $2,132.

Median income 1969—minority females: $1,084. (From Work in America, Report of a special task force to the Secretary of H.E.W., December 1972, p. 42.)

What the above figures point out is that there is a vast constituency of people who need the kind of support and help the social services provide. This is particularly true in the area of Day Care, which is the essential Social Service necessary if a woman is to be able to work and support her family. The new guidelines are designed to help only those who are currently welfare recipients and does not allow for any consideration of, or extension of services to, these working mothers who are struggling to keep their heads above water. Isn't it about time we rewarded and helped the people who are doing their darndest to stay off welfare?

In my view, the old standards of 2 years and 5 years should be reinstated and we should all work to remove day care and family planning from the 2.5 Social Services Ceiling.

As a former day care teacher and director, I am as disturbed by some of the omissions in the new regulations as I am by the inclusion of others. These omissions mark the return to custodial care which all of us in the field have worked to eliminate. The exclusion of key provisions regarding staff training, health and nutrition, staff child ratios, parental involvement, and the complete lack of reference to the Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements, all point toward a deterioration of services. We all have seen the snake pits so many of our mental institutions have become, for God's sake let's not do that to our children.

The current regulations requiring staff development, education and training for both professionals and paraprofessionals need to be reinstated.

The elimination of health and nutrition services is especially harmful as these are essential to the normal growth and development of small children. Those who suggest that money for health care and nutrition programs are available from other sources, have no idea how difficult it is to secure these services in the field. It is also indicative of the fact that they are not aware of the cutbacks H.E.W. has been making in the Maternal and Infant and Children and Youth Health Care programs or the attempted cutbacks in the School Lunch Program. All of the sources of funding which might have been turned to, are being cut back or phased out.

The lack of reference to the Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements is particularly disturbing because it once again flies in the face of Congressional intent. Congress specifically included the 1968 Federal Interagency Day Care Requirements in the O.E.O. Act precisely because we wished to reaffirm our support for these standards, to make it

clear that any revision of these standards shall be "no less comprehensive" than those of 1968.

There are disturbing rumors that H.E.W. plans to water down the standards and to effect savings by increasing the child-care giver ration to about double what it is now. That kind of "savings" is not going to produce anything but badly cared for children.

When President Nixon vetoed the Day Care and Child Development Act, he did so because he asserted that child care programs must not "diminish parental authority and parental involvement with children." In view of this strongly held belief, I find it strange that under the new regulations, all parent involvement has been virtually eliminated. Whereas, under the old regulations, ⅓ of the local and state Day Care Advisory Councils were made up of parents, they may now serve only in a vague advisory capacity at the state level. Further, an input by the parents as to the "suitability" of the child care offered, has been removed.

As one who has worked in the field for 20 years, I believe we must do everything we can to encourage and indeed insist upon participation by parents. As has been indicated by study after study, anything that has been done in school or in a day care center, must be reinforced in the home atmosphere. This is especially true with very young children precisely because they are so young and impressionable.

I am not going to spend a great deal of time discussing the prohibition against private contributions except to say that, if the current regulations had been properly enforced the members of the Senate Finance Committee and the House Ways and Means Committee would have had nothing to criticize.

The current regulations state:

(1) Donated private funds for services may be considered as state funds in claiming federal reimbursement where such funds are:

(i) Transferred to the state or local agency and under its administrative control; and

(ii) Donated on a restricted basis (except that funds donated to support a particular kind of activity, e.g. day care, or to support a particular kind of activity in a named community, are acceptable provided the donating organization is not the sponsor or operator of the activity being funded.)

(2) Donated private funds for services may not be considered as state funds in claiming federal reimbursement where such funds are

(i) Contributed funds which will revert to the donor's facility or use

(ii) Donated funds which are earmarked for a particular individual or for members of a particular organization.

The enforcement of the existing regulations would have insured that abuses would not occur.

This is also true in the case of group eligibility situations. There are instances where group eligibility is a useful idea (e.g. in housing projects and migrant work camps). It is more efficient and less expensive to set up a group eligibility center in these instances. Rather than eliminate group eligibility, altogether because of a few abuses, let's enforce the existing regulations more carefully.

Speaking of enforcement, the proposed new regulations requiring recertification every 3 and 6 months, are merely going to create more red tape in a program that is loaded down with it. In addition, it will divert scarce and badly needed funds from services into administrative overhead. Since one's income rarely improves dramatically in such a short period of time, it would be more reasonable and efficient to check eligibility once a year.

While I completely concur that one of the prime objectives of the social service day care programs is to provide assistance to working mothers, it is not the only objective.

In instances of drug or alcoholic addiction, chronic illness or suspected child abuse day care is an important resource for caseworkers who are trying to improve the quality of life in the home and to help recipients sort out their problems. The decision to make child care services available ought to be made at the local level by state and local agencies as they are in a far better position to make a judgement as to whether a service is appropriate or necessary.

According to O.M.B.'s own analysis, social service outlays for nonemployment related day care were estimated to be $154 million for fiscal year, 1974, providing services for 253,000 children. If the new guidelines are retained without amendment, the states will no longer be able to provide these services.

Clearly, the removal of this option is antithetical to the Administration's doctrine that it wants to return decision making power to state and local governments. In fact, as Representative Orval Hensen (R, Idaho) pointed out in the oversight hearings on March 14th, in every case the new guidelines are taking from the states decision making responsibilities which were formerly theirs.

Under the existing guidelines, the states determine who is eligible for nonemployment related child care, devise income eligibility and fee schedules and decide appropriate monitoring schedules. Under the proposed regulations H.E.W. will withdraw this policy making authority from the states and promulgate these decisions from on high here in Washington in direct contravention of the avowed Administration policy.

Finally, in the past day care has been a *mandated* rather than optional service. In view of the current emphasis on assisting working mothers, day care should be mandated service. We cannot berate people for not working when we do not provide the tools they need to go to work.

I appreciate this opportunity to comment on the proposed regulation and sincerely hope that they will be carefully reviewed, reexamined, and rewritten in light of all of the criticisms which have been advanced by a broad cross section of Members of Congress, welfare and social service administrators and consumers.

RAMSEY CLARK VISIT DESCRIBED BY EX-POW

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, back during the Vietnam war many of us were concerned about the visits of Jane Fonda and former Attorney General Ramsey Clark to Hanoi and their appearance with certain POW's at a press conference in Hanoi. Most of us were aware the prisoners appeared under duress but the peace at any price advocates denied that there was any stage management of this unfortunate event.

Now that the prisoners are home the real truth is out. Knowingly or unknowingly, Ramsey Clark perpetrated a fraud on the American public in the name of peace. A man of his intelligence and background should have known better. I am troubled about and ashamed of his performance.

I ask consent to include an article about his visit printed in the San Diego Union on April 14, 1973.

The article follows:

CLARK VISIT DESCRIBED BY EX-POW—FLIER SAYS LEGAL AID OFFERED IF HE ISSUED ANTI-WAR STATEMENTS

(By Jim Russell)

An ex-POW said here yesterday that he was offered legal assistance by Ramsey Clark, when the former attorney general visited Hanoi last August.

Navy Lt. Stephen A. Rudloff said Clark told him he would represent him in court after he was released, if he, Rudloff, made antiwar statements while in prison.

Clark met with 10 American prisoners in Hanoi, Aug. 10, 1972

Rudloff, 28, was shot down May 10, 1972.

He was joined in the press conference yesterday by former POWs Lt. John C. Ensch, Lt. Cmdr. Phillip A. Kientzler and Lt. Carroll R. Beeler.

"My meeting with Ramsey Clark was a staged production," Rudloff said. "We were very disturbed, but we tried to be very cordial with him."

He said those who were forced to attend the meeting praised the food and medical attention excessively, as a signal that the affair was staged.

GRANDIOSE STATEMENT

"Some of us intentionally made grandiose statements concerning medical treatment and food in the hopes that it would be noticed back in the United States," he said.

He said Clark's statements concerned the political atmosphere and the chances that Sen. George McGovern, D-S.D. would be elected president.

"He also discussed some legal questions in that if we made statements opposing the war, that he would be more than willing to represent us in court at a later date," he said.

Despite their brief captivity—none was confined more than a year—all four ex-POWs told of being mistreated by their captors

Kientzler, 33, was shot down Jan. 27, 1973, the day before the cease-fire agreement.

He was naval flight observer (radar intercept officer) for Cmdr. Harley H. Hall, who still is missing.

CHUTES FIRED UPON

Hall, former flight leader of the Blue Angels, was executive officer of Fighter Squadron 143, aboard the carrier Enterprise.

Kientzler said they were about 200 yards apart as they parachuted.

"Once we got into the air we received intense ground fire, and I was shot in the leg," he said.

He said the last time he saw Hall, he was about 2,000 feet above ground, alive and looking around.

"It was common practice for the Communist to fire on parachutes as they were coming down," he said.

Although virtually all of his imprisonment was after the cease-fire took effect, Kientzler said he was in solitary confinement until two days before he left Hanoi.

"I was put in stocks and my window tarpapered over, because they caught me talking," he said.

He said he arrived in Hanoi from Quang Tri province in South Vietnam where he was captured, two weeks after the first group of POWs was released.

"That how my name got out," he said, adding that was how U.S. officials learned he was a prisoner.

He said they kept telling him that because his name was not on the list of prisoners to be released, he would not go home.

Ensch, 35, said their bus ride to the C–141 waiting to take them to freedom was the first time they had been outside the prison, without being blindfolded.

He said when they passed a railroad yard that had been bombed, the guards were not pleased with the prisoners' murmurs of approval.

Ensch said his thumb, severed by a missile

fragment when he was shot down, was amputated by his captors, after three days of interrogation.

"I was refused medical attention until such time as I would answer their military questions," he said.

He said doctors at Naval Hospital are working on his left hand which was neglected during his confinement.

Beeler, 29, said civilians who picked him up when he was shot down, May 24, 1972, treated him kindly, contrary to the experience of others.

He said when he was shot down by a surface to air missile, he was injured by fragments.

He said they took him to a small room and began immediately to clean him up.

"Five minutes after I was shot down I had a bowl of hot tea in my hand," he said.

The samaritan treatment ended, however, when a North Vietnamese army officer showed up.

After injecting him with novocain, a doctor began sewing up his wounded leg, he said.

"At this time a man wearing an army uniform with officer's insignia came in and stopped the treatment," he said.

"He pushed the doctor away and said, 'Now you go to Hanoi.' That was the end of my medical treatment."

Beeler said he got into trouble eight days before he was released, for passing a cigarette to another prisoner.

He said he was threatened with punishment, but except for harassment, it was not carried out.

He said he never doubted he would be released, despite threats to the contrary following the incident.

Operation Homecoming officials said 538 of the 590 ex-POWs across the country have held news conferences.

Three former prisoners are scheduled to meet with newsmen Monday at Naval Hospital here.

"When these three men speak," said Cmdr. Brayton Harris, "that will make 43 out of the 47 men at Naval Hospital who have talked with the press."

The three are Lt. Cmdr. Theodore W. Triebel, Lt. Albert R. Molinare, and Lt. Henry J. Bedinger.

TO KEEP OUR COUNTRY A DECENT PLACE TO LIVE IN

HON. WILMER MIZELL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. MIZELL. Mr. Speaker, for some time I have been concerned about the increasingly permissive censoring policies being followed by the television networks and a growing number of radio stations across the country.

I have spoken out many times against the spread of pornographic literature and motion pictures, and I have sponsored and supported legislative measures designed to protect private homes from being invaded by obscene mail and advertisements.

One such measure, which Congress passed in 1970, was a tough law providing penalties of 5 years in prison and $50,000 in fines for those who send pornographic material through the mail and into private homes.

This was a good law, and one which I strongly supported. The law provides a means of removing a person's name from mailing lists of pornography dealers, and thus stopping the influx of unsolicited obscene material.

In 1971, Congress passed another anti-pornography law, which strictly defined "obscenity" and provides for more stringent controls on the sale of pornographic material to minors.

I strongly supported this bill as well, and offered an amendment to it which would have prohibited pornography dealers from mailing potentially offensive material to private homes unless that material has been ordered by the resident.

But fighting pornography through the mail is only part of the battle we must wage to rid the Nation of this ugly disease.

Pornographic bookstores, which advertise their wares in window displays that pedestrians cannot avoid seeing, have multiplied in recent years to the point that there is hardly an American community left today without at least one such store.

Countless moviehouses throughout the country exhibit tasteless scenes of sexual activity every day, and Hollywood seems determined to see just how far it can go in the name of "art."

It has even reached the point that people cannot take their families for a drive through the countryside without being subjected to these scenes that are current fare at thousands of open-air, drive-in theaters.

And the battleground has spread now to millions of television sets and radios.

This television season has been marked by an alarming increase in the use of bad language and vulgarity. One network began the season by showing an X-rated movie on late-night television. More and more television programs are becoming more and more permissive, and it has gotten to the point that parents cannot always be sure that a program will be all right for their children to see.

And just a few days ago, the Federal Communications Commission fined a radio station in California $2,000 for broadcasting a program devoted solely to vulgar conversation.

Freedom of speech is a precious right in this country, but as Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes said, freedom of speech does not include the right to yell "fire" in a theater; it is not absolute.

The Nation's broadcast airwaves have begun to abuse the right of free speech, and some broadcasters are infringing on the right of decent people not to be subjected to foul language every time they turn on their radios or to vulgar scenes on their televisions.

I intend to write the Federal Communications Commission to urge its members to continue the example of strict supervision they demonstrated in fining the radio station I mentioned earlier for its misconduct, and I will urge the Commission to establish and supervise a stricter code of program censorship for television as well.

The current attitude of "anything goes" should be the first thing to go when these new standards are set.

At a time when the spread of pornography and permissiveness has reached epidemic proportions in our country, and when the moral fiber of our Nation seems to be unraveling, I believe we are in desperate need of stricter and more effective policies for both pornographic material and programs that are offered as "entertainment."

I am committed to that effort, and I will do all that I can to ensure that this country remains a truly decent place to live.

ASPIN HITS INTERIM TESTIMONY ON ALASKA PIPELINE

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, today the Honorable John C. Whitaker, Acting Secretary of the Interior, presented a statement to the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee concerning the granting of rights-of-way across Federal lands.

Mr. Whitaker repeated many of the deceptive and half-truthful statements used by the Nixon administration to bolster the Alaskan pipeline.

Mr. Whitaker claims that for reasons of "economic efficiency, balance of payments, and national security reasons," that we need an Alaskan pipeline. He said:

> The Alaska pipeline can be built at least 3–5 years sooner than a trans-Canadian pipeline and an Alaskan pipeline will carry all U.S. oil while a trans-Canadian pipeline might carry as much as 50% Canadian oil some of which might go to Canadian markets.

In terms of economic efficiency, the trans-Canadian route is a clearly superior route. It will provide supply and price balance throughout the country. If an Alaskan route is built, in 1980 there will be 200,000 barrels per day of excess oil on the west coast which must either be shipped to Japan or sent to the east coast on costly tankers.

The net balance-of-payments effect of building a Canadian pipeline would be negligible. Only if large amounts of Canadian oil were transported to U.S. markets would the balance of payments be seriously effected. Any oil that is imported from Canada—whether via pipeline or not—creates balance-of-payments debits.

In terms of national security, I believe that a Canadian line has certain advantages. It would not involve the tankering of oil across a vast and treacherous waterway which can be, in time of war, infested with enemy submarines. The chances of oil loss are much fewer and Canada has been traditionally our staunchest international ally.

Recently, when a member of my staff asked the Canadian Embassy to pinpoint on the record Canada's insistence on 50 percent Canadian-owned oil, he was told that the statement could "not be identified." Canada has apparently not insisted on 50 percent Canadian oil passing through the pipeline. It would be very foolish for Canada to insist on such a proviso since the development of the MacKenzie Valley Delta so far has yielded very little supplies. I am sure that the Canadians will not insist on keeping

the pipeline empty to pipe nonexistant Canadian oil.

Mr. Whitaker also emphasizes the effects of the pipeline on Alaska. Whether a pipeline is built through Canada or Alaska, the State of Alaska will still receive 20 percent of the oil head price. Hence, either pipeline will provide Alaska with the same revenue.

In terms of jobs, the building of a pipeline would create a boom and bust atmosphere. There would be temporarily thousands of construction jobs that would disappear in 3 years after the pipeline construction is complete. The boom and bust economy in Alaska would probably only add to the long term economic problems that the State is facing.

Mr. Whitaker also claims that the building of the Canadian line will involve serious delays. The MacKenzie Valley Research Pipeline group which has studied feasibility of the Canadian line has estimates that it will take 4 years from the date of filing an application to completion of the line. Even if Congress approves the Alaska pipeline today, the lengthy court battle lasting years will ensue over environmental issues. The upshot of the delay argument is simple: It is quite possible that a Canadian line could be built as quickly or almost as quickly as the Alaska route.

In his statement Mr. Whitaker also conveniently sidesteps an earlier statement made by Secretary Morton concerning the cost of a pipeline. Secretary Morton publicly stated that a Canadian pipeline would cost $10 billion. Mr. Whitaker corrects Secretary Morton's statement by saying "together, an oil and gas pipeline will cost about $10 billion." In point of fact, the MacKenzie Valley Pipeline Research Limited group estimates the cost of a Canadian route at $3.4 billion.

In his testimony Mr. Whitaker says Alaska oil was needed on the west coast. But, a careful examination of the Interior Department's own figures along with the National Petroleum Council figure indicate that in 1980 there will be 200,000 barrels per day of surplus oil available for the west coast.

As my colleagues can readily see, the Interior Department is harping on its old arguments that are worn out and distorted. The facts are that an Alaska pipeline holds economic advantages for the Midwest and East and can be built within a reasonable period of time.

RED CHINESE COME TO TOWN

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, yesterday the House passed S. 1315 to authorize the President "to extend to the liaison office of the People's Republic of China in Washington and to the members thereof the same provisions and immunities as are enjoyed by diplomatic missions accredited to the United States and by members thereof." The legislation was rapidly signed into law to accommodate the Communists from China who arrived in town last night.

Extending diplomatic relations and immunities allows the Red Chinese to enter the United States without search of any of their effects and grants all members of the mission estimated to number 30 immunity from arrest for any illegal actions.

Granting diplomatic immunities to a Communist party to establish a public relations contact for world public opinion purposes is a new historic precedent.

This special interest legislation gives sanctuary to the Red China agent, Huang Chen, regarded as one of China's most seasoned diplomats, a leader in its Communist Party as well as a member of the Party's Central Committee.

A former military commander in the Red Army of Mao Tse-tung, Huang Chen's field of experience is propaganda.

The cost of the latest exchange of Communist liaison missions is beginning to come to light. The President's request for $361 million additional budget authority, includes $1.5 million to establish a U.S. mission in Peking.

I include related newsclippings:

[From the Washington Star and Daily News, Apr. 11, 1973]

A $361 MILLION BUDGET INCREASE ASKED BY NIXON

President Nixon has asked Congress for $361 million in additional budget authority for the current fiscal year, including $16.2 million to pay the claims of the prisoners of war and $1.5 million to establish a U.S. mission in Peking.

The White House said about 90 percent of the increased appropriations were for "uncontrollable" matters such as retirement benefits, veterans benefits and payments to international agencies to reflect the devaluation of the dollar.

"These proposals will not increase the spending estimates in the January budget since the budget totals included allowance for contingencies," Nixon said.

The president in January estimated spending in the fiscal year that ends June 30 would total $249.8 billion, $24.8 billion more than anticipated income.

ADVANCE PARTY FROM PEKING DUE TONIGHT

The advance diplomatic party from China is expected to arrive here this evening and set up temporary headquarters in the Mayflower Hotel, the State Department reports.

Charles W. Bray, the department spokesman said the 10-man Chinese party will aim at establishing a permanent office for the mission by early May so a near-simultaneous opening can be celebrated with the opening of the American mission in Peking.

Bray said reports from Alfred Jenkins, head of the American advance team, indicate the party has been treated with extreme cordiality and accommodation.

The permanent heads of the missions (David Bruce for the United States) will not arrive in the respective capitals until the headquarters are established.

[From the Washington Star and Daily News, Mar. 31, 1973]

CHINA'S U.S. LIAISON IS MAN OF THE ARTS

Huang Chen, one of China's most seasoned diplomats and a figure of marked importance within the country's Communist party, was named yesterday to head China's liaison office in Washington.

In his 64 years Huang has been a soldier, propagandist, playwright and artist. His interest in the arts, fostered in his early years, remains lively today. Central to Huang's life, however, has been an unflagging dedication to China's Communist party, a loyalty that goes back at least 42 years and has rewarded him with membership in the party's central committee.

Huang Chen was born into a peasant family in southwest Anhwel and went to school in Anching, a Yangtze port city 30 miles from his birthplace. He graduated from the fine arts academy in Shanghai and remains one of the few Chinese in high positions to have had training in this field.

At the age of 23 he became a party member and served as a political commissar at the divisional level when the Communist headquarters was in the southwestern part of Kiangsi Province.

He fought with the Red Army of Mao Tse-tung and Chu Teh and at one time commanded a regiment, the 13th, which belonged to the Third Army Corps. Later he served as a propaganda worker, and while on the Long March from Kiangel to the new base in Yenan, he wrote two plays that were staged just before the Red Army made the difficult crossing of the upper Yangtze in the spring of 1935.

During this period Huang made sketches of the Red Army in the field, some of which were published in book form in 1962 under the title "A Collection of Drawings During the Long March."

Through all of the years that followed Huang combined an active military career with political groundwork for the party when the central government was formed in the fall of 1949, after the Nationalists were driven from the mainland, he was working in the political department of the people's Revolutionary Military council, the highest military organ of the government, with the rank of general.

The following year Huang was assigned to the foreign ministry and was named Peking's first ambassador to Hungary. In 1954 he was reassigned to Indonesia. It was during this period that the Afro-Asian conference was held in Bandung, and Huang, as part of the Chinese delegation headed by Premier Chou En-lai, was successful in establishing China as a friend of the small Asian and African countries.

During his stay in Jakarta relationships were strained over the treatment of the three million Chinese in Indonesia often victims of blatant discrimination and the target of riots. Finally a treaty was signed in 1960, after six years of negotiations.

From 1961 to 1964 Huang served in Peking as deputy minister of foreign affairs, a period during which he tried to consolidate the start made at Bandung to improve China's relations with the developing countries.

In this capacity he made four trips abroad, including one in which he accompanied Chou on a visit to 10 nations in Africa.

In 1964 Huang became Communist China's ambassador to France.

Relaxed and affable, Ambassador Huang was a familiar figure in diplomatic circles during his eight years in Paris—a big man with a round, heavy face, he was often clad in Gray Mao vests and sported a Mao cap.

In 1964 Huang became Communist China's ambassador to France.

His wife, Chu Lin, was active in making contacts with French groups as well as the overseas Chinese in Paris.

After President Nixon's visit to Peking last year, Huang held frequent meetings with the United States Ambassador to France, Arthur K. Watson, within the framework of the opening stages of the new Chinese-U.S. relationship.

They exchanged gifts, Huang presenting Watson with Mao-Tai, a Chinese brandy, and Watson recriprocating with bourbon.

THE SAN ANTONIO EXPRESSWAY

HON. BOB ECKHARDT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Speaker, the House has now before it the Federal Highway Aid Act of 1973. At each stage of consideration—in the Senate Public Works Committee, on the floor of the Senate, and in the House Public Works Committee—the controversy surrounding the proposed construction of an expressway in San Antonio, Tex., has been a subject of intense interest.

The State of Texas favors the construction of the route through a major parkland area, the Breckenridge-Olmos Basin parkland. However, the State has been unable to construct the expressway over this route. To date, two Secretaries of Transportation have refused to approve the route, and in August of 1971, the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit enjoined construction of the expressway until State and Federal officials considered alternative routes that would minimize harmful environmental impact. On January 10, 1973, the United States District Court for the Western District of Texas ordered the State and Federal Governments to prepare an environmental impact statement with all speed reasonable.

The State, however, is unwilling to comply with the court's requirement that the necessary environmental impact statements be submitted before construction. Thus, the State has come as a supplicant to Congress with the request that we exempt the San Antonio Expressway from the requirements of Federal law. Specifically the proposal is to terminate the San Antonio North Expressway as a Federal aid project. Any Federal funds previously received by the State would be returned to the Federal treasury and State and local financing would be utilized to complete the project.

Aside from the question of the particular merits of the Parkland route, a larger question is raised by this proposal. Its adoption, in my mind, would set a dangerous precedent for the passage of legislation to exempt controversial projects from the reach of Federal environmental statutes. Such action would, I fear, destroy the effectiveness of the National Environmental Policy Act, and section 4(f) of the Department of Transportation Act.

These concerns are shared by administrative agencies and executive officers whose responsibilities encompass matters related to highway construction and environmental protection. Recently, I solicited the opinions of the Council on Environmental Quality, the Environmental Protection Agency, the Department of Transportation, and the Department of Interior regarding the exemption proposal. My colleagues will doubtless be interested in reading their evaluations:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT,
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY,
Washington, D.C., March 15, 1973.

Hon. BOB ECKHARDT,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ECKHARDT: As you recalled in your letter to me of March 1, 1973, the Council on Environmental Quality has expressed its views on the merits of the removal of the San Antonio North Expressway from the Federal Aid Highway System in a letter to you and Congressman Dingell on September 27, 1972. This provision was in the proposed Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1972 as Section 113 of H.R. 16656 and Section 147 of S. 3839. The proposed Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1973 (S. 502) being considered by the Senate Public Works Committee contains the same provision.

We continue to feel that such a provision undermines the spirit of the National Environmental Policy Act and hence represents an extremely bad precedent. Discontinuing the long Federal involvement in this proposed highway project, particularly when the last requirements to be met consist of a consideration of environmental values, certainly calls into question the ability of this project to withstand the environmental analysis that must be met by all other highway projects. Compliance with NEPA and Section 4(f) of the Department of Transportation Act of 1966 does not prohibit construction of highways, but only requires that highways, as well as all other Federal projects, be subject to a rational decision-making process in which all social, economic, and environmental factors are taken into account. Such a provision represents an effort to exclude a specific project from an already legislated Federal commitment.

The proposed Federal Aid Highway Act of 1973 also contains provisions to reduce the flexibility of the NEPA review process for Interstate 66 in Arlington, Virginia. These provisions make NEPA conform strictly to the minimum time allowed for comments and review as well as to follow other procedures already outlined in the Council's guidelines. While the Council believes that the impact statement process can often be completed within the stated time periods, the process is designed to be flexible in order to respond more quickly to emergency situations and more slowly on projects which are highly complex, very controversial, and have extremely important and far-reaching environmental effects.

These provisions further state that the Secretary of Transportation's final action on this project will be conclusive with respect to all issues of fact and cannot be reviewed. This effort to make the Secretary's decision final and not subject to substantive court review also violates the spirit of an open decisionmaking process which NEPA has fostered.

As we did in September of 1972, we feel it is important to point out that legislation such as these provisions risks Congressional embroilment in individual highway projects around the country, and establish unwise precedents for the application of NEPA to a wide range of Federal actions.

Sincerely,

RUSSELL E. TRAIN, *Chairman.*

U.S. ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY,
Washington, D.C., March 26, 1973.

Hon. BOB ECKHARDT,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ECKHARDT: This is in response to your March 1 letter requesting our views on terminating Federal highway construction assistance for the San Antonio North Expressway. I am pleased to be of assistance to you on this matter.

Last year, as you recall, the Environmental Protection Agency stated that termination of Federal involvement in this project would in effect exempt the project from the procedural requirements of the National Environmental Policy Act. Further, we stated: "In a wider context, termination would establish a dangerous precedent for invoking special legislation in behalf of similar Federal-aid highway projects, and, by extension, other Federal projects which may not be acceptable from an environmental standpoint. Such special legislation or a pattern of such legislation would inevitably undermine and defeat the purpose and protections of the National Environmental Policy Act.

"The National Environmental Policy Act provides an opportunity for Federal agencies to review and assess proposed Federal actions which have an impact on the environment. The Act clearly is not intended to retard progress but rather to insure that progress be identified as the protection of the Nation's heritage in the broadest sense."

Our position, with respect to this issue, has not changed. Further, we believe enactment of legislation terminating Federal involvement would needlessly hazard the laws that have carried forward the National commitment to protect and enhance the Nation's environment. Consequently, we oppose enactment of special legislation on this subject.

Sincerely yours,

WILLIAM D. RUCKELSHAUS,
Administrator.

THE SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION,
Washington, D.C., April 9, 1973.

Hon. BOB ECKHARDT,
U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ECKHARDT: This is in further reply to your letter of March 1 inquiring of my position on a provision in S. 502, the proposed Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1973 introduced by Senator Bentsen. This provision, which would terminate the contractual relationship between the Federal and State governments with respect to the San Antonio North Expressway and cause it to cease to be a Federal-aid project, was included as section 148 in the bill passed by the Senate on March 15.

As you may know, my position on this important issue is a matter of public record. Prior to the floor debate on S. 502 I wrote the Chairman of the Senate Public Works Committee and recommended that section 148 be deleted from the Senate bill. This letter is printed at page 45 of the report on S. 502 of the Senate Committee on Public Works. Despite our opposition, the Senate by a narrow margin voted to retain this provision in its bill.

Subsequently, in testifying before the House Public Works Committee on March 19, I reiterated my opposition to legislation which would exempt particular highway projects from environmental and other Federal requirements. We believe that such exemptions serve to weaken these laws and make their enforcement more difficult.

Thank you for your interest in this matter. If we can be of any further assistance, please do not hesitate to write.

Sincerely,

CLAUDE S. BRINEGAR.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY,
Washington, D.C., April 12, 1973.

Hon. BOB ECKHARDT,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. ECKHARDT: This is in response to your letter of March 9, 1973, concerning the Department's view on an amendment to the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1973 (S. 502) which would delete from the Federal Aid highway system a section of the San Antonio North Expressway.

It is the position of this Department that such an action by the Congress is inconsistent with the intent of Section 4(f) of the Department of Transportation Act. As you point out, this section is designed to protect public park and recreation resources. We concur with your views that this action establishes an undesirable precedent because of

the present and long range implications for public use areas.

If there were no feasible alternatives to construction of the section of expressway at issue, we could offer technical planning services and guidance to the State of Texas to help mitigate the damage to the park. However, it appears that there are arguable alternatives to the planned location of the highway and the portion affecting Brackenridge Park that should be given the fullest possible consideration.

Please let us know if we can be of additional service to you.

Sincerely yours,

———— ————,

Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

BILL TO INCREASE CIVIL SERVICE ANNUITIES

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the Subcommittee on Retirement and Employee Benefits, I recently had the pleasure of receiving testimony from representatives of the National Assocciation of Retired Federal Employees on the need for immediate action on H.R. 1262, a bill to increase annuities.

I have seldom been so impressed by the clear, logical, and dignified presentation of testimony as I was at this hearing.

Mr. Arthur L. Sparks, president of the association, led the witnesses in providing the subcommittee with examples of the real hardship and dignity in these times of spiraling inflation.

As chairman of the Subcommittee on Retirement and Employee Benefits, I pledge that swift action will be taken on this bill at the earliest possible date.

Mr. Speaker, I am including in the RECORD the testimony of Mr. Willard Wretman, Mr. Thomas F. Ward, and Mr. James A. Johnson so that other Members of the House may be made aware of the urgent need for this legislation.

The testimonies follow:

STATEMENT OF WILLARD A. WRETMAN

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED FEDERAL EMPLOYEES,
Washington, D.C., April 11, 1973.

Chairman Waldie, Members of this Subcommittee, my name is Willard A. Wretman. I am Secretary of the Illinois Federation of Chapters, National Association of Retired Federal Employees. I entered the United States Postal Service in Moline, Illinois on May 1, 1930 and worked as a Post Office Clerk and Supervisor in that Office until my retirement on July 31, 1960 (30 years and 3 months).

Basing my annuity on my five highest years' salary, at the time of my retirement I received a monthly annuity of $216.30 per month. This has been increased by some small raises and cost of living increases during the past 12½ years to $316.15. If I had not been able to supplement my annuity with other employment during the past 12 years, I could not have made it.

I am thinking of a lady who worked in our office as a charwoman, whose husband was unable to work for many years due to illness. She was the sole supporter of the home. He passed away a few years ago. She reached retirement age and had to retire. She has been trying to keep a small home (for which she worked and paid) and to support herself with a present annuity of $95.20 per month. She is now in the hospital and may be hospitalized for a lengthy period. No doubt her doctor and hospital bills will force her to sell her home and possibly take all she can realize from the sale. There are hundreds of our annuitants who are in similar circumstances and are desperately in need of assistance.

Our city of Moline, Illinois is a manufacturing city and through the years the wages paid by industry there have far exceeded the wages paid by the Government. Their employees do not contribute to any pension funds, yet their annuities are greater than ours by far. They also receive free hospital and medical services at full coverage, both when employed and when retired.

It does not seem fair that we should give the best thirty to fifty years of our lives in conscientious service to our Government, pay into a pension plan for our retirement and then find that, even with our cost of living adjustments, many of our members are existing at poverty levels.

The cost of living provision in the Civil Service Retirement Law is a help to annuitants, but in many cases inadequate. For instance, a 4.8 percent cost of living raise for an annuitant who receives $100 per month (and there are many of them) would receive $4.80 per month or 16c per day. This can hardly be considered a pay Raise.

Gentlemen, on behalf of approximately one million federal annuitants and survivors (for many of them it is already too late) I plead that you will issue an early, favorable report on H.R. 1262 and then do all you can to secure its passage in the House of Representatives.

Thank you for your time and for the privilege of presenting our problems to you.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED FEDERAL EMPLOYEES,
Washington, D.C., April 11, 1973.

STATEMENT OF THOMAS F. WARD

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee, I am Thomas F. Ward, a member of the National Association of Retired Federal Employees and the President of Manhattan Chapter 23, New York City. I welcome the opportunity to come before you to talk of many things, particularly the merits of H.R. 1262. On behalf of NARFE, Mr. Chairman, I thank you for introducing this bill. It could not come at a better time. With the spiraling cost of food, the increase of prices generally, and the cost of labor, it is a startling and harrowing thought to consider the thousands of Federal Retirees whose annuities are less than $100 per month.

Many times one hears of the fabulous annuities that Federal Retirees receive, while all the while there are approximately 275,000 who receive less than $100 per month. Many of these annuities retired some years ago when salaries were small and the computing of annuities was based on a narrow scale.

Furthermore, argument is made that the majority of those in the low annuity brackets had been short term Federal Employees. Statistics, however, prove otherwise. Two years ago, before this Committee, it was demonstrated that many retirees in the low category who were employed 15 years received annuities ranging from $19 to $52 per month; those in 20 to 25 years group averaged $45; and the 25 to 30 year group received less than $100.

In two years time, with the value of the dollar decreasing, the cost of living skyrocketing, and one's income fading away, the minimum annuity of $84.50 will be a boon to many; however, a basic annuity of $100 would be more realistic, and not unreasonable. We were pleased to note that H.R. 1262 does make provision for a minimum annuity.

Now we come to the second part of the bill.

For years many Federal Employees worked beyond their time in order to put together some savings and to acquire a more satisfactory annuity. Until October 20, 1969 the employees left service with an annuity based on his five highest earning years. Those employees who retired later were fortunate to have only three years of their highest earnings computed. This, alone, was an annuity gain of 40 percent.

Bills have been introduced in Congress over the years to increase annuities on a graduated scale. Despite the good intentions and efforts of all concerned, these bills failed to materialize. H.R. 1262 makes a most reasonable approach and has great possibilities.

Section 3 (a) and (b) of H.R. 1262 make their contribution to those who retired before October 20, 1969. For example a retiree with a $200 monthly annuity will receive an added $25, which in effect is an increase of 12½ percent; those with a $300 monthly annuity will receive an increase of 8⅓ percent, and so on.

We are happy to note that an increase for survivors is also included in this bill.

Men and women who left Government service, say 10 to 15 years ago are now that much older and each passing hour and day become more precious. With the escalating cost of health protection, Medicare, rents and food over the years, the benefits of H.R. 1262 will offer some relief from the ravaging inroads made on their annuities.

We firmly believe that H.R. 1262 has an excellent chance of survival and it is beyond one's comprehension to think it might fail. The contents of H.R. 1262 are simple, the demands are modest, and the cause is just.

Thank you, gentlemen, for giving me the opportunity to express my views and those of the members of NARFE on this very important legislation.

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED FEDERAL EMPLOYEES,
Washington, D.C., April 11, 1973.

STATEMENT OF JAMES A. JOHNSON

Chairman Waldie and Members of this Subcommittee, today I come before you with mixed emotions. My name is James A. Johnson, and I represent the National Association of Retired Federal Employees. I come from Alabama—the home of Tuskegee Institute. This educational institute was made famous by Booker T. Washington and George Washington Carver. These gentlemen espoused the theory that trained head, heart and hands supported by hard work meant a successful and happy life.

The majority of the people I represent were imbued with the Washington-Carver philosophy. After developing their minds and mastering saleable skills they elected to seek employment with the Federal Government. Some entered the postal service, some went with the Agriculture Department, others were employed by the Veterans Administration, while others sought a career with the Armed Forces. They were dedicated men and women imbued with the Booker T. Washington philosophy and motivated by the sentiment expressed by our late President, John F. Kennedy; "Ask not what your country can do for you but what you can do for your country." These people were happy in their employment because they believed they were making a worthwhile contribution and at the same time they were earning what they regarded as a reasonable living.

They were contented because they had felt assured that at the end of their working days the Federal Government would provide them with a reasonable income during their retirement years. Today these people, though old and deprived, are still proud. They do not relish the idea of having to beg their government for the mere necessities of life. Yet, many of them have no other choice.

Two years ago, our National President, Thomas G. Walters, appeared before you and cited statistics to emphasize the need for action by the 92nd Congress on certain bills

before it. Today, I am not going to cite statistics. Figures, at best, are cold. They appeal to the head—which is good. I am appealing to your heads and to your hearts.

At the 1971 White House Conference on Aging, President Nixon stated that, "Any action which enhances the dignity of Older Americans enhances the dignity of all Americans, for unless the American dream comes true for our older generation, it cannot be complete for any generation." He further stated, "We are speaking, after all, of a proven generation, one that has brought this country through the most turbulent period in human history."

Gentlemen, there are several bills now pending before this Subcommittee which are of interest and importance to our Federal retirees. I refer particularly to H.R. 30, which would restore full annuities to those who have lost their designated survivor beneficiaries and have not remarried, and the measures to increase the Government's contribution towards health benefit premiums and allow pre-1960 retirees to elect coverage under the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program. I would hope that you will soon give favorable consideration to these bills.

I am here today, however, to request your immediate favorable consideration of H.R. 1262, introduced by you, Mr. Chairman, which would give financial relief to those older persons who have the greatest need of it to retain their self-supporting dignity in today's inflationary society. The bill's establishment of a minimum monthly annuity and the provision for an increase in monthly annuities would be of great assistance to thousands of our former Federal employees.

The above quotations from President Nixon's address to us who attended the 1971 White House Conference on Aging reminds me of Sir Wolsey's farewell address as stated in Shakespeare's Henry the Eighth. I quote loosely, "Had I served my God with half the zeal I served my King he would not in mine old age have left me to the mercy of a rude stream that must forever hide me."

Gentlemen, the fate of these old public servants, who at best have but a short time to live is partially in your hands. By whatever you do, or do not do, you will contribute to the final Chapter of their lives. What will it be? I pray that you will do your best to see that the 93rd Congress provides the kind of help that will enable our retirees to live their last days in dignity.

ART BUCHWALD LOOKS AT AN AMERICAN FUTURE WITHOUT MASS TRANSIT

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, it may be difficult to believe that in a few short years we could be explaining to our children how we once enjoyed an unlimited supply of gasoline and its resulting mobility.

Today the possibility becomes more and more probable that we will indeed be forced to cut back private automobile usage because of fuel shortages.

The Environmental Protection Agency proposed gasoline rationing, and a shortage of fuel could easily create an immobilized society in many large urban areas.

Today we have a chance to prepare for our future. The way to provide an efficient, economically sound method of transportation is to support my amendment to S. 502 which would give urban areas the option of using their share of highway trust fund moneys for rapid mass transit.

Humorist Art Buchwald portrayed a vivid picture of life in the not too distant future, if we do not use this opportunity to allow our cities the flexibility they require to provide their citizens with mass transit systems.

Mr. Speaker, I am enclosing Mr. Buchwald's insightful column so that all of my colleagues may have a glimpse into the American future without efficient mass transit systems.

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 17, 1973]

AND THEN 2 GALLONS IN EVERY TANK?

(By Art Buchwald)

"Daddy, tell me again what it was like in 1973 when anyone who wanted to could drive a car?"

"I know you're not going to believe this, son, but all you had to do was drive up to a gas station and say to the attendant, 'Fill 'er up.' And you know what? He had to wipe your windshield, too, or you wouldn't buy any gas from him."

"Ah come on, Daddy, you're putting me on."

"I'm telling the truth, son. And not only that, but we used to have these big cars—three times the size of the ones you see now—with four doors and airconditioning and everything. Some of them got nine, 10 miles to a gallon. I think there are some pictures of them in the encyclopedia here."

"Gosh, those were some cars."

"In those days you could drive your car to work or to the city all alone without violating the law. You'd see people in eight-passenger station wagons all by themselves."

"Is it true you could drive to the beach, or to the mountains or a football game 100 miles away without getting a special pass from the Automobile Authority?"

"Yup. One time your mother and I drove all the way to Florida, and we didn't have to ask permission from a soul. We just went."

"What happened, Daddy?"

"Nobody really knows. People just kept using up gasoline and oil until there was none left. I remember in '73 Detroit announced it had had its greatest year. Sold more big cars than any time in its history.

"But nobody bothered to tell Detroit there would be nothing to put in the gas tanks. They said it wasn't their problem.

"It was really funny, because in Washington they were arguing about automobile pollution and the emission standards for 1976, when in fact, the problem solved itself. There was no fuel left to pollute anything."

"Why didn't Detroit build smaller cars that wouldn't use up so much gasoline?"

"Because they said Americans wouldn't go for it. They said Americans had always had big cars, and they deserved big cars because big cars were what made America great. Of course now they have no choice but to manufacture two-cylinder automobiles, because that's the only kind of car Americans can afford. I mean when gas is selling for $9.50 a gallon and you've got rationing coupons, nobody in his right mind is going to make a four-cylinder car."

"Is that why we move back to the city, because you couldn't drive to work anymore?"

"Yup. We lived in the suburbs when you were very little, but when the country ran out of gasoline we had to move back here. Oh, I tried bicycling to work, but it was 40 miles each way and I was pretty pooped by the time I got home. So we came back. And it was curious, because up until that time the blacks lived in the cities and the whites lived in the suburbs.

"Now, of course, all the whites live in the cities and the blacks live in the suburbs, because that's the only housing the blacks can afford. The blacks didn't want to go to the suburbs, but the whites kept buying up the ghettos and the blacks had no choice. They're probably happier out there, anyway, living among their own kind."

"Who was to blame for our running out of gasoline?"

"Detroit blamed it on Ralph Nader, the President blamed it on Congress, the Arabs blamed it on Israel and the oil companies blamed it on the caribou in Alaska."

"It must have been fun living in 1973."

"It was. Do you know one time we drove 30 miles just to have a sirloin steak."

"What's a steak?"

"Oh, the hell with it. It hurts too much to talk about it."

HEALTH PROGRAMS EXTENSION ACT

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, on June 30, 1973, several health programs included in the Public Health Service Act, are due to expire. Some of the programs the administration plans on either terminating or restructuring include funding authorizations for health services research; public health training; migrant health; comprehensive health planning and services; assistance to medical libraries; Hill-Burton programs that aid hospital construction; training in the allied health professions; regional medical programs; community mental health centers; alcoholism and drug abuse programs; the Developmental Disabilities Services and Facilities Construction Act, and other programs.

A bill that would extend these and other programs for 1 year beyond June 30, 1973, was passed on March 27 of this year in the Senate under the strong and able leadership and chief sponsorship of the senior Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. KENNEDY). I hope that the House takes similar action soon in extending these essential programs for an additional year, because if they are allowed to end or become fragmented, it would be a tragedy not only for medical science, but for the millions of people they have helped over the years.

Mr. Speaker, I am, of course, interested in all of these programs, but I have a special concern about two that the administration is reportedly considering for termination or severe modification—the Hll-Burton program, and the community mental health centers program.

Since its inception in 1946, the major objective of the Hill-Burton program has been better patient care for all people through health care facilities and services. Keeping abreast of the Nation's fast-changing health needs so that new directions could be instituted has characterized Hill-Burton over the years. As a pace setter, the program has scored many firsts and continues to look for better ways to help resolve the Nation's growing health delivery problems.

The State of New Jersey, through its Hill-Burton program director, Leonard D. Dileo, has expressed deep concern

over the possibility of that fine and constructive program being terminated. I share Mr. Dileo's concern—and so do many of my constituents.

Dileo, in emphasizing this concern stated:

The Hill-Burton program has made it possible to assist 215 projects, aiding 108 facilities throughout 81 communities in the State of Uew Jersey. The Federal Government's participation has amounted to $76,-300,000 which has provided $412,890,000 worth of health care facilities and services for citizens of New Jersey.

Although we are deeply appreciative of the improvements in our health care system to date, it is by no means finished. Of the 29,122 general hospital beds presently existing, 13,660 are in need of modernization, or replacement. Within the long-term category there are 30,884 existing beds. Of this number, 11,293 are in need of modernization or replacement. With the program's emphasis on modernization and outpatient facilities, the need for Federal assistance is greater now than ever before.

Mr. Speaker, the basic philosophy was and still is, the working together of the Federal Government, the State government, and the voluntary health industry to maintain a system of health care services for the benefit of all citizens.

The basic goal of the Hill-Burton program has been to improve patient care, and this goal is just as vital today as it was in the inception of the program in 1946. The effectiveness of the program can be measured by its past achievements in meeting the needs for health care services. This effectiveness is also reflected by the number of applications for grant or loan assistance now being received for construction and/or modernization of health care facilities and services. Presently, we have requests amounting to over $300 million in areas of new construction, modernization, rehabilitation, and outpatient services.

Mr. Speaker, statistics alone do not show a realistic picture as to New Jersey's health care facilities needs. Shifting and increasing population should be taken into consideration in dealing with community health needs. To have HEW claim that New Jersey is overbuilt by 2,000 general hospital beds without considering community health needs is not being fair. For example, although the State shows an excess of 2,000 beds, the community service areas of Middlesex-Union show a need for 210 beds. This is due to the rapidly growing population in this area.

Another factor not considered is that although there are 3,903 general hospital beds, 1,482, are in need of modernization or replacement, and in the long-term care category there are 3,826 skilled nursing beds and of this number, 1,043 fail to meet State or Federal construction standards.

Obviously, since its inception, some of the original needs of the Hill-Burton program have been met. Hill-Burton was initiated at a time there was a critical need for general hospital expansion, but has been changing to meet the needs of the health delivery system.

Aside from major changes in the legislation in 1954, 1964, 1968, 1969, and 1970, the Hill-Burton program has also allowed States to make adjustments from the standard formula for the purpose of meeting individual needs of their citizens. Sixty-one percent of New Jersey's health care facilities do not meet current Hill-Burton construction standards and life safety codes. The need for upgrading these facilities is enormous and in most cases, these needs can not be met by local communities without Federal financial assistance. Therefore, the need for an accelerated and continuous attack on both the functional and physical obsolescence is an urgent one.

I was also disturbed, Mr. Speaker, to read that the administration plans to end Federal aid for building new community mental health centers, as well as not funding the staffing needs of new centers. This is a cruel blow to Middlesex County, N.J., where new community mental health centers are being completed, but would be unable to operate effectively without staffing funds. New centers are being completed at Rutgers—the State University of New Jersey, and at the South Amboy Memorial Hospital. Under the effective and dynamic leadership of former Freeholder George J. Otlowski, great progress was made in our mental health centers, so I hope the administration changes its mind. I strongly hope that the House passes the Health Programs Extension Act of 1973. To be really great, a nation must be healthy, as well as powerful.

THE NATIONAL NEED FOR PAPER RECYCLING

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring attention to the testimony of Edward K. Mullen before the House Ways and Means Committee on March 20, 1973. His testimony deals with the great benefits America can receive from a viable paper recycle industry.

Mr. Mullen, president of Newark Boxboard Co., spoke on behalf of the Boxboard Research and Development Association. He began by outlining two major projects being undertaken by the paper recycling industry which benefit every American and which should be encouraged and expanded. First of all, the recycling of paper extends the Nation's wood-based fiber, thus conserving our forests, certainly one of our most valuable natural resources. Second, the paper recycling industry provides a great national benefit by reducing the volume of solid waste. I do not have to remind anyone of the great problems and expense that communities are incurring with their mountains of solid waste. The recycling of postconsumer wastepaper in large quantities could help to alleviate our already inadequate and overworked disposal facilities.

Mr. Mullen also stated that recycling can provide a more favorable balance of trade in regard to paper since recycling could reduce the 8 million tons of paper fiber that are imported each year.

But, Mr. Mullen surprisingly pointed out that contrary to popular belief, the paper recycling industry is not a growing, expanding industry. In fact, the industry is in a decline and has been so since World War II.

In order to overcome severe handicaps and begin providing the Nation with these ecological benefits at a meaningful level, it has been suggested the Federal Government provide in its Tax Reform Act of 1973 tax incentives for the use of postconsumer grades of wastepaper. If the proper incentives are developed then the paper industry predicts that more than 25 percent of our paper could be recycled by 1985—instead of the current prediction of recycling dropping to 17 percent by 1985.

Mr. Speaker, I feel that with a little initiative on the part of the Federal Government this nationally beneficial industry could begin to play the role that it can and must, if our natural resources are to be saved for future generations and our air made cleaner for those living now.

Mr. Speaker, the following is the full text of the testimony:

TESTIMONY OF EDWARD K. MULLEN

I am Edward K. Mullen, president of the Newark Boxboard Company, with headquarters in Newark, New Jersey, operating six paperboard machines in four states. My appearance here today is in that capacity and as spokesman for the Boxboard Research and Development Association, (BRDA) with offices in Kalamazoo, Michigan.

Forty companies are members of the Boxboard Research and Development Association. All of them manufacture paperboard from waste paper, most of which is post-consumer waste, that would otherwise wind up in the solid waste stream further taxing already critical disposal facilities throughout our nation.

Post-consumer waste paper[1] for all practical purposes consists of newspapers collected from homes and apartment buildings, old corrugated boxes coming from supermarkets and industrial plants and mixed waste papers from offices and department stores. This waste paper accounts for over seventy percent of all the paper that is recycled today. This comes to about 8 million tons per year.

All members of our association use waste paper to make recycled paperboard, which the public knows simply as cardboard. Recycled paperboard is used for a wide variety of purposes—

Folding boxes and rigid boxes for cereal, candy, games, soap, pharmaceuticals and a host of other consumer items;

It is used as well in paper matches, book covers, record jackets, partitions, and paper tubes;

It is used in the building product area for gypsum wallboard liners; and

It is used in corrugated containers as the fluted medium and to a lesser extent for the liner.

Our products are versatile and find their way into many other end uses.

As a group, we are the largest user of post-consumer waste paper by far—accounting for over 85% of the total consumed last year. This was about seven million tons.

It is appropriate for us to appear before you as you consider natural resources and tax policies because we *conserve* natural resources and reduce the volume of solid waste.

When we turn waste paper into useful products, we are in effect extending the nation's wood-based fiber resources. Our energy requirements, water and chemical consump-

Footnotes at end of article.

tion are less in working with "once tamed" fiber.

As you know, solid waste is a real problem in cities these days. Cities are spending a fortune to get rid of mountains of trash. The highest disposal costs are in the larger cities, such as New York, which we understand to be well over $31 per ton. A large part of my own companies' material is this post-consumer waste from the New York metropolitan area. A rough estimate of the cost to municipalities if they were to collect and dispose of the post-consumer waste now being used, would be in the neighborhood of $160 million per year.

This is a very real saving to hard-pressed taxpayers and budget-tight cities. There are other real benefits, too. Cities throughout the country are running out of adequate incinerator and sanitary landfill space. You need only to read the newspapers here in Washington to know this. Washington, D.C. is one of the many cities that has run out of landfill space and is in need of new non polluting incinerators.

So, Mr. Chairman, in a very real sense, our use of post-consumer waste paper is a real benefit to our country. At a time of desperate solid waste disposal problems, we are helping now and could help more to solve it. At a time when cities are in critical financial plight, we are relieving them of present expense, and could relieve future expenses. And again—we are helping conserve the natural resources of the nation.

Clearly, Mr. Chairman, if there were no recycled paperboard industry, the government would do well to invent one.

After explaining our "good works," it is perhaps ironic that I must now explain to you that your country is struggling. In the eyes of the general public, and perhaps among some members of Congress, it is generally believed that recycling of waste paper is a growing expanding industry. But this is not the case.

In spite of all the recent concern about the environment, in spite of all the concvern about pollution and the emphasis on recycling, the recycling rate in this country has been steadily declining since the end of World War II.

The basic reason is due to the loss of end product markets for the paperboard grades made of post-consumer waste.

I will have more to say about this decline later.

Many people are concerned about the need to recycle waste, and they seek ways to express that concern. One way is to use recycled stationery for their correspondence.

The GSA has been taking steps to require the use of recycled fibers in various paper products purchased.

Many housewives (perhaps some of yours) use recycled tissue and recycled paper towels.

All these efforts are sincere. However, the fact is, some of these practices are not getting to the root of the problem.

Let me explain.

The waste paper used for recycled stationery, recycled tissue or recycled paper towels is mostly the high grade waste paper that has always been recycled because of its value. It never finds its way into the solid waste stream because it is too valuable. Therefore it does not present a solid waste problem to municipalities.

Such paper will continue to be recycled in the future, as it has in the past but the supply of these high grades will be difficult to increase.

The problem is in finding ways to increase the use of the abundant lower grades, the post-consumer waste paper that will go to the city dump if it is not recycled. This is the only real way to increase recycling.

Our industry recycled huge quantities of the lower grades, but we also need a supply of the higher grades. For many of our products we need a small percentage of the higher grades in order to use much larger amounts of the lower grades.

Thus, the well-meant effort directed at high grade waste recycling has unfortunately added to the cost and manufacturing problems we live with as we combine these small quantities of high grades with much larger quantities of post-consumer waste in our finished paperboard products.

I would like to refer back now, Mr. Chairman, to my remark about the steady decline in the recycling rate due to erosion of the markets for the products made of post-consumer waste.

There is no single simple reason—rather a variety of factors—which has served to put the recycling paperboard mills at an economic disadvantage. They have become progressively more difficult to operate profitably, and to generate the funds and the confidence required for new investment.

Proof of this lies in the fact that over forty paperboard machines have been shut down in the past seven years. Only three new machines were put in operation during the same period.

Economic reasons are, of course, most significant. Our mills are generally located in urban areas with relatively high taxes. They are mostly older properties, and small in size. The very difficulty in generating earnings has precluded broad-scale reinvestment in new equipment and further aggravated the situation. Frequently it is the pollution abatement costs that make these mills unprofitable.

These factors vary from mill to mill and company to company, but collectively they have had the result of putting our end products at a disadvantage cost wise in the market place.

All of the above are economic in nature. Other more subtle influences which derive from the packaging buyers' concept of what the consumer wants, have led to replacement of our products with others from the paper and plastic industries.

An Arthur D. Little study made recently for the Environmental Protection Agency concluded that, of the 170 recycling paperboard machines still operating, some 78 could be considered marginal in terms of continued operation.

The future need not, however, be all gloom and doom for our paper recycling industry and its present and potential contribution to reduction of the solid waste problem.

A study made by the Midwest Research Institute for the Solid Waste Council [2] was released last week, and makes projections which this Committee can very well find helpful in its consideration of tax reform. Present trends, without governmental influences, projected to 1985, will result in a decline in recycling from the already low rate of twenty percent to about the seventeen percent level.

It is possible, as the study indicates in great detail, that a recycling rate of twenty-six percent is feasible by 1985. This can happen only if the concern of the public is translated into demand for recycled paperboard products; if industrial buyers of paperboard products reflect this concern in their choice of packaging materials, and, most importantly, if the government provides legislation which will develop an economic incentive to encourage the use of post-consumer grades of waste paper.

As pointed out in his Midwest Research Institute report, which you have, federal tax policy "has encouraged the development, long-range supply and utilization of natural resources. To date, there has not been a comparable program to encourage the utilization of recycled materials."

We suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the Ways and Means Committee provide in its Tax Reform Act of 1973, tax incentives for the use of post-consumer grades of waste paper.

Earlier in these hearings you heard from William T. Creson, Chairman of the Recycled Paperboard Division of American Paper Institute, that these incentives should be in the form of tax credits. He further suggested they should be fixed dollar amounts limited to post-consumer waste and given to the manufacturer who converts the waste into useful products. We wholeheartedly support Mr. Creson's position.

Allow me, Mr. Chairman, to explain a bit more fully why we believe the fixed dollar amount on post-consumer waste is preferable to the percentage proposed in several bills pending before this Committee.

A percentage allowance per ton of the cost of the material to be recycled can lead to a "cost-plus" attitude and encourage concern with acquiring high-value wastes that probably would not go into the solid waste stream anyway.

A flat dollar amount per ton for post-consumer waste used for recycling would, on the other hand, give the greatest incentive for use to the materials that are lowest in value and most difficult to use. That is socially desirable because that is precisely the kind of waste paper which would otherwise go into municipal waste.

Accordingly, we feel that the Committee would be doing a national service by providing tax incentives of a flat amount per ton for the use of post-consumer waste paper. Such incentives are certainly in the national interest and would be materially assisting hard-pressed local communities. Two of the best sources of post-consumer waste for recycled paperboard products are newspapers and corrugated boxes. They represent the largest items of the solid waste stream. Because of their potential reuse as newsprint and as corrugating medium, they represent an unusual opportunity to encourage recycling, according to the Midwest Research Institute Report from which I have been quoting.

Our struggling segment of the paper industry needs the economic incentives that will let us reverse the downward trend of recycling—and in doing so, perform the socially desirable function we are knowledgeable about and ready to do.

The loss of jobs in urban areas from past mill closings and potential future shutdowns is real. The fiber requirements of the country as projected into the near future tell us that this vast resource should be recovered and reused.

There are only three sources of paper fiber available to the nation; virgin fibers—trees along with the sawdust and other forest wastes; recycled waste paper, and imports. The paper needs of this country are growing at a fast rate.

The portion of the market held by recycled paperboard is dropping. Not long ago, more than one-third of all the paper needs of the country were filled by recycling of post-consumer wastes. Today barely a fifth of the needs are filled in this manner.

In short, while we are squeezing more production out of fewer machines, and producing about the same amount of paperboard as we did a couple of decades ago, we have a *smaller* portion of the total market. It will take new investment in new production equipment to make the 26% recycling rate in 1985 as indicated in the MRI report, into a reality. We need to begin *now* to build that new capacity. We need to begin *now* to orient the thinking of the planners in the paper industry to build new plants to recycle waste paper. To do so will take incentive such as I have mentioned.

Such incentives are supported by the Council for Environmental Quality, by many of the top thinkers at the Environmental Protection Administration, and by studies

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Footnotes at end of article.

made for the Commission on Materials Policy.

Midwest Research Institute estimates that, by 1985, with proper tax incentives, our industry could more than double its production of recycled paperboard.

That would be good for the environment. That would be ecologically sound. That would be economically sound. It would also be a meaningful form of revenue sharing by providing tax incentives to save local communities the monumental task and expense of disposing of mountains of waste paper. Midwest Research Institute estimates that, in 1985, our portion of the industry can be producing 17 million tons of recycled paperboard a year—up nine million from today—if there are tax credit incentives.

If the incentive were set at $12 a ton, that nine million tons would amount to $108 million a year. The savings would more than offset this as over $180 million would be saved annually in collection and disposal costs, which may be expected to reach an average of at least $20 per ton by 1985.

What would we do with the money from tax incentives?

A portion of it will go to increase supplies. That is, we will be able to develop new and better sources of waste paper. We will be able to pay more for what we buy and that will help encourage the public, communities, charitable organizations, and businesses to save waste paper for our use.

A portion of it will go to reduce our prices. We will be better able to compete for paperboard business with other paper industry products, as well as other alternative materials. We would be in position to recapture some of our lost markets.

Let me point out that charitable organizations, most frequently Boy Scout troops, receive approximately $25 million a year for gathering old newspapers and selling them to recycling companies.

Many companies would undoubtedly use some of the funds to develop techniques for improving the quality of the lower grades of waste paper by sorting out and cleaning mixed waste which now includes a mixture of very good grades with very poor waste.

Hopefully, a small portion of the funds will remain with us—as profit, as seed money for research and as investment capital to provide production facilities to increase our output as the opportunities for recycling increase.

Let me now say a word about the critical trade balance, Mr. Chairman.

The U.S. now imports some eight million tons of paper from abroad each year. I'm sure you know most of that is newsprint. We export some three million tons, chiefly paperboard. Incentives for the use of post-consumer waste can have the effect of reducing imported newsprint requirements as well as giving our recycled paperboard products the opportunity to enlarge their export markets. These are goals in terms of our balance of payments problems, to which this Committee and the Senate Finance Committee would certainly subscribe.

Mr. Chairman, let me now summarize our position:

1. The recycled paperboard industry is vital to our national welfare.

2. This industry has been in serious trouble and faces a difficult future.

3. The industry is performing ecologically and environmentally worthwhile work and can do much more by using up piles of waste paper, saving natural resources, conserving energy, and minimizing air and water pollution.

4. The industry needs tax incentives to increase supplies, capacity and profits, and to lower prices to customers.

5. We must reverse today's trend toward less use of recycled paperboard. This will only be done through regaining lost markets and fully sharing in future market expansion.

6. Our cities, which are now straining under the load of solid waste will benefit from the diversion of post-consumer waste paper into recycled paperboard.

7. The balance of trade might well be improved by helping the recycled paperboard industry.

8. The needs of the country for paper products are increasing rapidly. If recycled fiber is to be available to help meet these needs, the Congress should provide tax credit incentives to insure the capacity will be there.

Incentives for recycling waste are needed. It is an idea whose time has come. It is good for America. That is why you should be interested. I am interested for those reasons as well as because it will be good for my company and others in our business.

FOOTNOTES

[1] The General Services Administration defines in a fact sheet issued on October 20, 1972 post-consumer waste in Part I of its specifications as: "Paper, paperboard and fibrous wastes from factories, retail stores, office buildings, homes, etc., after they have passed through their end-usage as a consumer item, including: 1. Used corrugated boxes; 2. Old magazines; 3. Old newspapers; 4. Mixed waste paper; 5. Tabulating cards; and 6. Used cordage.

The Midwest Research Institute Report, *Paper Recycling: The Art of the Possible, 1970 to 1985*, March 1973, Page 176, states: "Post-Consumer Waste. Any product that has gone through its useful life, served the purpose for which it was intended, and been discarded by the user. Waste or scrap created in a manufacturing or converting operation is not considered post-consumer waste. However, post-consumer waste is generated in homes, commercial establishments, government offices and the like."

[2] Midwest Research Institute Report, *Paper Recycling The Art of the Possible, 1970 to 1985*, March 1973.

NAVY APPROACHES NO. 2 STATUS

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial:

[From the San Diego Union, Apr. 6, 1973]

BUDGET "KNIFE" FEARED—NAVY APPROACHES NO. 2 STATUS

Members of Congress have been known to drop off to sleep during discussions of budgets. Long lists of numbers can have that effect. However, the chief of naval operations, Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt, is presenting the Navy's budget in terms that should keep Congress awake.

Progressive cutting of defense budgets over the last three years finally is eroding the combat readiness of our fleet. Furthermore, if the United States of America does not reverse its course in naval funding, we are heading straight into No. 2 status behind the Soviet Union in naval strength.

The immediate problem described by Admiral Zumwalt is "shortfalls" in Navy accounts. The current budget is so tight that many fleet commanders simply do not have the money for repair and maintenance of their ships and thus are unable to provide adequate training for new sailors. The necessary funds, time and a catch-up program in maintenance and training, can go far to cure this immediate problem, but the longer-range impact of austerity in Navy budgets is a matter far more grave. It affects not only the United States but that large segment of the world that relies on our Navy for security and free use of shipping lanes. By the middle of next year, the number of active ships in our fleet will have dropped to 523—a 45 per cent cutback since 1968. For the first time, the number of combat ships flying the U.S. Flag will fall below the number in the Russian navy, which is more modern and already boasts a numerical superiority in its submarine fleet.

The Administration is not unmindful of the implications in these figures. In the new budget the Navy receives $2 billion more than the Air Force and $4 billion more than the Army, reflecting the increasing role which sea power must play in our strategic defense in coming years. What worries Admiral Zumwalt, and should worry the American people, is that Congress may approach the new Defense Budget the same way it has approached each one for the past three years running—with a knife.

Seeing our Navy decline to No. 2 status goes far beyond any question of national pride. What is important is that the Soviet navy is on the threshhold of becoming No. 1 and there is nothing in history or the stated aims of Soviet policy to suggest that Moscow will use its navy for anything but international mischief and to further the goals of Communist imperialism around the world.

If any congressman does not understand what that means to the United States and the Free World, he might as well go back to sleep.

TRIBUTE TO RABBI PHILIP SCHROIT

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this time to pay tribute to a dedicated and gentle man, Rabbi Philip Schroit, who will be honored in a triple celebration by B'nai David congregation, in west Los Angeles.

A triad of events will be commemorated May 6 at a dinner dance to be held in the grand ballroom of the Beverly Hilton Hotel. B'nai David congregation will celebrate the 25th anniversary of its founding at the same time the State of Israel commemorates the 25 years of its existence. B'nai David's spiritual leader, Rabbi Philip Schroit, will also be honored for his 25 years of commitment to and involvement in religious and community leadership.

Honoring Rabbi Schroit will be prominent personalities from educational, political, religious, and entertainment fields. Funds raised by means of the dinner dance will be devoted to assisting the youth in the area served by B'nai David congregation.

This action is very much in the spirit of Rabbi Schroit. For the past 25 years, under his leadership, B'nai David congregation has attained a position of eminence in the life of Los Angeles. Indeed, it has become a model throughout the city, due in large measure to the untiring efforts and wise counsel of Philip Schroit.

Rabbi Schroit has particularly dedicated his energies to educate scholastically qualified students in B'nai David's religious school programs through the provision of scholarships. In a deeply

troubled society, he has built a program for youth which brings them logic and understanding, with a strong foundation from which to grow.

Rabbi Schroit is a man with a keen sense of awareness who has had a great share in the development and growth of the Jewish community in Los Angeles. His contributions to worthy causes are legion. The youth of his community attest to the fact that he is truly a man with an understanding heart.

DR. CRANE: EXPERT ON THE HAPPY POOR

HON. STEVEN D. SYMMS

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. Speaker, sometimes you have to wonder how a man develops the ability to shoot from the hip and aim straight between the eyes on the problems this Congress considers. My good friend and colleague, PHIL CRANE, from Illinois, is the kind of marksman who can strip an issue right down to the bare bones. But rather than let my colleagues think that the gentlemen from Illinois is a new phenomenon to that part of the country. I would like to submit the following article from the April 10 issue of the Chicago Sun-Times. If you recognize a familiar refrain, it will only serve to underscore what a lot of us already know—young PHIL is a chip off the old block—as the saying goes "the apple doesn't fall far from the tree."

The article follows:

"FREE FOOD, RENT; NO WORRIES"—DR. CRANE: EXPERT ON THE HAPPY POOR

(By Bob Greene)

Dr. George Crane is a psychologist who has been writing a syndicated newspaper column called "The Worry Clinic" for 38 years. The column is supposed to be aimed at people who have problems.

People who have problems do not include people who are on welfare, according to Dr. Crane. I recently read an astounding episode of "The Worry Clinic," in which Dr. Crane contended to his millions of readers that the birth rate is falling because of television. Young married people are watching television late at night, and because of this they are too tired to produce babies, Dr. Crane announced.

But there is a hitch. This passage is quoted directly from "The Worry Clinic".

"Dr. Crane: I have often been asked, then wouldn't it be a good idea for politicians to promise welfare families a free TV set? Wouldn't that help reduce our growing tax burden to support the relief families?

"Theoretically," Dr. Crane replied, "it would—if the adults in such families were also putting in eight hours of hard work every day before they slouched down at night before their TV.

"But millions of welfare cases are idly sipping their beer (paid for by you employed taxpayers) and enjoying baseball or other sports TV broadcasts all afternoon. Even if they stay up till midnight, these nonworkers still have enough unused energy to zoom the birth rate.

"Contrast the unbalanced ballot-box totals when you compare a normally intelligent couple's offspring with those of the feebleminded. Use a 25-year generation cycle, with the normal taxpayer averaging three children and the feebleminded at least five. See how fast the indigent will outvote the offspring of the intelligent workers, assuming they mate with their own kind . . . Thus, within 50 years, you see, the indigent are outnumbering you intelligent readers by almost a five-to-one ratio!"

I asked him why he felt that people on welfare had so many children.

"That's easy enough," said Dr. Crane, who is 71 years old and claims he receives 1,000 letters a day from people who are seeking his wisdom. "They know that on the welfare the more children they have, the more Aid to Dependent Children money they'll get. My son is a doctor, and while he was at the county hospital in Chicago, he delivered a baby from one of these buxom lasses who came up from the South. It was her 12th baby, and my son said that there had been eight different fathers! You figure she's getting $45 or $50 a month for each child . . . she's living in the lap of luxury! She comes from the South where they live on black-eyed peas and hominy grits, no wonder she doesn't want a husband. She couldn't afford a husband if she had to give up all that money."

I asked Dr. Crane if he really thought that welfare families with so many children were doing it out of greed.

"Well," he said, "you won't find the morality or scruples among them that you'll find in intelligent people."

With so many Americans reading his column, though, I asked, doesn't he feel an obligation to offer advice to people on welfare, too?

"I have maintained something from many pulpits," Dr. Crane said. "You must remember that Christ was very selective. He didn't give out food stamps, he didn't go house-to-house making medical calls to the poor. He only healed the people who had the ambition to get up and come to him."

I asked Dr. Crane if, as a man depended on for advice by millions of readers all over the country, he did not feel that the people who really need "The Worry Clinic" most are those very people on welfare, who cannot afford a private psychiatrist or psychologist to help them through the hard days. Aren't the welfare recipients the people with the most worries in our country?

"Oh, no, they don't have any worries," Dr. Crane answered me. "They get medication free, they get food free, they get rent free. They don't pay any taxes. They don't worry about getting a paycheck or about getting laid off. They don't have any worries at all!"

TV sets, beer and baseball games aside, though, Dr. Crane said there is some hope in convincing welfare recipients that birth control is good for them: "We should not hold back birth control from any of this feeble minded and dull segment of the country," he said. "We should tell them, look, they don't like to get fat and broad in the hips, they'd rather be out dancing than being pregnant."

I was intrigued by some of Dr. Crane's findings, so tracked him down. His columns appear in some 250 newspapers, and I wondered how those of his readers who are on welfare felt about being called "feebleminded" and told them that they have more babies simply because they watch more baseball while slouched down in front of their TV's drinking government-issue beer.

"Oh, I don't have many welfare people among my readers," Dr. Crane said to a warm, friendly voice. "So many of them are not literate enough to be followers of columns such as mine. The comics or TV are as far as they can go."

THE CONTINUING NEED FOR THE EMERGENCY EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

HON. SHIRLEY CHISHOLM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Mr. Speaker, I shall not stand here today and waste my alloted time on partisan rhetoric—lambasting the Nixon administration for its stance on this piece of very critical legislation. Instead, I urge my colleagues in this House to join in support of the Emergency Employment Act because it goes to the heart of our current domestic crisis.

Here we are with a very serious problem: The national unemployment rate is 5 percent; the black unemployment rate is twice that high; and the jobless rate among Vietnam veterans is over 7 percent. This is a wasted potential which no country can afford.

Now many politicians have decried the problem and at the same time have worked against the most effective attempt to deal with this problem. Many of us here have told the people of America that they must develop the "work ethic," that they must pull themselves up by their bootstraps, and that they must get off welfare and find a job, but at the same time some of those same people in this Chamber today are opposing a bill which could provide up to 300,000 jobs in fiscal year 1974 and 375,000 jobs in fiscal year 1975, which would in effect provide "bootstraps".

What good is a desire to work if there is no work? Where are the 4.5 million unemployed to go once they have decided to leave the welfare rolls? The public employment program authorized by the Emergency Employment Act of 1971 gave some of these people a chance to find a decent and useful job. But now, the same politicians who have publicly committed themselves to lowering the unemployment rate have refused to support an extension of this highly successful and tremendously needed program to produce public-service jobs.

Why, if we agreed in the Congress in 1971 that a national unemployment rate of 4.5 percent constituted an "emergency" which necessitated job-producing funds, don't we agree in the Congress again in 1973? Why, if we agreed in Congress in 1971 that a local unemployment rate of 6 percent should trigger special funds to that local area, don't we agree again in 1973? Since the circumstances which gave impetus to the first Emergency Employment Act in 1971 still persist today in 1973, why is there any opposition to the continuation of the act?

The current budget proposal, the new social services guidelines, and now the opposition to the Emergency Employment Act can leave no doubt but that the administration's public committment to the needy, the homeless, and the jobless is just an empty promise.

While a few people have been rounded up to criticize the other programs being

cutback or terminated, even the President has been hard pressed to find economists who question the utility of the Emergency Employment Act at a time like this. When the economy is in such serious straits, economists of all persuasions are skeptical that the private sector can absorb the mass of unemployed workers. Mr. Chairman, you and I might both prefer to let the private sector create the jobs, but we also know that this is just not happening. The simple fact is that we would be abdicating our responsibility to the American people if we refused to create public jobs during the present time.

In the approximately 18 months of operation, the emergency employment program has provided jobs for some 300,000 people. And these were not useless, menial jobs; these were jobs involving unmet needs for public services in such fields as environmental quality, health care, recreation, education, public safety, transportation, conservation, crime prevention and control, and many other areas of needed social improvement. Every witness who appeared before the Select Labor Committee, which studied the emergency employment amendments, testified to the worth and effectiveness of the public employment program. Even the official spokesman for the administration, Paul J. Fasser, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Manpower, labeled the program "very effective" during the subcommittee hearings.

In the face of such strong support of the emergency employment program, the rationale for opposing any extension, as expressed by the Labor Department, is that the unemployment emergency is over! I don't think many of the 4.5 million unemployed in this country think the emergency is over. Ask some of the 300,000 unemployed Vietnam veterans whether they think the emergency is over. There can be no doubt that an extension of the Emergency Employment Act of 1971 is absolutely essential if we are sincere about giving these people a chance to help themselves.

I could proceed at length to elucidate the irresponsibility and deceptions employed by the opposition to this bill, but now we must turn to positive action. We must act now to pass the emergency employment amendments of 1973, and we must work hard to override the almost inevitable Presidential veto.

HUD LIAISON OFFICER GOES TO WORK FOR PPG

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, if the entire executive branch adopted the attitude and cooperative nature of the Department of Housing and Urban Development's congressional liaison officers, the flack flying between the Hill and downtown would be much less.

It takes only a bit more effort to be helpful and pleasant and that little bit extra always was put forth by my good friend Jack Woolley, who has just left the liaison staff of HUD for a new post with the Pittsburgh Plate Glass Co.

Although he knew I did not always agree with his bosses, Jack Woolley did not let that deter him from doing his maximum to provide my office with HUD information requested by constituents or needed by me for committee work.

Since PPG is headquartered in my district, I am sure I will be seeing a lot of Jack and I am looking forward to continuing to work with him.

Jack's departure is the Government's loss but a significant gain for PPG.

THE WHO'S AND WHY'S OF BUDGET CUTS

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, we have heard much of the so-called efficiency and management expertise of the Office of Management and Budget—but many of us have felt since OMB was granted broad new powers that this office has greatly increased its powers and enlarged its personnel staff.

Repeated statements by OMB officials and other bureaucrats concerning the proposed budget are an example. The thrust of these statements is that any change this administration's budget would create all sorts of economic and fiscal problems—even though the budget arbitrarily and without statutory authority in some areas terminates, eliminates, or reduces more than 100 domestic programs enacted by the Congress.

There is, of course, nothing magic about the administration budget—and the issue is not whether the budget will be exceeded, as the record shows that Congress has consistently cut and reduced the Presidential appropriation requests over the past several years.

The primary issue is where the money will be spent—whether Congress will accept administration priorities—which call for reparations to North Vietnam and increased allocations for foreign aid and defense spending—or whether Congress will set some priorities of its own more responsive to needs at home.

A recent study by the Joint Economic Committee released recently by Senator HUMPHREY underscores the political function of the OMB—to support administration policy—and as a result the so-called documented support for terminations or sharp cutbacks in many progressive programs is found to be filled with "fiction and froth" and often lacking in substance and reason.

Because of the interest in my colleagues and the American people in this most important matter, I place in the RECORD herewith an editorial and an article from the Washington Post concerning this critical analysis of OMB justifications for some of its irresponsible actions.

The editorial and article follow:

THE WHOS AND WHYS OF BUDGET CUTS

For months now, the administration's vast public relations campaign on behalf of the President's budget has featured two themes. One is that, thanks to congressional extravagance, federal spending had been threatening to soar out of sight until President Nixon boldly intervened to save the taxpayers from ruinous inflation, heavy tax increases or both. The complementary theme has been that the program slashes and terminations decreed by the President were based on the most exhaustive systematic review of federal operations ever made. As long ago as November 28, for instance, White House Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler told reporters at Camp David that Mr. Nixon "intends for the Office of Management and Budget to assume a new and expanded role . . . [and] undertake a comprehensive examination of all government programs now in existence to determine whether they are actually meeting the purpose for which they were designated."

Now, however, in a Joint Economic Committee staff study, just released by Senator Humphrey, comes word that those estimates of extravagant spending—and the claims of enormous cuts—are partly fiction and fluff. The real increases which produce legitimate concern, the study points out, are attributable as much to presidential initiatives as to congressional moves. From supposedly authoritative documents submitted to the committee by OMB emerges the impression that the administration's real cuts were not based on any comprehensive assessment of federal programs, but that the weeding was done instead mainly by slashing about in all directions. Finally, from OMB Director Roy Ash himself, comes a refusal to testify on these matters on grounds that OMB in general and Mr. Ash in particular should not be held accountable for the details of those painful cuts.

It is easy to see why the President's top budget officer was not too anixous to be interrogated about the 179 pages of "statements" which his agency submitted to Senator Humphrey to justify all those program cuts. The material cannot be dignified with the label of serious analysis, much less the exhaustive review, based on consistent standards, which administration rhetoric might lead one to expect. Most of the programs are written off in several lines of generalities. In some policy areas such as housing which are ripe for reform, the OMB papers do not even incorporate the detailed studies which have actually been made. In many other cases, the reason for cutting or ending a program boils down to the autocratic assertion that the government shouldn't be doing that, or shouldn't be doing it that way.

All in all, this material—Mr. Ash's refusal to discuss it publicly—hardly promote either the President's professed goal of serious reform, or the image of OMB as an agency rich in management capability and analytic skill. The picture which emerges is that of a highly partisan wrecking crew, taking the occasion of a legitimate budget squeeze to demolish every domestic program which anyone thought was shaky in performance or suspect in principle. Senator Humphrey and his staff have performed a real service in debunking the 'battle of the budget." Their work will be most valuable if it prods Congress to undertake on its own the serious reassessment which it needed, but which OMB apparently has not done.

HUMPHREY ACCUSES PRESIDENT OF BUDGET DECEPTION

(By Spencer Rich)

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) yesterday charged that President Nixon is practicing deliberate public "deception" and misrepresentation on federal budget figures

in order to justify killing programs he doesn't like and to shift blame for inflation to the Democrats.

Humphrey's accusation, the harshest yet made against the President in the battle over spending, was based on a 20-page analysis of administration budget cuts prepared by the staff of the Congressional Joint Economic Committee, where the former Vice President heads the Consumer Economics Subcommittee.

The analysis was derived from a 179-page Office of Management and Budget document intended to justify proposed budget cuts in 108 federal programs.

"Today I am releasing material that shows the Nixon administration's spending reform policies are a combination of deception and incompetence and that it has misrepresented the savings achieved by the budget cuts . . . Mr Nixon must take responsibility. I hold him accountable for this budget," said Humphrey, who lost to Mr. Nixon in the 1968 presidential race.

Specifically, Humphrey charged that:

The administration's claim that in fiscal 1974 it will hold federal spending by various methods to $17 billion less than would have otherwise been spent under congressional policies is a misrepresentation.

In fact, said Humphrey, the staff study shows that at least $8.4 billion of the claimed $17 billion savings are bookkeeping tricks or outright "manipulations" that will never give an ounce of relief to the taxpayer. For example, according to the staff study, by projecting an excessively favorable market situation for U.S. grains, the administration is claiming to save $600 million more in subsidy payments to farmers than will actually be the case.

Administration claims that impoundments of funds were necessary to hold down federal spending in the current fiscal year because Congress pumped up the budget are also phony.

In fact, Humphrey charged, of some $15 billion which the administration claimed would be spent in excess of the President's original estimate if it hadn't been for impoundments, $2 billion was imaginary. Of the remainder, $6.5 billion was due directly to Mr. Nixon's own requests for added spending.

Even the OMB's 179-page justification of its proposed budget cuts is a "slipshod" job which condemns some programs without documentation and simply misrepresents the facts on others.

For example, said Humphrey, the OMB recommended phasing out community mental health center on grounds that the main benefits aren't going to the poor. But Humphrey said government figures show that in 1970 some 64 per cent of those being served by the centers had family incomes below $5,000.

Similarly, he charged, the administration, hoping to save $75 million, proposed phasing out Medicaid (charity) dental care for adults because, according to the OMB justification, "lack of dental care is seldom life-threatening and is less critical for adults." However, the Joint Economic Committee staff report says, "no evidence is provided to support a contention that seems highly questionable . . . In addition, in the face of the 17,000 deaths each year as a result of oral cancer, is it accurate to state that lack of dental care is seldom life-threatening?"

The aim of the whole "clever, diabolical budget figure manipulation," Humphrey charged, is to mislead the public into thinking the Nixon administration will really be able to hold expenses down, then to blame everything on Congress when phony claimed cuts melt away, and use this as an excuse to slash social programs the President doesn't like.

As for himself, he said, he would rather cut spending by eliminating items like the more than $2 billion ticketed for arms aid to Saigon and Laos in the defense procurement bill, since the war there is over.

Humphrey said the administration claim that unless the President's spending cuts are put into effect there will have to be a 15 per cent increase in personal income taxes is just "conjuring up political hobgoblins to frighten some people."

Money for needed programs could be raised through tax reform, without any such personal tax increase for most people, he said, but the administration "is stone deaf and silent on tax reform."

The White House had no comment.

Referring to a newspaper story describing a party given by President Nixon for members of Congress who voted to sustain his veto of the vocational rehabilitation bill, Humphrey said it was "shameful" to celebrate the defeat of legislation intended to help people with "spinal injuries" and other crippling diseases. "It's cruel, wrong," he said.

The joint committee staff study focuses on two alleged administration claims: that it was Congress that pumped up the 1973 budget, and that the administration, by cutting social programs, is actually achieving great savings in the 1974 budget.

In fiscal 1973, says the study, the President first proposed a $246 billion federal spending level, then falsely claimed that subsequent congressional action, mainly to and programs, would have pumped this up by $15 billion.

At least $2 billion of the supposed $15 billion boost represents what social services might have cost had Congress itself not put a ceiling on them, the study says.

Of the remaining $13 billion, the study says, about $6.5 billion was requested by Mr. Nixon himself—$1.2 billion for added Vietnam war expenses, $15 billion for Hurricane Agnes, $2.6 billion for revenue sharing startup date shifts, and certain other, minor items. Another $1.6 billion was for an "uncontrollable" increase in interest on the public debt.

Congress is actually responsible for only $5 billion of the increase, the study says: $2.8 billion for Social Security increases, $1 billion for black lung disease benefits for coal miners; and $1 billion for its own proposed revenue-sharing increase.

Thus, the study concludes, Mr. Nixon was actually more responsible for budget increases in fiscal 1973 than Congress.

The study next turns to the $17 billion by which, the study says, Mr. Nixon claims he will cut potential spending in fiscal 1974 by reducing various programs in ways Democrats have criticized.

At least $8.4 billion of this claimed saving is called "cosmetic"—simply an illusion.

For example, the study says, in addition to unrealistically underestimating farm subsidies by $600 million, the OMB is claiming that Mr. Nixon is "saving" $27 billion in social service grant costs by holding spenddown to $2.5 billion—the congressionally imposed budget ceiling for this program.

All the OMB is saying, says the study, is that if Congress hadn't imposed the ceiling of $2.5 billion, the program might have gone as high as $5.2 billion in fiscal 1974—yet the administration is claiming this as a saving due to administration initiative.

Similarly, the study says, the administration is claiming it will save by various moves $4.7 billion on what otherwise would have been spent for defense. But the study says at least $2.7 billion of this claimed savings is simply the Defense Secretary's refusal to ask Congress to approve the total amounts requested of him by the individual military departments.

Another claimed saving, $592 million, the study says, is projected from a proposed federal welfare regulation which "has not yet been adopted and whose legality is questionable" and is being challenged by 34 states.

Other claimed savings, the study charges, simply involve deferments of expenditures to later fiscal years, ultimately saving nothing.

GIOVANNI DA VERRAZANO, FLORENTINE NAVIGATOR

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, tucked into the rolling hills above the beautiful city of Florence, Italy, a stone house stands out from those around it only because of a plaque set into one of its walls. The marker tells the passers-by—and they are few—that here was born the most famous of this town's sons, Giovanni da Verrazano. The young Verrazano, restless in his native town, made his way to France where in 1524 he persuaded the King of France into financing an expedition to explore and map the still unclaimed coast of the new world.

His voyages carried him across the Atlantic and thence along the coast of North America from as far south as the Carolinas to the northern sections of Newfoundland. His cartographic work was superb as was his luck, for he discovered a body of water that formed a harbor far superior to anything known in Europe.

The harbor was New York's and the people of that great city were to remember Giovanni da Verrazano nearly 500 years later when a massive bridge, spanning the very narrows that he had first seen, was constructed and named in his honor. It is, therefore, fitting and proper that this longest suspension bridge in the world, this largest of American monuments to honor a European, this greatest of engineering feats should presently stand within sight of the Statue of Liberty; for it was through the very narrows that Verrazano had discovered and passed along that hundreds of thousands of his country men would come to make their contribution to the world. Men like Fermi, Toscannini, Verdi were joined by thousands of other great people of Italian birth and descent who have given us so much.

In just 12 short years we shall be celebrating the 500th anniversary of the birth of the great Italian explorer and navigator. This celebration should be one of great magnitude and widespread observance. It should have long range planning, not only on the part of Italo-American organizations for whom it will hold great interest, but by the Congress of the United States as well. We should begin immediately to consider the type of honor which this body considers fitting for the man who has meant so much to our country's development. Surely some of the most important coastal waterways which we shall be converting into national parks or sanctuaries should be named Verrazano.

And so, Mr. Speaker, let us all join with our fellow Americans of Italian lineage and pay tribute to the greatest of all Florentine navigators—Giovanni da Verrazano.

CHICAGO ITALICS CLUB HONORS MISS MARGARET DURSO

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, on April 8, 1973, at the Chateau Royale in Chicago the Italics Club honored a most distinguished Chicagoan—Miss Margaret Durso, as the Woman of the Year 1973, for her active interest for emotionally disturbed and mentally retarded children. We of the 11th Congressional District of Illinois, which I am proud to represent, are privileged that Miss Durso is a part of our community.

Some 300 people, including Judge Helen Kelleher and Judge Kenneth Wendt, attended the Italics Club Annual Award Dinner Dance, at which club president Mary M. Mento presented a plaque to Margaret Durso in recognition of her outstanding service to humanity.

Miss Durso was escorted to the seat of honor by Hon. Thaddeus S. Leckowicz, and Hon. Victor A. Arrigo presented her with a resolution from the Illinois House of Representatives celebrating her accomplishments. She was also presented with an honorary lifetime membership in the Italics Club by general dance chairman and first vice president, Carmello A. Biacconeri.

The Italics Club gave donations in the name of Miss Durso to the Chicago Read Mental Health Center, to the Villa Scalabrini Home for the Aged, and to the Sacred Heart Seminary of Northlake.

I extend my warmest congratulations to Miss Margaret Durso for meriting the Italics Club's 1973 Woman of the Year Award, and at this point in the RECORD include her biography. The biography follows:

MISS MARGARET DURSO

Margaret Durso, educator and benefactress, was born in Chicago, the daughter of Luciano and Antonina Durso, who settled in Chicago four years after the great fire. Luciano was a man whose family's welfare was uppermost in his mind. Antonina's keen foresight, sagacious business ability, and love of learning spurred her children to achieve a higher education.

The children born to Luciano and Antonina were Domenica (Mrs. John Molinaro), Elena (Mrs. Christopher Levaccare), John, Joseph, Michael, Rose (Mrs. Anthony Desimone), and Margaret.

Miss Durso's elementary education was obtained at the Edward Jenner School; she then attended Waller High School. Upon graduation she attended Chicago Normal from which she graduated in 1922.

Throughout her life her most ardent desire was to study medicine relevant to school health. She then attended evening school and received a bachelor of science degree in 1930.

Miss Durso enrolled at Loyola University as an evening graduate student and was given a masters in education.

The desire for a medical degree continued but she had passed the admitting age of medical students. Fortunately, however, Loyola Medical School opened a department of public health and preventive medicine. She enrolled and received her master's degree in public health in 1945.

Miss Durso received a certificate as health coordinator from the Chicago Board of Education. She taught nurses at St. Francis, Columbus, South Community, Evanston and Evangelical Hospitals.

Michael R. Durso, Miss Durso's brother, a state legislator from the old 29th senatorial district, established a free evening school for immigrants. It was staffed by volunteer workers at the Edward Jenner and nearby schools. Miss Durso took an active part in this endeavor, promoting the understanding of the history and traditions of this country in preparation for the citizenship examinations.

Miss Durso was the founder of the National Italian American Civic League, the purpose of this benevolent group was to confer scholarships to under privileged high school students.

With the passing of years and still imbued with the continued interest in school children's health, her attention was directed to the establishment of a memorial hospital. This hospital was to be organized exclusively for charitable, scentific and educational purposes, but because of the lack of federal funds, this undertaking did not materialize.

Despite some disappointment, Miss Durso's love for humanity and interest in medicine motivated her to donate two perpetual trusts on July 1, 1971. The income from these trust funds were to be used for the welfare and treatment of emotionally disturbed and mentally retarded children and adolescents at Chicago Read Mental Health Center.

Former Governor Richard Ogilvie, who officiated at the ground breaking ceremonies of the Children's Center, publicly thanked Miss Durso and the Name of Chicago Read Medical Surgical Building has been officially changed to Margaret Durso Medical and Surgical Hospital.

In devoting much of her professional life to the welfare of others, Miss Durso was able to perpetuate the words of her mother, *"Do good on earth and forget about it"*.

AWARDS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

The State of Illinois Honorable citation presented February 19, 1972 as a symbol of esteem and gratitude to an ardent exponent of children's health.

Eugene Field School P.T.A. Award 1962, for exceptional services.

National Director of the National Italian American Civic League.

Secretary and Member of the Immigrants Protective League.

Founder and Organizer of the National Civic League, Junior Auxiliary Club.

Founder and President of the Benevolent National Italian American Civic League—(Chicago Women's Club).

Benefactress: Calumet Women's Club for Blind and Deaf Children, Chicago Read Mental Health Center.

Member: Sons of Italy—Skokie Lodge, Italian Arts Club, Italian Teacher's Club, Joint Civic Committee of Italian Americans, Villa Scalabrini Italian Home for the Aged, Women's Club, Eugene Field School P.T.A., National Italian American Civic League Chicago Women's Club, American Committee on Italian Migration.

NATIONAL SECRETARIES WEEK

HON. JAMES F. HASTINGS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, this week marks the 22d annual observance of Secretaries Week and I should like to take this opportunity to offer a warm and well-deserved tribute to the secretaries all over the Nation.

They serve with efficiency, dedication, and superb skill, contributing in great abundance to the ordered operation of business, industry, government, and the professions.

The National Secretaries Association, the largest organization of its kind in the world, is sponsoring this special week. Its theme is "Better Secretaries Mean Better Business." Indeed they do.

I take special pleasure in joining with others throughout the country in offering this salute to secretaries. Their efforts have set a lofty standard which rightfully merits the recognition of everyone.

ZION SETS A GOOD EXAMPLE FOR RESPONSIBLE COMMUNITY ACTION

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, there are many assurances that the substitution of general revenue sharing in lieu of multiple, categorical grant programs will serve as a definite impetus to local and State action.

Many communities and townships in Lake County in my 13th Illinois Congressional District are demonstrating their concern and capabilities regarding problems which are most needed by local citizens.

An example is the township of Zion where a share of the township's Federal revenue-sharing funds are being provided for vocational and employment counseling for dropouts, transportation for the elderly, classes in consumer education, homemaking and budgeting, and a referral service.

I am attaching a recent editorial which appeared in the News Sun, the leading daily newspaper in Lake County, Ill., on Friday, April 6. Perhaps this editorial can point to an example for other communities to emulate:

ZION SETS A GOOD EXAMPLE

Zion's Community Action Program, like its counterparts in cities throughout the nation, stands on the brink of extinction as a result of federal funding cutbacks, but township and city officials may save the day.

Zion Township Supervisor Ernest Mintern said the proposal to save the program by channeling into it a portion of the township's share of federal revenue sharing funds is a workable solution.

Mintern told residents who requested the funds for a $10,000 annual program that would provide vocational and employment counseling for dropouts, transportation for the elderly, classes in consumer education, homemaking and budgeting, and a referral service: "It can be a good program, but it needs supervision. The last one brought in strangers from outside Zion. There are some things the program can do better than we can, but we should have something where we can pull the strings."

One of the specified purposes of federal revenue sharing is to create locally controlled and supervised social service agencies to replace those which would be eliminated in federal cutbacks.

The idea to have Zion township and city officials fund and administer a revised community action program—to be renamed Zion

Social Service—would seem to fall easily within the federal guidelines.

Township Auditor Donald Ower said "We have an obligation to be concerned about the community and put revenue sharing under local control with strict supervision."

This is the type of community action which can make the federal revenue sharing plan work. Zion officials are expected to approve the program when they convene this month and other governments should take a look at what community concern can mean when handled properly.

THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF HOME ECONOMICS AT KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY

HON. WILLIAM R. ROY

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. ROY. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to the recent centennial celebration of the College of Home Economics at Kansas State University.

One hundred years ago, in 1873, Kansas State became the first school in the Nation to offer home economics courses for college credit. From a modest beginning that year with 12 students, the KSU involvement with home economics has grown to a College of Home Economics enrolling more than 1,700 students—men and women—in 1973.

The centennial celebration on campus in late March called attention to this century of growth, and to the change in role for the American woman.

This change can be appreciated by reading the following remarks, made by the first president of Kansas State University, John Anderson. Speaking in 1874, President Anderson made these comments about the Kansas woman in his "Woman's Course":

> She has a right to an education as precisely adopted to a woman's work as is the boy's preparatory to a man's work. She has a right to study her own organism and functions, to understand the conditions of health, and to be forewarned against the inexorable penalty of ignorance, folly or overtaxation . . . in short, to all the knowledge which related sciences can contribute to her intelligence, deftness and efficiency in that greatest and purest of womanly arts, the art of making a home.

It is because of institutions such as the KSU College of Home Economics that women in America have abandoned such a narrow description of "woman's work," and have made such great strides toward achieving a full role in our society.

A recipient of special honor at the centennial celebration was the woman who has guided the college for the past 19 years, Dean Doretta Hoffman. Dean Hoffman is recognized today as one of the most dynamic educators and home economists in the Nation, and we Kansans feel very fortunate to have her services at Kansas State University.

Also honored at the celebration were 13 women who were recognized as distinguished alumnae of the college.

These women are: Tessie Agan of Manhattan, a former faculty member in the college; Elizabeth Walbert Crandall, chairman of the department of home management at the University of Rhode Island; Ruth J. Dales, head of the department of home and family life at Florida State University; Grace Zeller Goff of Manhattan, past president of the Kansas extension homemakers council; Lyllis Ann Ling, chief nutritionist at Children's Mercy Hospital in Kansas City, Mo.; Lucille Osborn Rust of Manhattan, a former faculty member in the college; and Shirley Jean Sarvis, a free lance writer in San Francisco.

Also: Georgiana H. Smurthwaite, honored for her outstanding service to the women of Kansas; Martha Lewis Starling, a homemaker and community leader in Pennsylvania; Doris Train Stewart, a retired public school teacher from California; Joyce J. Terrass, coordinator of home economics education at Purdue University; Arlene May Wilson, associate director of the department of dietetics at Indiana University Medical Center; and Maxine Fay Wilson, assistant director of residence halls at Purdue University.

Mr. Speaker, these women represent more than 7,000 alumnae of the College of Home Economics. Their accomplishments reflect credit upon themselves, their fellow alumnae, and their school.

One of the highlights of the centennial activities was an address by our colleague, the distinguished gentlewoman from Hawaii (Mrs. MINK). She presented a brilliant exposition of the role of the modern woman in the United States.

Mrs. MINK established an immediate and deep rapport with her audience. Her known great personal achievements and her dynamic presentation deeply impressed her vision of the future of our Nation and our Nation's women upon this large and receptive gathering.

Such vision symbolizes the work of the Kansas State College of Home Economics for the past 100 years. I am sure that my colleagues join me in wishing similar success for the next century to everyone associated with the school.

With your permission, Mr. Speaker, I include Mrs. MINK's address in the RECORD at this point:

SPEECH BY REPRESENTATIVE PATSY T. MINK, CENTENNIAL PROGRAM, COLLEGE OF HOME ECONOMICS, KANSAS STATE UNIVERSITY, MARCH 30, 1973

President McCain, Dean Hoffman, Dr. Joseph Hajda, my distinguished colleague Congressman William Roy: I am extremely grateful for this opoprtunity to participate in the centennial celebration of the College of Home Economics. I believe this is my first visit to Kansas, and I really came only because Congressman Roy was most persuasive and insistent.

You are most fortunate to have such an outstanding and dedicated Representative in the Congress, and it is a high personal privilege for me to have made the acquaintance of this distinguished American.

You all have every reason to be proud of the special significance of this day. One hundred years ago, Kansas State inaugurated the concept of home economics. As far as can be determined, these were the first home economics courses taught anywhere for college credit. Kansas State was even then a leader in believing that home economics—a field reserved almost exclusively for women—was important enough to have its own formal academic recognition. This displayed remarkable foresight. It elevated homemaking as well as family life; it became a separate curricula in higher education.

In rapid order, other universities across our nation followed in establishing schools of home economics. Just as it displayed vision by launching this field in 1873, Kansas State University has remained in the forefront by expanding and modernizing the concept of home economics even as the overall role of women in our society has grown and evolved.

Today, the School of Home Economics is a dynamic and relevant institution attuned to meeting the diverse needs for home or life-related instruction in a complex world. Where it had 12 students at the outset, in 1973 there are 1,700 students preparing themselves in a wide variety of disciplines. The founders would marvel at the range of subjects being offered, a far cry from the sewing and cooking concept of a bygone era.

Whether it be child development, restaurant management, fashion design, interior decorating, retailing, or consumer education, the School has developed courses for just about every aspect of the expanded field of Home Economics. It offers both undergraduate and graduate degrees. And the field is no longer restricted to only women. I understand there are 20 male graduate students in the area of Child Development alone at Kansas State University.

It seems to me that this changing panorama of roles in our society is all to the good. The School of Home Economics realizes that women do not remain in the home, and that men must be equally schooled in family and home management. With the growing number of women entering our national work force, the new curricula is only a reflection of reality.

In 1960, women accounted for 33 percent of all jobs in our country. By 1970, just ten years later, they held 38 percent of all jobs, a five percent gain.

Moreover, the overall number of jobs increased tremendously, so that women's gain is even more impressive. Of the 12 million new jobs created in the last decade, women claimed just under 8 million of these. As new jobs are opened, women get the great bulk of them. I do not know how long this trend will continue, but we are rapidly approaching a society where sex is an irrelevant factor in determining family responsibility. As a matter of fact, 15 percent of the working wives last year earned more than their husbands, and amazingly our society has not crumbled.

This raises a number of implications for our social structure. Some of these implications relate to mores, to individual customs and life-styles. Others relate to more formal institutions such as our laws and governmental policies, and it is these questions I wish to discuss.

Of primary importance, it seems to me, is the grace with which we adjust to the changeover from a male-dominated workforce to one in which women have an equal opportunity to contribute. Past concepts of women-in-the-home clash directly with the reality of more than 29 million working women. Therefore, to the extent that our laws and policies are grounded in the philosophy that a woman's place is in the home, they must necessarily be re-examined and updated.

We must revise such practices as paying a woman less than a man for the same work, on the theory that a man deserves more because he is a breadwinner while a woman only supplements the husband's income. Strange as it may seem, this concept has not been eradicated, even from our basic laws. The Social Security system, for example, af-

fords lesser recognition to the earnings of women than men. There is no legal justification I can see for this. It is simply a carry-over from a time when few women worked. Yet the effect of this obsolete law is to deprive male surviving spouses of benefits due them as a result of taxes paid by their wives, whereas female surviving spouses automatically receive theirs.

Under Social Security, a widow is entitled to monthly benefits when her husband dies. However if the wife works her widower receives no benefits unless he was dependent on her income while she was alive. For purposes of Social Security, your earnings count one way if you are a man, and another way if you are a woman.

In reality, in most cases, men are the real losers because it is the surviving husband who receives no benefits from his wife's payments into the Social Security system, which is a survivor benefit system. If I pay taxes same as a working man why should my survivors receive less in benefits merely because of my sex? My current earnings provide security for my family. Why shouldn't the taxes I pay provide the same security for them when I am dead? The tax committees of the Congress say to provide this equity would cost too much! But women live longer anyhow so we certainly won't be bankrupting the system.

These kinds of discrimination have been allowed to develop because not enough women were personally interested in securing equal rights. But this too has changed. The Congress of the United States approved a constitutional amendment which states that women shall have equality. This is before the State legislatures for ratification. My home State of Hawaii was the first to ratify the amendment, and the Kansas legislature has also passed it. The fact that the amendment has not had an easy time in other legislatures merely serves to prove that we have much work ahead of us. I am confident that as more women realize the enormity of our deprivation of basic human rights, they will rally and bring sufficient pressure to adopt the amendment.

It is the traditional sex-role concepts that hold women back more than anything else, and the force of these concepts is all the greater because it is subtle and pervasive. It is in the mind of a little girl as well as her brother by the time they are five years old. What women today must learn to do is to go beyond the stereotypes to gain the human freedom that can only come when our minds and behavior are not patterned according to what is traditionally proper thought or action for women. We must do for women overall what the College of Home Economics has done for this course of instruction.

At least in this country, history has brought us to a point in time when women should be able to make individual choices and take their places as complete human beings. The trend toward fewer children, the development of conveniences that speed and simplify housework, and the new urbanization and mobility leave women freer to have their own separate lives apart from traditional roles of wife and mother. Recent legal actions in the United States, such as the Equal Pay Act, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Revised Order No. 4 of the Office of Federal Contract Compliance as well as Congressional passage of the equal rights amendment, have made it clear to business and industry that they must make places for women workers in their organizations. Publicity given to women of achievement such as the distinguished home economists for whom many of your buildings are named is giving many women role-models, and is suggesting that maybe they, too, could have careers or get involved in government and politics. Things have been changing for the better for women who want achievement in their own right.

I think one of the greatest problems for women today is themselves—their own inability to go beyond the stereotypes of what a woman should do and what she should be. Many in this audience doubtless have chosen to go beyond the traditional ideas of womanhood. You have the education and the interest to become the decision-makers of the future. Yet, I doubt that any but a handful of women has escaped some feelings of guilt or trepidation about your chosen life-styles. We were brought up, most of us, to believe that the most rewarding work in life would be to stay home, with our husbands and children. And yet many of us know we want more than that.

We women were treated differently than our brothers from birth. Little boys are given toys that challenge the mind and teach manual dexterity while we were given dolls and teacups and dreams of motherhood. Perhaps some of us here can remember the tearing apart of a young adolescent girl who had years of joy as a so-called tomboy, climbing trees and winning races, only to be told that such activity had to stop if she was to be successful as a young girl and later as a woman. Young women have told me that they can't remember consciously deciding, in the seventh or eighth grade, not to excel in school, to get lower grades in order to insure popularity. The dumb broad routine. It has been said that girls get less intelligent as they get older, that thousands of women who are positively brilliant in grade school become merely bright in high school, simply very good in college, and finally, mediocre in graduate school and that this explains the lower and lower percentages of women in these levels of higher education. But I doubt that any of us here accept that nonsense! This lack of "achievement" of course is merely the harsh workings of discrimination, brutally inflicted against women because of sex alone.

As a result of the women's movement, more and more young women are rethinking their goals and aspirations. However, even these women are not immune to the social conditioning of the traditional sex-role concepts.

The problem is, it seems to me, that a girl is conditioned to accept the notion that femininity and academic achievement are incompatible while the boy is taught from birth that his human fulfillment and his masculine fulfillment are one and the same.

This unconscious ideology is, I believe, at the root of the problem. Forces of history are changing other conditions that have made it difficult for women. New opportunities for women are increasing in the world of work as well as in community life and in government and politics. However, the traditional sex stereotypes continue to hinder the full development of women.

I chose politics as a career for active involvement and I would encourage more women to do the same. Obviously every woman in this country who is concerned with improving society cannot hold an office. But there is a limitless field for women to participate in politics at the grass roots level.

Women can actively involve themselves in the major issues of their localities, State and nation. Through awareness of the things that are important you can help to formulate public opinion. Things don't just happen. Actually, most of the major decisions in our society are not decisions at all. For instance, no single person or group reaches a conscious decision that there will be higher prices for meat. These things result from the interconnected actions of the market-place, in which millions of consumers have just as much impact as those who are in positions of power. There will be one decision if all of these consumers do not give any thought to prices and continue buying as usual. There may be quite another decision if enough individual consumers think about the matter and work to alter the course of events. We have seen this work yesterday as a result of a few determined wives.

On any public issue, it is the cause which generates the most attention and support that gets action. People can affect changes if they care enough to work for them!

A sense of political awareness is the key. Which public servant is doing something about an immediate problem? Which one is not? By following the activities of those in public office, you can have a basis for deciding. Those who meet with your approval should be supported and continued in office. Often, a single letter to a Congressman can turn his attention toward a problem that needs solving. Quite a few times, I have introduced a bill because of one letter from a constituent, outlining a legitimate need that should be met. Actually, I think most of the legislation that is considered in Congress originates from letters received by Members. On many issues, which command wide public attention, we get loads of mail and again this helps to assure that major problems are not ignored.

I know the same is true in State legislatures, such as the Hawaii legislature where I served before coming to Congress. It is even more true at the municipal or county level of office, where the office holder is in daily contact with the people he serves. Those in public office need to hear from the people in order to know how to proceed. But politics is not the only way to effect social change. Through private efforts, such as clubs and committees, much can be done also. All such activiites can help bring pressure to bear on the inequities affecting many people. It seems to me that the more leadership devoted by women toward a better world, no matter whether through governmental or private efforts, the better. We need all the involvement we can get. The only error is to not get involved at all—or to permit others to make all the judgments which affect your life.

You might ask how can I get started in this process of involvement? My response is that the biggest obstacle is you! You have to first make a decision that you want to do something. After that it is simple to find the means!

You can't wait around for someone to ask you. There are many organizations, national and local, who need your help, but are not equipped to find you to ask you to join. Whatever you do will be by your own initiative. Actually, this lack of outside motivation is one of the main reasons why so many people fail to act beyond their own personal needs. It is only when you cease waiting for someone to ask you that you can begin considering yourself as over the hill and on your way to being a full contributing citizen!

Human initiative is the key to all progress, not just to the political process. The willingness to care, the fortitude to act in the face of apathy—these are the tools for change. And women care deeply and we've got enough fortitude to meet any challenge!

One hundred years ago, initiative created a new course of study in Home Economics here at Kansas State. Study is one thing—putting it to use is quite another matter. Initiative means you care about your fellow human beings; initiative cannot be taught. It comes out of a regard for yourself as an important person whose life has been given with equal capacity to do good works, to achieve and to count for something worthwhile. Women cannot, must not, take the back seat in the struggle for human dignity, for that is what true equality means.

AID TO HANOI WOULD BE MERELY TRIBUTE—HUMAN EVENTS

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, the conservative publication Human Events in its current issue includes an article by Thomas A. Lane which concludes in substance that any reparations to North Vietnam would have to be construed as tribute to an enemy. Mr. Lane concludes that this proposal is very bad policy and indeed madness.

Because of the interest of my colleagues and the American people in this most important matter, I place the article in the RECORD herewith.

The article follows:

AID TO HANOI WOULD BE MERELY TRIBUTE

(By Thomas A. Lane)

Attempts of the Nixon Administration to defend its commitment of aid to North Vietnam are generating some tendentious explanations. The claim of Secretary Rogers that we have always given such aid to mend the ravages of war is sheer misrepresentation. President Eisenhower offered no program of aid to North Korea when the armistice was signed at Panmunjon.

The Administration obscures the issue with references to our assistance to Japan and Germany after World War II. There is no similarity in the cases. In Japan and Germany the enemy surrendered and we replaced his government with one of our own. We assumed responsibility for administration of the countries. We installed democratic governments. This is not happening in North Vietnam.

President Johnson proposed aid to Hanoi as part of a peace settlement and President Nixon repeated the ploy. Because previous proposals to buy peace had not been criticized by Congress, the President had reason to believe that the proffer of aid would be accepted at the Capitol.

The Johnson proposal was not an offer; it was an indication of readiness to consider aid in a settlement package. No President has authority to make the commitment without the approval of Congress. The question now is whether any commitment of aid to Hanoi made by the President should be accepted by the Congress and the people.

This is a very bad proposal—much worse than appears on the surface. The Presidents should have considered the proposition more carefully before they spoke.

Let us be clear about precedents. There is no precedent for giving aid to an unvanquished enemy except as tribute. Aid to Hanoi would clearly be so categorized, whatever our explanation, as the price we pay for release from the conflict.

Arguments that the cost is less than the cost of continuing the war are specious. They obscure the cost of defeat. They would bow to defeat by puerile North Vietnam, as though money were the only consideration in war. We are not so depraved as to take that view of conflict.

Moreover, there is no need of our aid in North Vietnam. These people built their own country and they can rebuild it without our assistance. They can get economic and technical assistance from the Soviet Union and Red China, their allies in the war. North Vietnam is demanding aid so that it can claim the U.S. paid tribute to end the war.

It has been falsely charged by some critics of our policy in Vietnam that we are trying to police the world. If we now undertake to pay our enemies for the damage sustained in their aggressive "wars of liberation" against our allies, it can be fairly charged that we are trying to *bankroll* the world. What other interpretation can be put on a plan to rebuild not only the free world but the Communist world as well?

In the present state of our finances, this is madness. It is an extension of the profigate spending which has caused our monetary distress.

Aid to North Vietnam would be a radical innovation, not a following of precedent. Congress must reject it. Congressional leaders should firmly inform the President that the negotiation target for aid to Hanoi must be zero, because the Congress will have none of it.

LET'S ACT TO RESOLVE THE OEO CONTROVERSY

HON. L. A. (SKIP) BAFALIS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. BAFALIS. Mr. Speaker, in view of the great controversy which has arisen over the future of the Office of Economic Opportunity, I found this recent editorial from the April 16, 1973, Miami Herald most interesting.

We have heard endless threats from that vocal minority in our society which has condemned the President for authorizing the dismantling of OEO. Federal judges have issued conflicting decisions about the validity of this order. All in all, it is quite a turmoil.

I, therefore, would commend this editorial entitled "A Simple Vote in Congress Could End the OEO Hubbub," to my colleagues for review. This editorial provides the information necessary to see that, in this time of great fiscal crisis, the President has taken decisive steps toward consolidating those poverty programs which have proven to be effective and eliminating those which have proven to be a disgraceful waste of the taxpayers' dollars. It also outlines a logical course of action to resolve this controversy.

I strongly support the President in this difficult decision as does the Miami Herald.

The article follows:

A SIMPLE VOTE IN CONGRESS COULD END THE OEO HUBBUB

Conflicting decisions by two federal judges leave laymen confused about the fate of the Office of Economic Opportunity.

A jurist in Chicago refused to ban the dismantling of the OEO in that city, as ordered by President Nixon, on grounds it was assured of funding at least through June 30.

Contrariwise, a judge in the District of Columbia commanded a halt to the termination program. He rejeoted the argument that the executive branch has power to reorganize federal agencies in the way the OEO is being phased out.

"If the power sought here were found valid," said the Washington court, "no barrier would remain to the executive ignoring any and all congressional authorizations if he deemed them, no matter how conscientiously, to be contrary to the needs of the nation."

Offhand, this sounds like reinforcement for the role of the legislative as a co-equal with the executive and the judicial. Yet it is hard to reconcile with the Chicago ruling.

Nor is it clear to us whether either court considered the congressional grant of power to the President to combat inflation by economic controls. That, as we understand it, is the rationale for getting rid of the OEO—to cut back federal spending forthwith as an anti-inflation weapon.

All that Mr. Nixon is trying to eliminate is Community Action and a scattering of residual OEO activities. Most OEO programs are continued in his budget, many with more money. His effort to transfer them to other departments is in line with the intent of the Economic Opportunity Act that OEO should work separately only until its tasks could be shifted to old-line agencies.

The case against Community Action is conclusive. Its cost of nearly $400 million annually is unjustified by eight years of failure to prove that Community Action programs propel persons out of poverty.

Congress could slash through all the red tape and litigation easily. A simple bill abolishing Community Action would do it. But that would end the hubbub, depriving congressmen of the political hay they may think they are making with the likes of those poverty fighters in Washington who ordered champagne to celebrate their court "victory."

IMPORTANT AVIATION DEVELOPMENT

HON. DON H. CLAUSEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. DON H. CLAUSEN. Mr. Speaker, our colleague, the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. CONTE) recently spoke to the Short-Haul Air Transportation—STOL—Symposium in McLean, Va. His speech represents a significant milestone in the effort to shed some light on an important aviation development which I believe holds great promise for the traveling public.

I believe all the Members of Congress should have an opportunity to gain a better insight into the role of aviation as it relates to our developing STOL transportation system and with Congressman CONTE'S permission, I am inserting a copy of his statement in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that we can all have the opportunity to benefit by it.

Having 30 years professional flying experience, I believe the gentleman from Massachusetts has once again demonstrated his extraordinary leadership in the field of transportation.

The statement follows:

REMARKS OF HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

Thank you very much for the kind introduction. It is a pleasure to be here tonight. With all the problems I have had using short-haul air transportation during my 14 years in the Congress, I am hopeful that meetings like this will lead to a brighter future.

I was going to fly here tonight in a STOL from the Capitol lawn. However, I ran into a host of problems. First the FAA told me that the flight could not take place because it would conflict with the Air Traffic Control pattern in the Washington area, and because the plane did not have a certificate of airworthiness. Next, the CAB told me that this was not a certificated route and that they were not sure the route would qualify for a subsidy. The last straw was the court suit filed by the *Capitol Hill Staffers for Peace and Quiet* asking for an injunction because I had not filed an environmental impact

statement. I had a nice drive out here in a car.

Seriously, there are some real problems facing the air transport industry in its efforts to provide economical and safe short-haul air transportation. Tonight, I want to address myself to some of the problems and the federal role in seeking solutions.

As you well know, it is difficult to discuss any of the issues or the problems facing short-haul air transportation by placing them in nice, neat little packages. They are too closely related and intertwined for that approach.

When the federal government became involved in the civil side of aviation, it automatically became involved in the problem of providing adequate short-haul transportation. Unfortunately, the initial government reaction was the all too common one of throwing money at the problem. Subsidies based on operating costs were provided. This only served as an incentive for waste and the development of inappropriate solutions.

In its usual way, America decided that bigger was better. Our original short-haul carriers purchased equipment suited to longer hauls with greater passenger loads, even though the approach was patently uneconomical and the market for these facilities did not exist. Because they had the larger planes, the short-haul carriers begged for and got longer routes. They then tried to drop many of the less profitable routes. The end result is that the short-haul, feeder carriers have become minitrunk carriers, and some of them are not so mini any more either. Probably the worst aspect of these developments was that the demand for the development of *practical*, short-haul equipment, became subservient to the larger, faster, longer-haul markets.

Fortunately, the tables are now turning. The carriers, the manufacturers, the federal government and local citizens are all recognizing the need for new technologies to meet the challenges of the 1970's and beyond. These new technologies are coming, and I believe that they hold great promise. Steep approaching, quiet, short-runway aircraft are now appearing on the drawing boards. The 45-passenger DeHavilland DHC–7, able to operate from short runways quietly and economically, is scheduled to appear by the mid–70's. The Air Force is going ahead with construction of two prototype jet STOL transports from which technological fallout is inevitable. The major airframe manufacturers are seriously studying the type of short-haul aircraft that can meet the environmental and market demands of the next decade.

Right now, NASA is involved in the development of a clean and quiet experimental engine. Of all things necessary for a practical and acceptable short-haul aircraft to meet our future transportation needs, a quiet engine is the most crucial. As things presently stand, this engine can be ready for production by the middle of this decade and in commercial service by 1980. But many questions must first be answered. What size, or sizes, of aircraft are needed to meet the demand? Which of the technologies being actively pursued, i.e., augmentor wings, externally blown flaps, etc., will meet the combined needs of environmental acceptability and operating economics?

We see both government research and industry moving forward with technological developments. I welcome this, and I hope this trend continues. I must note, however, that there is a great deal of lobbying for *greater* government assistance in the form of tax benefits, subsidies and even more massive federal R&D programs.

When I discuss this issue, the most commonly asked question I hear is: "What can the government do?" I am really disturbed by this because the implicit question really is: "How *much money* will the government spend on short-haul transportation?" While I believe that the federal government does have a role and should spend some money on the development of our short-haul air system, I am also convinced that the major responsibility lies with the carriers and the manufacturers. This country has led the world's aviation industry since its inception. There is no reason why we cannot continue to do so. From all the reports I have seen on the demand for short-haul air transportation, the market is there waiting to be tapped. NASA has committed to a $100 million program to develop a QUESTOL engine. The Internal Revenue Code contains a host of tax benefits for both the manufacturer and the carrier. The FAA's Quiet Short-Haul Air Transportation System Office is providing centralized leadership for those things which are properly the responsibilities of the federal government. I do not think we can reasonably expect federal aid to grow much beyond that.

Neither I nor anyone else can discuss short-haul air transportation without discussing competition and markets. Competition for the short-haul carriers takes two forms: other airlines and ground transportation. In most cases, the free market forces should be the determining factor. If the market is over-served by airlines, the competing carriers are going to have to make the decision to fish or cut bait. There is no reason why the carriers should be subsidized to over-serve the dense short-haul market. Their function is to fulfill a transportation need at a reasonable cost, and massive subsidies are not the answer. A wiser approach would be to amend our regulatory system to allow for joint or unilateral reductions in an over-served dense market.

With regard to competition on the ground, there have been a number of very significant developments over the last few years. The most notable of these are the nearing completion of the Interstate Highway System and the establishment of Amtrak in 1970. The Interstate Highway System has cut travel times tremendously, and this has given rise to a greater readiness to drive to a destination rather than fly. Often-times, this decision is an economic one because the time saved is not significant enough to warrant the expenditure of the premium cost of air transportation. I believe that the industry and the CAB must seriously investigate the possibility of establishing more flexible group fares for short-haul flights.

One extremely important area that I have already alluded to is the *market* for short-haul air transportation. Essentially there are two markets: First, the high density markets found on the East Coast, in the Great Lakes region, and on the West Coast; and, second, the lower density market in the rest of the country.

For the high density markets, I think that it is reasonable to assume that short-haul air transportation will continue to operate as a vital part or our transportation system.

With the coming developments in technology and with the given demand, there is no reason why the carriers cannot provide even better service at a more economical cost per revenue passenger mile without reliance on subsidies.

A far different situation exists in those markets where there is not enough demand to profitably support the operations of regular air service, but where service is nonetheless needed. In such cases, I believe that one proposal made by the CAB has substantial merit. The CAB has proposed that markets which demonstrate a need for air service, but which cannot support such operations, should benefit from *limited* subsidy. This subsidy would take the form of a contract designed to provide regularly scheduled air taxi service to these areas.

The contract would specify the maximum fare and the minimum service to be provided. The potential carriers would then bid for the amount of the subsidy they felt necessary to make a reasonable profit and to provide the specified services. The low bidder would be awarded a short-term contract which would *not* be subject to renegotiation. At the end of the contract term, say in three years, the contract would be put out for bid again, and the prior contract holder would have no preference over the other bidders. In those cases where a contract holder made a substantial profit or incurred substantial losses, the subsequent contract bids would certainly reflect the experience. The advantage of this would be to provide the best service that is possible and reasonable at the lowest cost to the government and the consumer. This system would provide an incentive to the contract holders to meet the requirements of the contract in the manner which is most responsive to the needs of the community in their effort to maximize profits. Most of the services under this system would probably be provided by the air taxi carriers. The air taxis, which have developed scheduled service at a so-called "third level," have become an interesting outgrowth of the desire of smaller carriers to withdraw from the local service market. In many cases, they are providing substitute service for the carriers so that the carriers can meet the requirements of their certificates, and they are doing a very good job in many cases.

The final matter I want to discuss involves airports and airways. Because time is always a crucial element in transportation, there is a demand for short-haul airports of greater convenience to the passenger. I don't have to remind you of the opposition that arises every time airport construction or expansion is proposed.

You are, or should be, fully aware that you have a major job on your hands. There are conflicting points of view involved here. On the one hand, there is a need for more convenient air tranpsortation terminals. On the other, there is a broad-based feeling that airports do not make good neighbors. Hopefully, this feeling will change some with the advent of the substantially quieter engines and smaller, more compatible landing facilities. In such cases, you may be able to make substantial progress in convincing people that airports *can* make good neighbors and that the benefits of having a STOLport, for example, would be in the public's interest. You have to understand that for many years the entire airline industry operated on the assumption that bigger is better. The job of convincing people that things are changing and that the changes are in their interest is not going to be easy. It is going to take a real sales effort, and it must be an honest and fully informative one.

Of course, any discussion of airports must include a discussion of the means to get to and from those terminals. This is a vital factor in the overall success or failure of short-haul aviation. And it is an area in which the Federal Government, through its efforts to develop efficient mass transit systems, can be of great assistance. First, you must clear the hurdle of establishing new STOLports, and of expanding the operation of smaller nearby airports as STOLports.

Then the utilization of fast and economical mass transportation to connect these STOLports with major hub airports could benefit the entire transportation system by reducing congestion and expanding the available services for the passenger.

This, of course, would only be practical in a limited number of cases, but it would provide a possible answer which would help to solve a host of problems.

Finally, I do believe that the FAA is working to assure that short-haul air transportation continues to have a place in the airway system. It is also preparing for the special needs of new concepts for short-haul air-

craft and their special capabilities. New Technologies are coming to the fore with improvements in air traffic control, navigation, and safety. However, much of the direction that developments in this area take will depend largely upon the technologies that are implemented in the short-haul field, the expansion of the number or size of airports, and how these developments fit into the short-haul system.

In the years to come, all of us, the federal government, the state and local governments, the manufacturers, and the carriers, have a role to play. The success of short-haul air transportation will depend on how well we fulfill our roles.

I appreciate the opportunity to share my thoughts with you this evening, and I look forward to the positive developments in short-haul air transportation in the coming years.

Thank you.

IMPROVE RETIREMENT SYSTEM FOR FEDERAL EMPLOYEES

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call attention to an article that appeared in the January 1973 issue of North Island Civilian. This article, written by Carl La Munyon, the president, National Council of Naval Air Station Employee Organizations, advocates changes in the civil service structure which would encourage young men and women of high quality to enter the employment of the Federal Government.

Mr. La Munyon states the only way that the Federal Government will achieve this much desired goal is to provide a dignified early retirement plan for its older employees which in turn would open up the necessary employment vacancies.

Mr. La Munyon suggests two steps that should be taken in order to provide employment vacancies. The first step should be to change the retirement system to eliminate any penalty assessed because of age under a discontinued service retirement. The second step that should be taken is to put the civil service retirement system on a comparable level with the retirement system enjoyed by the military personnel.

Mr. Speaker, I believe that this is a matter of great concern. Not only must we make plans to care for our aging Federal work force, we must provide employment for our highly qualified young men and women.

Mr. Speaker, the text of the article follows:

LA MUNYON ADVOCATES RETIREMENT CHANGES

(By Carl La Munyon)

Congressmen, civilian, civilian personnel officers, and ordinary taxpayers have for years advocated changes in the civil service structure which would encourage young men and women of high quality to enter the employ of the federal government. In 1962 when the Compensation Comparability Act was passed, they throught they had the answer. In 1963, when extensive revisions to accident and health insurance coverage for federal employees was passed, they thought they had the answer. In 1969, when a progressive, two-phase major pay increase was passed, they thought they had the answer. In 1972 we find that our civilian personnel population among federal employees is older in age than ever before. Why?

The answer is relatively simple. Although major changes in pay and fringe benefits have been made in reecnt years, retirement benefits have not undergone a significant change for over twently-five years. Procedural changes in the retirement system have been made but no substantive changes in the benefits. The only way that the federal government will achieve the much desired goal of attracting young, knowledgeable employees is to provide a dignified early retirement plan for its older employees to open up the necessary employment vacancies. The reason the government is falling behind in the socially desirable goals of minority and female employment is because no vacancies exist for recruitment purpose. Vacancies do not exist because stabilized and/or reduced employment levels freeze an aging work force into the available jobs. The only solution to these critical problems is to change the retirement system for federal employees to encourage early retirement and to provide comparability with other federal employees, notably military personnel.

There are two steps that should be taken to correct this situation. The first step should be to change the retirement system to eliminate any penalty assessed because of age under a discontinued service retirement. Discontinued service retirements have in the past been encouraged by government officials because they, in a reduction-in-force condition, can prevent separation of on-board employees as a result of a ceiling reduction. These same government officials have been dismayed at the results of the discontinued service retirement program. And no wonder. Why would an employee with years of service, even though he yearns for retirement, step aside to save another employee's job when it means a drastic reduction in his annuity? Yes, we have a World War II employee "hump" in the federal civil service. Forty per-cent (40%) of all employees have over twenty years of service. Is their reward for loyal and faithful service to be a letter from the commanding officer asking them to step down at a much reduced annuity because of the age penalty? How much better to eliminate the age penalty and encourage voluntary retirements that afford dignity and security, and open up our ranks to the young, the poor, the minority and the female.

The second step that should be taken is to put the civil service retirement system on a comparable level with the retirement system enjoyed by military personnel. Now that military personnel pay increases are directly tied to increases earned by civil servants, the inequities that exist among the two retirement systems should be corrected. I am not talking about the fact that military personnel may participate in the Social Security system and that civil service employees may not. I am willing to forego changing this inequity. I am talking about the fact that military employees may retire with 50% of their paycheck after twenty years of service and 75% of their paycheck after thirty years of service while civilian employees may not do likewise. This inequity in the computation of federal annuities among groups of employees should be changed and the sooner the better. Since our pay scales and pay increases are inexorably linked together, why should not our retirement plans? A high priority goal of any employee association of federal civil servants should be to encourage Congress to permit civilian employees to retire, after twenty years and regardless of age, with 50% of their high three average income and to retire, after thirty years and regardless of age, with 75% of their high three average income.

We seek a retirement plan for those who have worked that is enticing enough to make room for those without jobs who want to work. We believe this deserves a higher priority than making welfare the only alternative for those not working.

The revitalization of our civil service work force has been the goal of every federal administration since John F. Kennedy. If they and the Congress are sincere in their aim to bring this revitalization about, they should welcome with enthusiasm our two-step plan to achieve this goal. Solvency and actuarial soundness of a retirement fund supported by congressional appropriations, stemming from the unique right of the federal government to operate currency printing presses, pales in comparison with the social goals—both civil rights and full employment—that can be achieved merely by updating and modernizing the federal civil service retirement system.

THOSE CONVENIENTLY FORGOTTEN IOU'S

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, in this century, the United States has poured out its blood and treasure in a series of foreign commitments which cumulatively amount to staggering numbers of lives and dollars. The lives can never be restored, but the money certainly can be repaid by its original recipients.

In World War I, Europe tore itself to pieces in the "War To End All Wars," until we were finally prevailed upon to enter and change the balance in favor of the Allies. Without our money, even our physical commitment would not have been enough. A number of nations, including all the principals to the fighting, were the eager recipients of American largesse. Loans were made in enormous figures. Little of that money has been repaid. In fact, some $18 billion is owed us from World War I alone.

The total sum owed the United States by foreign governments mounts up to a sobering total of $46 billion. And in view of the present state of economic affairs, some progress toward arranging repayment of these debts is very much in order.

Some of the nations owing the most are today prosperous. For example, France was rebuilt after World War I and World War II by American assistance. Let us not even take into serious consideration for the purpose of this debate the deliberate, long-term hostility France harbors for any and all things American. Suffice it to say that she owes us a considerable monetary debt as a result of the loans and other financing we made available to her.

The time has come for that nation and a host of others to make some arrangement in this area. In plain language, we desire repayment. Such a request is not an inordinate or unfair one.

Last session of Congress, our distinguished colleague from New York (Mr. WOLFF), introduced a "War Debts" resolution, requiring the Treasury Department to provide Congress within 90 days an accounting of all moneys owed by other nations to the United States. Further, it would require the Treasury

to make swift arrangements with such countries for repayment of all overdue debts. I joined in sponsorship of that measure last year, and am most pleased to do so again this time.

It is my belief that the Congress speaks for the Nation at large in seeking repayment of these sums. We face a budget and balance-of-payments problem today. It is exceedingly difficult, in light of these facts of economic life, for the Nation to carry these large outstanding sums on its books.

We have successfully worked out some agreements with the Soviet Union over the lend lease imbroglio, and this was perhaps the most difficult potential problem of this type. Surely then, if we have managed to untie that Gordian knot, there should be no insurmountable obstacles to presenting and settling our bills with other nations around the world.

FOOD PRICES

HON. ED JONES

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. JONES of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, recently a young man from my district, Mr. Thomas Henning, a member of the Bartlett High School Chapter of the Future Farmers of America, presented a speech at the annual FFA Banquet in Memphis, Tenn. Although I was unable to be present for the occasion, I did read the text of the spech and was favorably impressed by what Mr. Henning had to say. Apparently the FFA speech contest judges shared my assessment since Mr. Henning's speech was named best in west Tennessee.

In these times when there is so much awareness of food prices, I feel that these remarks are particularly appropriate. I include Mr. Henning's speech at this point in the RECORD:

THE FARMER AND THE PRICE OF FOOD

Man's search for food has been his dominating activity throughout history. The need for food carried the children of Israel into Egyptian bondage and in recent times brought about a softening of the cold war, because of Russia's need for American wheat. Rising food costs are causing much concern among the people of the United States. Besides being the most important item in the family budget, food is on a person's mind three times a day, and purchases by the housewife are made often. Most complaints about food prices are directed toward the farmer, since he is the producer of all food products.

The true picture of food prices is much more complex than the amount that the farmer receives. The price of food must include transportation, processing, packaging, storage, and wholesale and retail profits.[1] On an average the farmer receives 38% of the food dollar. This average ranges from seven cents on the corn flakes dollar to sixty-two cents on the choice beef dollar. The percentage of the food dollar the farmer receives dropped from 47% in 1950 to 38% in 1971. The remaining 62% pays for all the tasks performed by the marketing system, many of which were done at home or on the farm a few years ago. Today the American housewife demands foods that are pre-washed, pre-cooked, pre-mixed, and pre-packaged. This increases the consumer's cost and reduces the percentage that the farmer receives.[2]

Food is actually the biggest bargain in the American consumer's budget. The people of the United States pay less of their income for food than any other country in the world. In the United States, only 16% of the disposable income is spent on food, compared to 55% in Russia and 60% in India.[3] In many countries most of a person's time is spent on just acquiring the bare essentials of food.

In spite of the rising cost of food, the working man's wages are increasing faster. In 1950 a production worker could buy ten loaves of bread for one hour of labor, whereas now one hour of labor would buy fourteen loaves. The amount of beef roast an hour of labor would buy has doubled in the past 22 years from 2.3 pounds in 1950 to 4.6 pounds in 1972. Other items in the cost of living are also going up faster than food costs. Inflation has caused a 62% rise in medical care, 34% rise in clothing, and 35.5% rise in labor in the past 12 years; in that same period food has increased only 30%.[4]

If there is ever a tremendous food shortage the price of food will skyrocket. A perfect example of this is the shortage of soybeans last fall. This shortage caused the price of beans to increase from $3.40 a bushel at the start of the harvesting season to $6.60 a bushel five months later.[5] The price of wheat increased from $1.53 to $2.55 per bushel in nine months after the sale to Russia was announced in July 1972.[6]

The amount of food that will be needed in the future will be directly proportional to the number of people present to eat it. Experts estimate that the population of the United States will double in the next twenty to thirty years. This means that twice as much food will be needed. In the future the farmer must be encouraged to improve and expand in order to feed these people. He must receive enough money from his sales to make it profitable to stay on the farm.

The farmer has very little control over the price that he receives. There are thousands of separate farmers which makes it practically impossible for them to control the flow of their products into the market. The main thing that determines what the farmer will get is the supply of the product and the demand for it. Many farm products required a guaranted minimum price to keep the farmer in business, until recently when farm prices have been going up steadily. Most of the increase in the price of groceries is the result of increase in labor, transportation, processing, handling, and distribution profits.[7] If the government controls prices that the farmer can receive, then as inflation is increased he will have less profit, less incentive to farm, and probably seek another profession. This would cause fewer farmers, a shortage of food, and a tremendous increase in food prices.

The only way to keep the price of food within reasonable bounds is to produce an abundant supply. If this is to be accomplished, we must not only maintain present production levels, but must double production to take care of increasing population. To do this, we must have a well informed, highly efficient, and prosperous agricultural population that is unhampered by government regulations.

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[2] *Facts You Should Know About Food Costs*, Agricultural Extension Service, University of Tennessee, August, 1972.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] "Spot Commodities", *Journal of Commerce*, Vol. 314, (October, 1972), p. 8.

[6] "Spot Commodities", *Journal of Commerce*, Vol. 313, (July, 1972), p. 7.

[7] *Marketing America's Food*, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, August, 1972.

ALOHA TO THE LATE ALFRED APAKA, "THE GOLDEN VOICE OF HAWAII"

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. MATSUNAGA, Mr. Speaker, because several of my colleagues have informed me of their plans to be in Hawaii for at least a part of the upcoming Easter recess, I would like to take this opportunity to inform them as well as other Members of Congress of a musical extravaganza to be held on Sunday, April 29, 1973, which probably will not be duplicated in the history of Hawaiian music. This is the musical tribute to the late Alfred Apaka, the golden-voiced baritone whom many regard as the greatest singer ever produced in Hawaii.

Called the "Songwriters' Aloha to Alfred Apaka," the production will be staged at the Waikiki Shell in Honolulu. Tony Todaro, a veteran musician, songwriter and author—as well as personal friend of Apaka—is writing, producing and directing the show. Todaro, perhaps more than any other person, has kept Apaka's name alive.

Apaka died of a heart attack on January 30, 1960, at the age of 40—at the zenith of an extraordinary singing career.

He was for many years the headline entertainer in the Tapa Room of the Hawaiian Village Hotel—now Hilton Hawaiian Village—charming visitors and local residents alike. He presented a striking appearance, wearing always an all-white outfit with a red carnation lei and a red sash. His engaging smile was ever present.

But it was when he sang that he held his audiences spellbound. His voice was deep, rich, mellow—and moving. He gave even the most frequently sung Hawaiian songs new depth, new meaning, and new delight. Mainland radio audiences also came to love his singing as the result of his frequent appearances on the "Hawaii Calls" radio show. His was truly the "Golden Voice of Hawaii."

The April 29 show in Honolulu, Hawaii, will reunite as participants Hawaii's foremost entertainers. Many performed with Apaka. They will use the Hawaiian songs that Apaka recorded and loved.

Mr. Speaker, I know that many of my colleagues, if informed, would not wish to miss such a rare oportunity to hear once again the magic of Apaka's recorded

voice and to see all who will come to entertain in memory of a great singer. I, for one, would not want to miss the "Songwriter's Aloha to Alfred Apaka," and regret it for the rest of my life.

As an added enticement to the musical extravaganza its sponsors are turning the entire proceeds over to the Hawaii Heart Association Research Fund to fight the deadly disease which silenced "Hawaii's Golden Voice."

Your attendance, if at all possible, may help to keep alive a heart which might some day soon spring forth with yet another "Golden Voice of Hawaii." Mahalo and Aloha.

TAX CREDITS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

HON. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced a bill that is a prudent and reasonable effort to help parents, especially lower- and middle-income taxpayers, to meet the escalating costs of higher education for their children. This measure would establish tax credits for higher education expenses and it is cosponsored by 38 of my colleagues from 25 States and territories. I am particularly proud of the fact that their sponsorship represents a broad spectrum of Congressmen—both parties, both sexes, cities, suburbs, rural areas, and all geographic sections of the Nation.

I think all of us as sponsors are agreed that the time has long passed when the Federal Government can pay lipservice to the cause of higher education without providing some concrete assistance for citizens to use their own resources in educating their children.

This bill would provide a tax credit of 100 percent for the first $200 spent on higher education; 25 percent of expenses from $200 to $500; and 5 percent of expenses from $500 up to a maximum of $1,500. Eligible taxpayers would be able to apply the credit amount directly to reducing their yearly income tax. This proposal represents an equitable addition to our present tax system which does not even provide for deductions of costs of higher education while providing for deductions for yachts and champagne dinners—for business purposes, of course.

A maximum tax credit of $325 would be provided to those taxpayers spending $1,500 or more on higher education expenses and whose adjusted gross income is $19,000 a year or less. At higher income levels the credit would be gradually reduced by an amount equal to 1 percent of the amount by which the adjusted gross income for the taxable year exceeds $19,000.

Credits provided by the bill would apply to taxable years beginning after December 31, 1973. In addition to colleges and universities, the provisions of this bill would cover business, trade, technical, and vocational institutions meeting Federal and State standards.

In the past, bills similar to this one have twice been passed by the U.S. Senate but they were later killed in House-Senate conferences. I respectfully submit that it is time that all of us in the Congress carefully reexamine our thinking on bills such as these and recognize the very real need to which they are addressed.

I fully realize that one of the first questions asked is what the revenue loss will be for the U.S. Treasury if this bill is enacted. I ask what will be the loss to the country if we do not encourage our citizens to educate their children by means of a bill such as this.

Frankly, I have not cited the estimated revenue loss under the bill because figures have a certain way of being inflated when a case against a new proposal is being made. I will point out, however, that so-called tax breaks for other purposes—many of which I feel are less justified than tax credits for education—are costing the Federal Government almost $46 billion annually.

If indeed, we should weigh monetary considerations first, then I think Department of Commerce figures for 1968 help make my case. College graduates in their lifetime earn an average of $213,000 more than high school graduates and an average of $371,000 more than those with 8 years of education or less. On this basis alone, I feel the country, in the long run, will be far better for encouraging and assisting parents to send their children to institutions of higher learning. Better-educated citizens earning higher incomes would have a positive impact on the economy and tax revenues.

Through this bill, we also would be recognizing the desirability of promoting education at private institutions rather than pushing students to tax-supported colleges and pouring ever-increasing amounts of government money into them as a result. This bill, as I have stated, is a reasonable and prudent effort to make this principle a living fact rather than abstract rhetoric.

I think that most Americans, as I am, are tired of excuses of monetary expediency that penalize the workingman and his family. Something must be done to help parents provide their children with a higher education. Soaring tuition rates compounded by continuing inflation are making it unbearable and, in some cases impossible, for parents to send their children to college.

Congress must exert leadership in this field by meeting the challenge of providing the most education for the most people. My bill would help accomplish this objective.

Mr. Speaker, I want to thank my colleagues who joined me in sponsoring this vital legislation and I insert a list of their names in the RECORD:

LIST OF COSPONSORS

Mark Andrews, Republican, of North Dakota.
John Buchanan, Republican, of Alabama.
Clair W. Burgener, Republican, of California.
Bill Chappell, Democrat, of Florida.
James C. Cleveland, Republican, of New Hampshire.
William S. Cohen, Republican, of Maine.
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J. Kenneth Robinson, Republican, of Virginia.
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Ronald A. Sarasin, Republican, of Connecticut.
William F. Walsh, Republican, of New York.
William C. Wampler, Republican, of Virginia.
Antonio Borja Won Pat, Democrat, of Guam.
Roger H. Zion, Republican, of Indiana.

AUTO EMISSIONS AND CLEAN AIR

HON. LOUIS C. WYMAN

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, April 17, 1973

Mr. WYMAN. Mr. Speaker, it is worthy of note that an esteemed newspaper like the Washington Star has seen fit to editorially support an "adjustment" in the clean air standards of the 1970 law. This is the thrust of the Star's editorial on Monday, April 16, 1973, concluding that EPA Administrator Ruckelshaus' request to Congress to ease the stiff nitrogen oxide emission standards set for 1976 ". . . seems justifiable and would make the manufacturers' task much easier."

Present emissions requirements are far too high for what the public health or safety truly requires and the legislative arena is now open to constructive amendments to the Clean Air Act of 1970 to get these requirements down to a level consistent with public health and compatible with the energy crisis which is now upon us in full flock. It would be the height of stupidity, for example, to require an unnecessary level of emission control that would add millions of barrels of oil each day to the voracious appetites of America's motor vehicles, when the Alaskan pipeline will produce but 3 million barrels a day when connected.

I have such an amendment pending in the Congress, H.R. 4313. It takes the standards from 96 percent pollution free emissions, to 90 percent pollution free emissions.

It will adequately protect the public health.

It provides a standard the automotive industry can live with.

It will give the motoring public cars that would not eat them alive with wasteful operating costs—perhaps 8 miles per gallon of gas—and several hundreds of dollars more in cost for control gadgetry.

H.R. 4313 should be enacted without further delay by Congress to keep jobs for our workers and to protect the public health at the same time. The present level of standards go overboard.

AIR AND AUTOS

In allowing auto-makers another year for compliance with antipollution standards set for 1975, William D. Ruckelshaus struck a good balance in the public interest. In other words, as head of the Environmental Protection Agency, he chose the lesser of evils. The question was whether to insist on meeting that year-after-next target at all cost, or to deviate from it sufficiently to avoid economic penalties that the nation might be hard-pressed to pay. A sizable segment of the auto industry appeared certain to fall short of the '75 requirements, and plant shutdowns conceivably could have caused a good deal of unemployment had Ruckelshaus refused to relent.

The fear, of course, is that this may become a commonplace kind of decision that eventually will make a shambles of the Environmental Protection Act. And indeed, harder tests may lie ahead. Industry with heavy employment may keep trying to back the government down, simply by pleading inability to comply with standards, and trusting that its economic leverage will translate into political power. But Ruckelshaus seemed to affirm that this will not work henceforth in the matter of auto pollution control. The EPA is intent on full-scale application of the 1975 standards in 1976 car models—an option which Congress wrote into the clean-air law. This seems well within the manufacturers' capability, and in any case there should be no thought on the government's part of further concessions.

Unfortunately, that thought appears to be an obsession with the car-makers, who reportedly are planning a high-powered drive in Congress for relaxation of basic standards in the 1970 Clean Air Act. This is not, we think, a battle they can win—nor should they. The resources that would go into such a public relations and lobbying campaign instead should be applied to meeting the technological challenges of compliance. After all, the EPA ascertained that General Motors and Chrysler were fully able to meet the 1975 emission standards on most of their production for that year, though Chrysler lagged dismally. One more year is long enough. The car-makers, some of whom are suspect of having made too little effort, should be told it's all there is, and to make every day count.

In the meantime, Ruckelshaus has decided to squeeze out all the clean air he can for the public during the year's delay, by imposing strong interim emission standards. These would go halfway in 49 states toward the final limitations of hydrocarbons and carbon monoxide, and two-thirds of the way in smog-plagued California. And that, it seems to us, is a good and shrewd trade. It will allow a year for hard testing in California of the catalytic depolluter which most auto-makers are depending on, and also afford those of us elsewhere a good deal of relief from fumes. Beyond that, Ruckelshaus will ask Congress to ease the stiff nitrogen oxide emission standards set for 1976, which seems justifiable and would make the manufacturers' task much easier.

KAISER STEEL HAS BEEN A CORNERSTONE OF THE INLAND EMPIRE'S ECONOMY SINCE THE 1940'S

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday I spoke briefly of the role which Kaiser Steel plays in the economy of California's 38th Congressional District. At that time I inserted into the RECORD an article which gave some specific details about the nature and extent of Kaiser's role in the economy of my district. That article, from the Ingot, a Kaiser Steel Corp. publication, contained a wealth of information.

Since that time another article has come to my attention. Joe Baker, the business editor of the San Bernardino Sun-Telegram, wrote a feature story on the same subject for the April 8 Sunday edition of that paper. I have always found Mr. Baker's articles to be interesting and well-written, and this is no exception. Frankly, with all due respect to the staff of the Ingot, I found Mr. Baker's article to be a more comprehensive and in-depth treatment of the subject than the article done by Kaiser's own publication.

I would like to point out that I intend no offense to the author of the Ingot article; Joe Baker is tough competition. His articles frequently contain information which I find useful long after I first read it, such as an article he wrote at Christmas of 1971, in which he described a method of synchronizing a tape recorder with a slide projector. I had clipped the article for my own interest and recently found it useful in assisting a constituent who sought my help in a similar project.

Here, Mr. Speaker, is the Sun-Telegram article of April 8 which I have referred to and I insert it into the RECORD for the benefit of our colleagues at this time:

STUDY SHOWS KAISER IMPACT ON SOUTHLAND

(By Joe Baker)

FONTANA.—It's no secret that Kaiser Steel exerts a tremendous economic impact on the Inland Empire.

You could almost say that in a sense, Kaiser Steel is to San Bernardino County what the moon is to the earth.

The moon weighs only about 1/81 as much as the earth (slightly over 1 per cent of the earth's mass). Kaiser Steel's 9,000 employees represent about the same percentage of the county's 700,000 people.

But almost everyone realizes that a catastrophe far out of proportion to the moon's size would certainly result if the moon were suddenly taken away.

And no person of reasonably good judgment could deny that an economic disaster of proportionate magnitude could be expected in the county if Kaiser Steel suddenly ceased to be.

Until now, however no one has attempted to measure Kaiser Steel's full impact on the Inland Empire economy, or on the Southern California economy as a whole,

Now, for the first time in Kaiser Steel's 30 years in steelmaking and steel fabricating, such a study has been made.

Economist Gerhard N. Rostvold, head of Urbanomics Research Associates, Claremont, who made the study, calls it "the most thorough and comprehensive analysis of a company's economic impact on its local community that my organization has ever produced, and probably the most detailed in my experience."

"Frankly," said Dr. Rostvold, "we have been surprised at the magnitude of this one company's economic significance to the Southern California economy."

Many of the elements of the 116-page study have been separately examined and discussed in the past.

But putting them all together, along with other elements never before analyzed, leads to the conclusion that Kaiser Steel's economic impact is probably much greater than most people imagined.

For example: Kaiser Fontana jobs (almost 9,000), annual payroll (92.6 million), and annual San Bernardino and Riverside county property taxes ($9.6 million) have been discussed many times.

But Rostvold's study discloses that in 1971, a typical year, the company also:

Spent $114 million on materials, supplies, fuel and other purchases.

Spent $33 million for shipping and transportation charges.

Invested $18 million in new plant and equipment.

Paid $3 million in state sales taxes.

Paid $1 million in state unemployment insurance.

Donated, with its employees, $335,000 to community civic and charitable organizations.

All this adds up to more than $271 million, representing Kaiser's primary economic impact on San Bernardino, Riverside, and Los Angeles counties in one year.

But the direct expenditure of over a quarter-billion dollars does not represent the full impact. The study also measures the "induced" economic impact, determined by applying "generally accepted multiplier principles."

The primary economic impact is measured in employment, payrolls, expenditures on supplies, utilities and raw materials, new investment in plant and equipment, federal, state and local tax payments, and transportation expenses.

The induced economic impact is measured in terms of such things as household income, consumer spending, retail sales, employee savings, and induced employment and income effects in non-basic areas such as retail trade, services, financial and government.

"By way of illustration," says the study, "one manufacturing job at the Kaiser Steel plant provides a foundation of ongoing support for at least two jobs in non-basic lines of activity, namely retail trade, services, finance, utilities, government, etc."

Here are some of the induced economic effects attributed to the Fontana Steel manufacturing and metal products plants:

Creation of more than 17,500 nonbasic jobs in regional communities, with annual payrolls of $124 million.

Spending of over $70 million by Kaiser Fontana employes on family and household needs such as food, clothing and transportation.

Annual saving of $6.5 million by Kaiser employes.

Spending of $3.5 million annually for new capital investment by other companies during business with or because of the influence of Kaiser Steel.

The primary and induced economic effects combined add up to:

25,000 jobs, with annual payrolls of $216 million.

$164 million in annual household spending.

An additional several hundred million dollars in annual spending for supplies, raw materials, utility services, and investment goods.

And the total? Not $271 million, as Kaiser Fontana annual direct expenditures would indicate, but over a half-billion dollars annually, Dr. Rostvold believes.

"In terms of the overall annual economic impact on the Southern California economy," he says, "the two Kaiser production facilities in Fontana can be described as the basic employment income and expenditure foundation of a $500 million industry."

Other salient points turned up by the study:

The typical Kaiser Fontana hourly employe earns between $8,500 and $9,500 annually.

Minority group representation is more than 22 per cent of Kaiser's employment base.

Nearly 95 per cent of the 8,771 employes live within a 20-mile radius of the two production plants.

More than 87 per cent (7,852 employes) live in San Bernardino County; 8.2 per cent (745) in Riverside County; 4.3 per cent (387) in Los Angeles County; and 0.4 per cent (34) in Orange County.

Steel produced at Fontana mostly goes into construction, containers and packaging, exports, steel service centers, military, machinery and equipment, steel conversion, automobiles, ships and railroads.

Employes living in the Fontana-Lytle Creek area receive 38.4 per cent of the payroll.

Employes living in other San Bernardino County communities received nearly 50 per cent of the payroll.

The major portion of employes' earnings are spent and saved in communities in which they live.

More than half of Kaiser's annual purchases ($114 million) of materials, supplies, fuel, etc. are made from primary suppliers located in Southern California.

$7.8 million in property taxes go to San Bernardino County governmental units, and $1.8 million to Riverside County units.

Who receives the tax money in San Bernardino County?

In 1971, county government received $2,740,000 or 31.3 per cent; school districts, $5,156,000 or 58.9 per cent; fire protection districts, $106,000 or 1.2 per cent; flood control districts, $261,000 or 3.0 per cent; and water districts, $491,000 or 5.6 percent.

County government's $2,740,000 share was distributed as follows: public assistance agencies, $1,200,120 or 43.8 per cent; public protection, $802,820 or 29.3 per cent; administration, $405,520 or 14.8 per cent; health and sanitation, $150,700 or 5.5 per cent; education, $112,340 or 4.1 per cent; and miscellaneous (recreation, contingencies, public services), $68,500 or 2.5 per cent.

Kaiser's 1971 payroll of $92,583,200 was distributed among employes living in these communities:

Fontana-Lytle Creek, $35.5 million; Ontario, Upland, Montclair and Chino, $14 million; San Bernardino and Highland, $12 million; Rialto and Bloomington, $10.7 million; Riverside, Arlington and Corona, $5.9 million; Colton and Loma Linda, $5.4 million; Cucamonga, Mira Loma, Alta Loma and Etiwanda, $3.5 million; Pomona, $1.9 million; and Redlands, Claremont, LaVerne and other regional communities, $3.4 million.

Kaiser employes paid nearly $12 million in federal and state income taxes in 1971.

Where do the employes live?

Their home towns and numbers are Fontana, 3,266 employes or 36 percent; San Bernardino, 1,102 or 12 per cent; Rialto, 721 or 8 per cent; Ontario, 719 or 8 per cent; Riverside, 525 or 6 per cent; Upland, 463 or 5 per cent; Colton, 428 or 5 per cent; Bloomington, 396 or 4 per cent; Pomona, 171 or 2 per cent; Cucamonga, 135 or 2 per cent; Montclair, 103 or 1 per cent; Alta Loma, 99 or 1 per cent; Redlands, 87, Mira Loma, 78, Chino, 59, Corona, 52, Etiwanda, 48, Claremont, 45, Highland, 45, Arlington, 32, Norco, 29, Yucalpa, 25, each less than 1 per cent; and 389 others, 4 per cent.

How did the employes spend the $92,583,200 they earned in 1971? The money went for these items:

Food, $18,980,000 or 20.5 per cent; housing, $19,813,000 or 21.4 per cent; transportation, $7,221,000 or 7.8 per cent; clothing and personal care, $9,629,000 or 10.4 per cent; medical care, $5,647,000 or 6.1 per cent; other family needs, $5,092,200 or 5.5 per cent; other household costs, $4,351,000 or 4.7 per cent; savings, $6,481,000 or 7.0 per cent; Social Security and disability insurance, $3,611,000 or 3.9 per cent; and personal income taxes, $11,758,000 or 12.7 per cent.

Many have acknowledged that Kaiser Steel has been a cornerstone of the Inland Empire's economy since the Fontana plant began operations in the 1940s.

But until now, no one was sure of the dimensions of Kaiser Steel's role. Dr. Rostvold's study indicates the appropriate designation might be "big." Mighty, mighty big.

NIXON ADMINISTRATION'S APPROACH TO LAW ENFORCEMENT

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. DOMINICK V. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, in the last few weeks I have received an increasing amount of mail concerning the administration's approach to law enforcement.

Frankly, I am very disappointed in the administration's approach which appears designed to create newspaper headlines rather than solve the real problems of street crime. There are few Federal capital offense crimes related to the problems of people on the streets and in their homes. The administration seems quite content with a do-nothing approach.

There is no duty of Government more absolute, more basic to a civilized society than the protection of its citizens. Yet in every major city and suburb, crime is the major concern of the average citizen. We have become so used to it that we have almost forgotten that once we felt safe on the streets at any time of the day or night; that in many European cities people walk about unmolested.

Mr. Speaker, the city of Washington, D.C., was known as the crime capital of the world until Congress appropriated sufficient funds to add over 1,000 police, additional courts, judges to man them, and a massive street lighting program. As a result Washington is one of the few cities where street crime has declined—in some cases it has been cut in half.

Nevertheless, the administration budget has not provided adequate financial resources to make people safe in other cities.

Instead, the administration has supplied only rhetoric, calling upon State legislatures to institute capital punishment, blaming the judicial system, and still criticizing the "Warren Court" even though Justices he has appointed have upheld in many of the constitutional interpretations made by the Warren Court.

The cities of the Nation—no longer small—and the people who live in them—no longer rural, desperately need police on their streets, more courts, and more judges to handle increasing population in a complex society. We need rehabilitative programs in our prisons to break the cycle of criminal behavior, indeed, our long neglected prisons have become institutions of higher criminal learning. Prisons are making muggers out of shoplifters, burglars out of bicycle thieves, heroin pushers out of marihuana smokers.

This administration by its budget has indicated its opposition to increased financial assistance to local police departments and improving prisons. If they are allowed to get away with this pennywise-poundfoolishness, people will continue to be mugged, murdered, robbed, and raped on their own streets.

This administration—whose official Cost of Living Council response to the high cost of food was "let them eat less"—now tells Americans in their cities to cut back and suffer more.

This administration is nevertheless content with military cost overruns and tax loopholes which pour money into the pockets of fat-cat financiers who even now continue to enrich the coffers of the disreputable Committee to Re-Elect the President.

Mr. Speaker, my constituent mail has almost doubled since the President's budget was released. My constituents are angry. Every letter carries the same message—"We've been had, double crossed and we've had enough."

SUPPORTS REA BILL

HON. TENO RONCALIO

OF WYOMING

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. RONCALIO of Wyoming. Mr. Speaker, a House-Senate conference committee is now working on a compromise measure vitally important to rural America—legislation to restore an effective Rural Electrification Administration loan program which was terminated in early January.

The bill under consideration establishes a "rural electrification and telephone revolving fund" within the REA which will provide regular loans at 5 percent and "special" 2 percent loans to systems with low revenue-per mile and customer-per-mile operations.

A guaranteed loan program would allow qualified systems to obtain money from private commercial institutions at commercial rates with a government guarantee.

Meeting a major objection of the administration, the compromise bill sponsored by Congressman FRANK DENHOLM

at the request of Chairman POAGE eliminates all loans out of appropriated funds by substituting insured and guaranteed loans.

The revolving fund would be set up from the interest and principal coming in from borrowers on existing loans, an amount estimated currently at about $25 million monthly.

I am hopeful this legislation can be cleared quickly and signed into law. In asking my colleagues to support the conference report, I insert for the RECORD the testimony I offered to the House Agriculture Committee when the original bill was considered. Although this testimony does not touch on the compromise, it does stress the importance of the rural electrification programs to Wyoming and to all rural areas. My testimony follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. TENO RONCALIO

The two percent direct loan program under the Rural Electrification Act of 1936 has made possible the extension of electric and telephone service to much of rural America. Without this program many of our rural citizens would even today be deprived of these valuable conveniences which we so often take for granted.

Today most REA loans go toward the maintenance and improvement of existing rural systems. However, in sparsely populated rural areas such as my State of Wyoming, and I represent it all, even these costs would not be feasible for the rural cooperatives or for their consumers. Even with the 2 percent loan program much of the money used by rural electric cooperatives comes from other sources. Mr. Don Cooper, researcher for the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, states that only 88 cooperatives receive 100 percent loans from REA out of about 1,000 cooperatives. Most cooperatives only borrow a portion of their funds from REA to offset the high interest rates which they must pay to commercial lenders. I submit again that they are unable to use the collateral, as my colleague from North Dakota pointed out. They cannot use the comparable collateral as an IOU that an investor-owned utility can use in getting loans and sometimes they are compelled to go to government sources for their loans. The average interest rate paid by cooperatives is then not 2 percent, but rather 3.8 percent.

The loss of the REA 2 percent loan program could be disastrous to some rural cooperatives and mean high increases in the costs of these services. Portions of Wyoming may be affected by the loss of this program to the extent of an actual power shortage in the very near future. In a letter to President Nixon, Arthur Jones, President of the Basin Electric Power Cooperative wrote, "The termination of the REA direct loan program occurred on the same day that Basin Electric had been promised an REA supplemental loan of $25 million at 2 percent interest to help finance completion of our 460,000 KW power generating station and 528 miles of 345 KV transmission now under construction in North and South Dakota. To avoid costly delays to this $168 million construction program and a power shortage in the Missouri Basin in mid-1975, we respectfully request you to release REA loan funds needed to complete this project."

Mr. Fred Simonton, Executive Director of Mid-West Electric Consumers Association, has told me that delays in the construction of this power facility will indeed mean brownouts and blackouts in portions of Wyoming by 1975—only two years from today. We aren't talking about brownouts in a highly industrialized, metropolitan area; this is a sparsely populated rural area in Wyoming.

As if the cancellation of the REA 2 percent loan program would not impose enough hardship on rural cooperatives and their customers, the Bureau of Reclamation has announced an expected rate increase on its hydro-electric power to be effective January 1, 1974. According to REA Bulletin 111-2, latest published figures for fiscal 1970 show that the Bureau of Reclamation sold to REA systems about 7½ billion KWH at a cost of $36,261,684 in that year. In Wyoming about 80 percent of the power used by Rural Electric Cooperatives is purchased from the Bureau of Reclamation. Mr. Harold Kelly of REA's Power Planning Branch and Mr. Jack Mack, Assistant Chief of Power with the Department of Interior have told me that present rate increase figures are only an estimate at this time and that more definite figures will be available in mid-July—but they have provided me with these estimates. The Missouri River Basin West delivers power to most of Wyoming's rural cooperatives. Today, at a 55 percent load factor, the rate is 6½ mills. This cost will increase by 3/10 of a mill; about 5 percent.

The southwestern portion of Wyoming purchases its Bureau of Reclamation power from the Colorado River Storage Project. The present rate on power from this source is 6 mills. The rate increase planned on the Colorado River Storage Project is a whopping 12½ percent, ¾ of a mill. I understand that the Bureau of Reclamation has not had a rate increase since 1955, and I can appreciate that their costs are probably up, but I would like to see the justification for this proposed rate increase. I point out to the Committee the dire circumstances these small REAs are in.

What impact will this rate increase have on the rural cooperatives? The Bridger Valley Electric Association of southwestern Wyoming buys 100 percent of its power from the Bureau of Reclamation. In 1970 it purchased 33,633,320 KWH at a cost of $174,722. A 12½ percent rate increase would mean an additional cost to the good people served by Bridger Valley of $21,839.25. There are no country clubs in that area of Bridger Valley; there are no dilettantes in that area. There are no people who moved to get away from black ghettos of the big cities into lilly white suburbs. This is nonsense and I agree with my colleague from North Dakota. It is not the President who said this, it is some misguided assistant in the White House who writes this sort of thing and it gets into print attributed to the President. I just do not believe those criticisms are justified.

Now couple with the cancellation of the REA 2 percent loan program, the fact that rural cooperatives such as this one are looking at an incredible jump in costs. Don Cooper of the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association says that for the first time in the history of REA there will be rate increases, and I would imagine that in some instances these are going to have to be large.

I have seen other criticisms by spokesmen for the investor owned utilities that the 2 percent program must not be restored because many of these co-ops are now in a 35 to 50 percent equity position; that is, the owners and consumers have a healthy equity position. If you wish to scale the loans to the utilities, there will be no objection to that. But I do feel that in states like Wyoming the restoration of this program is necessary and I submit that it is fair and that we must use economy across the board.

I agree with the President and with the spokesman for the Administration that the time has come to look over all of our programs. I would be willing to cut one man off my staff tomorrow. I think every Member of the House would if the President would look at every program in the Pentagon and make appropriate cuts and savings; instead of just saying to the farmers, you must cut 100 percent of your 2 percent construction program, get none of it anymore, but we will allow $78 million to be lent to the Grumman Company; we will allow a man to sit in the Office of Management and Budget and tell you and me, Mr. Zwach, what we are going to spend in our state and what we will not spend in our state. Meanwhile, Mr. Ash negotiates a $560 million cost overrun for the Litton Industries, which was his company up until a year ago. We cannot have this sort of thing in government.

I think the time has come for us to put back these things that share the burden and make these economies fair and square and do not impose them on the Congress.

CANCER DEATH RATE UP SHARPLY IN 1972

HON. L. H. FOUNTAIN

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. FOUNTAIN. Mr. Speaker, I want to bring to the attention of the House an important article in the rising cancer death rate which appeared in the April 8, 1973, edition of the Washington Post. This perceptive article entitled "Cancer Death Rate Up Sharply in 1972" was written by Morton Mintz, the Post's nationally known investigative reporter.

I do not believe it is widely understood that the death rate from cancer in the United States has been steadily rising for many years at an annual rate of approximately 1 percent. This steady increase in cancer mortality, I might add, has been occurring despite earlier case finding and improvements in medical treatment which have served to increase a person's chances of surviving from this dread disease. In other words, a larger percentage of our population die from cancer year by year even though we, as a nation, spend ever-increasing amounts for cancer research and have benefited from improved treatment methods. Obviously, something is seriously wrong.

As pointed out in Mr. Muntz' article, the National Center for Health Statistics has recently reported provisional figures for 1972 showing the cancer death rate increased 3.35 percent over 1971, or about triple the annual average since 1950.

While we hope and pray that the current big jump in the death rate from cancer may turn out to be a statistical aberration, we cannot dismiss the possibility that cancer is now on the rise because of the wide exposure of our population to new cancer-causing agents 15 or more years ago. That is how long experts believe it takes many types of cancer to develop in susceptible individuals.

During the past 2 years, the Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee, which I chair, has held extensive hearings on certain chemical additives that have been widely used in food production and which are known or thought to be involved in cancer formation. One of these, the drug DES, has now been banned from livestock feed, although FDA is still permitting its use as an animal implant. Another substance, sodium nitrite, which

is widely used in meat products such as bacon, ham, corned beef, and frankfurters, was the subject of a report issued by the Committee on Government Operations late last year. The report called attention to FDA experiments which have established that a potent carcinogen—nitrosopyrrolidine—is produced when bacon treated with nitrite is fried. Because of that finding and the very large consumption of bacon, I have urged the FDA and the Department of Agriculture to give highest priority to research and regulatory action in connection with this problem.

Because nitrites under certain conditions can be transformed into cancer-causing substances, it was our recommendation that these agencies outlaw the unnecessary or excessive use of nitrites in fish and meat products. This is in line with the testimony of experts who told the subcommittee that cancer can be prevented today only by reducing or limiting public exposure to substances known to cause cancer in man or animals.

Congress has voted large amounts of money for the purpose of increasing our scientific knowledge with respect to the causes and prevention of cancer. I fully support this effort. However, for the present, I believe it is only prudent that the regulatory agencies and all of us as consumers, take whatever actions are possible, and necessary and prudent to prevent our unnecessary exposure to chemicals that are carcinogenic.

The article by Mr. Mintz follows:

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 8, 1973]

CANCER DEATH RATE UP SHARPLY IN 1972

(By Morton Mintz)

The cancer death rate rose in 1972 at the fastest pace in 22 years, the National Cancer for Health Statistics has reported.

Experts offered various explanations but agreed that increased exposure to cancer-causing chemicals in man's environment—his air, water, soil and food—was probably involved.

The National Center, in a routine monthly report, said the cancer mortality rate was 166.8 per 100,000 deaths in 1972, compared with 161.4 in 1971.

The rate of increase was 3.35 per cent, or about triple the annual average since 1950. The previous peak, 1.9 per cent, was in 1952. However, the rate of increase declined by 0.7 per cent in 1971.

The center report, dated March 29, labeled the 1971 and 1972 data "provisional." However, "provisional" cancer mortality statistics usually prove to differ by only a fraction of one per cent from the refined final data, Robert J. Armstrong, chief of the Division of Mortality Statistics, told a reporter.

"The "provisional" as well as the final data—which for the two most recent years will not be ready for several months—are based on systematic samplings of 10 per cent of each state's death certificates.

The figures do not take the victims' age at death into account. This point figures in a comment to The Washington Post by Dr. Frank J. Rauscher Jr., director of the National Cancer Program.

"These statistics are not as solid as one might like, Rauscher said. "For example, they are derived from a nonrandom sample of death certificates. Whatever the precise increase, much of it is due to the increasing percentage of our population that is 55 years of age or older, an age group that is at high risk to cancer."

The proportion of that age group in the population increased only one percentage point throughout the 1950s, from 16.9 to 17.9 per cent. The increase in the 1960s totaled 1.1 percentage point. Rauscher went on to say:

"To the extent that this age factor doesn't account for the entire increase, it is due to increases in smoking and exposure to other carcinogens in our environment that are expressed, for example, in increases in lung cancer in men and women, bladder cancer in men, and cancer of the esophagus in black men and women."

Since 1933, when the government first began to gather cancer mortality data on a national basis, the actual death rate from cancer has increased 66 per cent. This increase closely parallels the increase (64 per cent) in the proportion of the population over 55. In 1973 alone, cancer will kill an estimated 350,000 Americans.

A special task force reported to the Surgeon General in April, 1970, that the majority of cancer victims had been exposed at least 15 years earlier to cancer-causing chemicals, or carcinogens.

These substances include components of cigarette smoke, additives to food and beverages, growth stimulants for cattle, certain air and water pollutants and, at work sites, asbestos.

"Any increase of carcinogenic contaminants in man's environment today will reveal its carcinogenic effects some 15 or more years from now," said the task force, which was headed by Dr. Umberto Saffiotti of the National Cancer Institute.

Terming "the majority of human cancers potentially preventable," the scientists said it is "urgent that every effort be made to detect and control sources of carcinogenic contamination well before damaging effects become evident in man."

This theme was reflected yesterday by Rep. L. H. Fountain (D-N.C.), chairman of the House Intergovernmental Relations Subcommittee. It has been investigating the use of carcinogens in foods and drugs for two years.

One of these chemicals is DES, a growth stimulant for cattle and sheep that livestock men began to use widely in 1954. No human cancers resulting from this usage have been demonstrated. If DES does cause human cancer, the evidence would only now start to become available.

Last summer, Dr. Rauscher, who is also director of the Cancer Institute, joined Fountain and others in urging the Food and Drug Administration to ban DES from feed. Reluctantly, Commissioner Charles C. Edwards, now an Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, imposed a ban effective last Jan. 1. However, the agency continues to allow injections of DES.

Last month, an internal FDA memo disclosed that at least 18 possibly carcinogenic substances are being used in food animals. "For practically all of these, inadequate testing methods exist for the detection of residues of these substances in human food," Sen. Abraham A. Ribicoff (D-Conn.) told the Senate on March 20.

The FDA also permits pharmaceutical manufacturers to text experimental medicines in humans before completing animal tests designed to determnie if the drugs could cause cancer. There have been cases in which cancer developed in laboratory animals while human studies were under way.

Yesterday, Fountain pointed out that the cancer death rate has been steadily rising over the years "despite improved treatment methods.

"While we hope and pray that the current big jump in the death rate from cancer may turn out to be a statistical abberation," he continued, "we cannot dismiss the possibility that cancer is now on the rise because of the wide exposure of our population to cancer-causing agents 15 or more years ago."

Fountain said he has urged the FDA and the Agriculture Department to give top priority to research and regulatory action arising from FDA experiments involving another potent carcinogen, nitrosamine.

The experiments established that this substance is produced in the frying of bacon that has been treated with sodium nitrite, which is widely used not only in bacon, but also in hot dogs, ham, corned beef and other processed meat products.

In a related development, the Washington-based Center for Science in the Public Interest released a 55-page report charging that nitrite is a hazardous food additive that should be banned.

The co-director of the public interest group, Dr. Michael Jacobson, seeks in the report to rebut the meat industry's claim that nitrite, which enhances color and flavor and acts as a preservative in some cases, is essential for all current uses.

In a joint letter to Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz, Jacobson, Peter Schuck of Consumers Union and Harrison Wellford of Ralph Nader's Center for Study of Responsive Law protested that the department and the FDA have not set up a scientific panel to study the nitrite issue.

The department said in March, 1972, that the panel was "in the process" of being established, the letter said. The same assurance was given again last August, Jacobson recalled. "I was shocked to learn last week that no such panel ... has been convened," he said.

In Cleveland, Ohio, Dr. Samuel S. Epstein of Case Western Reserve University, a specialist in toxic substances in the environment, said the new National Center data "are precisely consistent with what one would expect" from "the increasing load of carcinogens" in the environment.

In New York City, a spokesman for the American Cancer Society said that it is too early to assess the significance of the new statistics in terms of causes.

ENERGY AND THE ENVIRONMENT

HON. DON YOUNG

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, while we in the Congress have begun to address ourselves to the related issues of the national energy crisis and environmental protection, I would like at this time to call your attention to some thoughts on these important subjects.

The Honorable Walter J. Hickel, former Secretary of the Interior and Governor of Alaska, today is addressing these twin questions of energy and the environment before the Sixth Public Relations World Congress which is meeting now in Geneva, Switzerland. And it is with a great deal of pleasure that I now present his comments.

ENERGY AND THE ENVIRONMENT

(By Walter J. Hickel)

I. ENERGY

"There is an unusual tie-in between energy and life, energy and poverty, energy and peace."

The controversy surrounding energy has to be seen in the context of world concern about the environment.

We've all heard that pollution is tarnishing the great civilizations of modern man.

It is threatening to damage the life support system on which humans and all animals depend.

This is central to the energy question because the greatest amount of pollution comes from the production and use of energy.

People say the energy industry is "Public Enemy No. 1," but I say it is the great hope of mankind, and the hope of the environment.

Show me any area in the world where there is a shortage of energy, and I'll show you basic poverty.

There's no shortcut to human activity. It all takes energy. If you want to go to town from the countryside, there's no way to do it without using energy; even if you walk.

To achieve a standard of living as the Swiss enjoy in this great capital of Geneva requires the equivalent energy output of 200 adult slaves per person.

In many respects we are still only one step from slavery. But harnessing energy has helped us take that step away from the slavery of hunger, lack of shelter, disease and ignorance. It is a step toward freedom in its most basic sense.

It would be a tragedy if our concern about pollution turned us against this great emancipator called energy which is freeing and improving the lot of mankind.

With the awakening of environmental concern, a concern I share, certain people want to drive Cadillac but not produce energy. These people, in nations such as my own, want to export pollution. They want other nations to do the drilling, pumping, refining and transporting of oil so that their own water and land be untouched by man.

This is no answer. In fact it is a new form of imperialism under the guise of the holy cause of the environment. In reality they are saying, "Let other people's children choke on smog and play in polluted streams. Let other nations' wildlife be destroyed. But we must protect our own."

This philosophy, however misguided, is gaining strength. Its advocates are currently attempting to prevent the vast oil reserves above the Arctic Circle in my State of Alaska from being used.

This is the worst kind of conservation. We are one world with one system. Ecologically, it is impossible to export pollution. We must clean it up.

Enemy No. 1, the energy industry, is in reality the answer.

We are not going to solve the problems of the world with less energy. I don't mean wasting it on senseless gadgets, but utilizing it to free mankind and clean up the environment.

With the leadership of the United Nations and strong government regulations this can be done. Energy doesn't have to disrupt. The answer lies in national and international guidelines for the use of energy without the abuse of the environment.

Oil companies are resented because of their economic power and their seeming disregard in the past for nature. But this hatefulness is now coming to haunt us. To punish is not the answer.

In our short history, America has many examples that hate is no answer to greed. At the turn of the century there was a public reaction against the men who had built America's railroads.

These so-called "Robber Barons"—Rockefeller, Morgan, and Vanderbilt—became the object of public hatred. Laws were passed designed to destroy these men, but in reality all they destroyed was the magnificent railroad system which had criss-crossed and united our untamed country.

If today we treat the worldwide energy industry like we did the U.S. railroads, we'll have a lost civilization.

In reality, there is no world energy crisis. The voices of doomsday are not real. The earth will not run out of resources. The only thing we might run out of is imagination.

Using modern computer technology, a well-intentioned group of men called the Club of Rome sponsored a report which has forecast doom for the human race.

The weakness of a computer is that it can only compute on the basis of what is known. This is a shaky way to predict the future. What if we had used a computer 200 years ago to forecast energy resources for 1973? At that time man depended on firewood, horses, water and wind. The conclusions would have been more disastrous than those of the Club of Rome today. We would have forecast doom and starvation because there are not enough forests and workhorses on earth to care for the needs of our growing population.

Computers have their place, but I have more faith in the creative capacity of man; and that is uncomputable.

Today we have fossil fuels and hydroelectric power. Tomorrow we shall use geothermal resources by tapping the heat deep beneath the crust of the earth.

We shall develop the art of gasification and liquefication of the soft coals we have abandoned in the past. This will become a mammoth source of nearly pure power.

I see this liquified natural gas as the answer to automobile pollution. By replacing the gas tank in your car with a propane-like bottle we can solve the majority of the world's man-made air pollution. The technology is there. All we need is to apply the new methods to produce natural gas.

Also awaiting us is the heat of the sun, and the tremendous energy of the hydrogen bomb. Man is already working on this. Some scientists predict breakthroughs within a decade or two. With fusion we can produce a pure energy which regenerates itself.

No, there is no world energy crisis. The crisis that exists is one of control. Fossil fuels are the major source of power now and will be for the remainder of this century. The nations which control petroleum will have great political and economic power in the decades immediately ahead.

Whether we have peace or war may well depend on how this new balance of power will be used. The Middle East nations, with their vast reserves, are being swept into the mainstream. Likewise, the Arctic will have an ever-increasing role in world affairs.

The ten million square miles on top of the earth contains a staggering wealth of fossil fuels left over from an earlier age when much of it was covered by tropical jungle. Canada, Alaska, the Scandinavian countries, and especially the Soviet Union and its mighty Siberia will all share in the new Arctic Age which is ahead of us.

There is no fear in the quantity of reserves waiting for mankind. The only concern is in the control of those resources. Will they be distributed to meet the needs of all men everywhere or will they be horded for the benefit of a small elite?

The 21st century, the world of tomorrow, will be a world of unlimited energy. With the new sources I have mentioned, especially geothermal power, solar heat and fusion, every nation will have its own supply. Gone will be the tools for energy blackmail.

I sometimes think that this era, which some of us in this room may see, is slow in coming only because the decision-makers are fearful of upsetting the total economic situation as we know it today. They are locked into the past.

There is an unusual tie-in between energy and life, energy and poverty, energy and peace.

The challenge of the moment is for both the developed and the developing nations to share our common needs and our common opportunities. Then we can usher in a millenium of peace which could be only one or two generations away.

II. ENVIRONMENT

"Humans are the most precious things on earth."

In our zest for cleaning up the environment, and I have that zest and that concern, we must not overreact to the point where we protect wildlife and nature while ignoring the needs of man.

People equate the using of nature with the destruction of the environment, when in reality man cannot exist without using nature. The secret for man's life on earth, in fact for all life on earth, is for man to be compatible with nature. We must not abuse it, but we must use it.

For example, God put a tree on earth to be used, not just to be cut down, but to be used; perhaps for birds to nest in, or simply to be looked at for mere enjoyment to restore the spirit and perspective of man.

If a tree grows somewhere unused by man or animal it is somehow wasted. Like a human being, it must be needed by someone. But likewise, like a human being, it should not be exploited. Man, being the only reasoning animal, has to be the one concerned about other life on earth.

There's a struggle going on in my country. I call it the civil war of priorities—neighbor against neighbor, man against need—over preservation or use of our resources.

Bitter voices have been raised, on the one side pleading, "Give us work, give us energy for our homes;" on the other side shouting, "Stop the rape of our environment, protect our wildlife and our wilderness."

This same battle is going on between the rich and the poor throughout the world. Somewhere in between there's a still small voice that says, "If we work together we can do it right."

As far as pollution and environmental desecration go, we cannot undo all the wrongs of yesterday, but we can guide responsibly the needs of tomorrow.

We cannot condone exploitation of one resource at the expense of another resource, even if that resource has no dollar value, such as a sunset, a lonely stretch of beach, or the right to roam.

But neither can we preserve untouched all those resources that man needs. All human needs must be taken into consideration, those of everyday necessity such as food and energy, or those of lasting beauty, such as a wilderness. In evaluating the total situation, I am convinced we can make use and conservation compatible. For the good of the human, they must be made compatible.

With technology and the right attitude in our governmental leaders we can see the job well done, but only if we are guided by the fact that the most precious thing on earth is the human. The whole world can unite on that basis. I remember well when the leader of the Chinese delegation to the U.N. Conference on the Human Environment last June in Stockholm addressed himself eloquently to that theme.

I have no time for those who say they are dedicated to the environment but disregard the needs of people. The question is not what kind of a world do we want for elephants, or reindeer, or pandas, or Sequoias, or tundra, but what kind of a world do we want for our children.

Wilderness is not the world. The world is both in wilderness and people, in animals of rich variety, in water and air, in the world of modern technology and the world of timeless nature.

Dr. Paul Brandwein put it well: a world which does not conserve its children, does not conserve its elephants. It does not conserve its environment or its resources or its knowledge or its values. It is neither competent nor compassionate. Its ends are neither human nor humane.

I am most happy to be here in Geneva at this time to moderate this panel at the Sixth Public Relations World Congress. Maurice

Strong, the man who organized and led the United Nations Environmental Conference, asked me to participate on his behalf. He is in Nairobi, Kenya, this week where he is setting up the headquarters for the new United Nations Environmental Agency. I have known Secretary Strong since 1970, before he was named to head the U.N. environmental effort. As U.S. Secretary of the Interior and afterwards, I have worked closely with him on his approach to making the environment a truly global issue.

From the beginning I have been a firm believer that the United Nations is the one hope the world has for effective environmental action.

Pollution knows no boundaries. Every major river eventually empties into the oceans. A river doesn't know whether it is flowing through a Socialist country or a Capitalist country; but if we pollute it, it will carry that pollution into our common seas.

I thank God that visionaries over 25 years ago succeeded in organizing the United Nations. Without it there would be no natural forum for mankind to confront the common dangers and opportunities of the environment. There would be no one to listen to the cry of life. The environment is going to do for the original intent of the United Nations what diplomacy and politics have failed to do. It will provide a common concern that bridges national self-interest.

You, who deal with the media, must tell that story. Many nations, including my own, are falling into the mentality that it is time to let the world take care of itself. We want to look after only those problems within our own borders. Parliaments and congresses are cutting back their appropriations to finance United Nations activities.

But the realities of the environment cannot be ignored. No one nation can clean up only its own back yard and expect to have a clean environment. The urgent call of the hour is for all people to reach out to the others and help carry the responsibility of learning how to use nature and preserve her for the good of all mankind.

Do not narrow your thinking to those who propound a negative philosophy of doom. Those who want to turn off the lights of the world are not the true friends of the world or the future.

The human family is being drawn together by the environmental challenge, and this is a great and important event in world history.

My hope of the future is to concentrate on solutions, answers, and imaginative approaches to the problems at hand rather than repeating the already shop-worn cliches of the doomsday philosophers.

I am fed up with those who profit in terms of fame and fortune by being negative. This is not doomsday; it is opportunity-day. We can look in a mirror and see if our face is dirty. If it's dirty, then let's wash it. Not talk about it.

There is an old belief in journalism that something has to be negative to be news. I'm tired of this attitude. Criticism is necessary, but with it should go responsibility. Man caused the problem we are looking at. Man can clean it up.

The best public relations, especialy in the environmental area, is action.

When I was appointed as Secretary of the Interior for the United States, responsible for our natural resources and public lands, I was attacked by the press. False stories were written, and the people became afraid I would promote policies that would desecrate the land and its beauty.

I didn't get angry with the press. I didn't even hire a public relations firm. I set out to do a job believing that if I made a decision in the best interest of all two hundred million of our people, it would also benefit the special few. I began to clean up the relationship between industry and government.

Within only a few weeks, the press changed their attitude. Words are cheap, and they are being used by all sides. But action on behalf of the people is the best form of public relations I know.

Today we must generate a global demand for action on the part of our leaders in government and industry in all corners of the earth. If we do, it is not too late.

PEACE CORPS

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, when President John F. Kennedy established the Peace Corps, he made available to the world the energy, idealism, and expertise of the people of the United States.

Today, the Peace Corps remains a living symbol of our country's commitment to help people and to teach them to be self-reliant.

Recently the Peace Corps put out a press release about one of the volunteers from my district. She is Margaret A. Roche, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. John F. Roche, of 6409 N. Fairhill Street, in Philadelphia.

At this time I enter this article into the RECORD:

PHILADELPHIA PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEER LEARNS FROM HER MICRONESIAN STUDENTS

Peace Corps volunteer Margaret A. Roche of Philadelphia Penn. gets up at 6:30 a.m. to begin her day as an elementary school teacher in Micronesia.

Miss Roche, 25, is serving a two-year tour of duty as a Peace Corps volunteer in Babelthuap, the largest island in the district of Palau.

Like most of the 227 Peace Corps volunteers serving in Micronesia, Margaret Roche has had to make adjustments to the tropical climate and slow pace of living in this multi-island nation so close to the equator. However, there is no language barrier since the Micronesian government established English as the official language.

Nine different languages are spoken on the Micronesian islands, which sprawl over 3 million square miles of Pacific Ocean. Although Miss Roche teaches in English and uses it in her daily living, she is determined to learn more Palauan, the language of her district. "I've decided to have one of my better students tutor me because I want to learn to speak Palauan well," she reports, admitting that presently her pronunciation of certain words usually convulses her Micronesian friends.

She lives in the small village of Melekiok—population 400—with a family of five. The village lacks electricity and all shower facilities are located outdoors but Miss Roche counts herself fortunate because the village has a water system and her Micronesian family owns a generator.

A graduate of Gwynedd Mercy College in Gwynedd, Penn., Miss Roche received her B.A. degree in history in 1970. She taught at St. Helena's School in Pennsylvania for one year before enrolling in the Peace Corps last summer.

Although most of her meals consist of island food like fish, rice, bananas, and coconuts, she usually breakfasts on all-American peanut butter, jelly and crackers. She heads for school around 8:00 a.m. each day to teach reading, grammar and mathematics to a combined 7th and 8th-grade class. Miss Roche says she learns more from her students than she teaches. In the afternoon she serves as the official physical education instructor for all grades and frequently substitutes as the singing teacher.

Miss Roche is enthusiastic about her students and believes her work is especially important at this time of critical change in Micronesia. "I look at these children and grow excited when I think of the possibilities for some of their futures. Their country is going through a great transition presently as it becomes more and more in tune with the modern world; it will be anxiously waiting for their direction in the not so distant future. I hope in some way I aid in this preparation."

She plans to start a night school for adults interested in learning English. For many years the various languages and dialects separated islanders. Miss Roche believes that introducing older natives to the new language changing their way of life will help break down previous language barriers and ease the transition to a more modern way of life.

She charts progress in human terms, citing the 3-year-old child who no longer cries when he sees her but runs up with a hug and says her name. And the students who avoided her when she first arrived now walk with her hand-in-hand to the village movie theater.

THE RETIREMENT BENEFITS TAX ACT

HON. HERMAN T. SCHNEEBELI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. SCHNEEBELI. Mr. Speaker, I have today cosponsored the Retirement Benefits Tax Act on behalf of the administration.

The bill provides comprehensive changes in the tax laws affecting our private retirement system. Since 1942, incentives have been included in the Internal Revenue Code that encourage the growth of pension systems in the private sector. This has contributed to the healthy growth of private pension plans that now cover 30 million workers and pay benefits to another 6 million retired individuals.

In order to build on this record and insure that private pensions respond directly to our citizens' needs, the Retirement Benefits Tax Act proposed by the President would strengthen private retirement systems in a number of respects. The bill would provide minimum standards for vesting by making the so-called "Rule of 50" mandatory; it would require funding of a portion of the unfunded, vested liabilities; it would encourage employees who do not have adequate employer-sponsored pension plans to save on their own behalf; it would provide greater incentives for self-employed individuals to establish pension plans on behalf of themselves and their employees; and would defer taxes on lump-sum payments from pension plans until an individual retires.

These are important and far-reaching proposals that are of vital interest to all working Americans. I am hopeful that the Ways and Means Committee will respond to the President's initiative at the earliest possible time.

LOUISVILLE, KY., LOSES A VALUED AND A WELL-LOVED CITIZEN—FORMER MAYOR KENNETH A. SCHMIED

HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, on April 5, 1973, a distinguished and selfless leader of the Louisville, Ky., community was taken by death at the untimely age of 61.

I am speaking of the Honorable Kenneth A. Schmied, mayor of the city of Louisville from 1965 to 1969.

Kenny Schmied was an exceptional public servant, a man who had great rapport with the people he served, a generous-hearted man who truly cared about the well-being of his fellow citizens. I counted him as my personal friend.

As mayor, Kenneth Schmied brought great warmth to city government. He loved his city, loved its neighborhoods and loved its traditions. He added a personal quality to the mayor's office, which too often is lacking in governmental bureaucracies. To put it quite simply, Kenny Schmied cared about his fellow citizens.

The accomplishments of his term as mayor are conspicously visible in downtown Louisville today. For it was Kenneth Schmied who laid much of the important groundwork for the dramatic transformation of the Louisville river front and the surge of new high-rise construction which has totally altered the Louisville skyline.

Prior to his election as mayor, Schmied served with great distinction for 4 years as president of the Louisville Board of Aldermen. All told, during his 8 consecutive years of municipal leadership, he was able to play an instrumental role in the successful development of a great many urban projects and programs which make Louisville a better place to live today.

Among the many areas of accomplishment in which Kenny Schmied could rightfully take pride was the emphasis he placed on improvement and expansion of the city's recreational facilities. During his 8 years in office, he say the city gain an excellent new zoological garden, a first-rate new tennis center, and a number of new swimming pools. In addition, he helped the city add to its inventory of parklands.

Jovial by nature and genuinely friendly in his dealings with the public, Kenneth Schmied was a man who appreciated the importance of recreation and play in a well-rounded life. Accordingly, he saw to it that his fellow citizens were provided with more and better opportunities for leisure-time pleasure, as well as improved opportunity for economic success.

Whether at work in Louisville's revitalized downtown business center, or at play in the city's expanded recreational facilities, the citizens of my home city are reaping the advantages of Kenneth Schmied's compassionate foresight, and his ability to get things done.

To his wife, Ethel, to his two sons, and all the other members of his family, I extend my deepest sympathy. They have suffered a great loss, as has the entire Louisville community.

TRIBUTE TO MRS. ALFRED H. EVERSON

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. CAREY of New York. Mr. Speaker, on April 12 a testimonial dinner was held at the Whitehall Club in Manhattan honoring Mrs. Alfred H. Everson, who recently stepped down as president of the Brooklyn Bureau of Community Service, the borough's oldest nonprofit, nonsectarian social services agency. The dinner honored a woman, Mr. Speaker, who has dedicated 50 years of voluntary work with nonprofit Brooklyn agencies offering child care, family counseling, day nursery care, family planning services, services to the blind and handicapped, neighborhood settlement house programs, and community planning services. The organizations to which she has devoted her time and energy have helped hundreds of thousands of persons.

I would like to congratulate Mrs. Everson for her outstanding record of giving and commend the following article to my colleagues' attention, which appeared in the March 29 issue of Brooklyn today:

COMMUNITY VOLUNTEER? SHE GAVE 50 YEARS

Rachel Everson, who was born in Brooklyn, doesn't think that she has done anything very extraordinary. She says, "I have been fortunate all my life, never having to strive for identity or seek motive power.

"I was inbred from early childhood with the opening words of the Declaration of Independence: We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

In the last fifty years, Mrs. Everson has served as volunteer, board member, or executive officer of the Brooklyn Bureau of Community Service, Colony-South Brooklyn Houses, the Brooklyn Chapter of the American Red Cross, Y.W.C.A. of Brooklyn, United Neighborhood Houses, Brooklyn's first Planned Parenthood Committee, Youth United, Brooklyn Tuberculosis and Respiratory Disease Association, Brooklyn Women's Club, the Civitas Club, and the Brooklyn Council for Social Planning.

The organizations to which she has devoted her time and energy have helped hundreds of thousands of persons, thanks to the aid of volunteers like Mrs. Everson, who has raised money to support programs, shaped policies to widen the scope of voluntary activities to reach more people, and helped pioneer important services people needed in order to survive.

Mrs. Everson says these things were nothing special. She says she looked around her, saw what was happening, and decided she wouldn't wait for the next person to do something. She'd do it herself.

At least part of her motivation came from her father, Charles M. Higgins, an Irish immigrant who came to the United States as a boy. Higgins invented Higgin's American India ink, went on to found the Higgins Ink Company and became one of Brooklyn's foremost philanthropists and civic leaders.

He had inscribed on the family's tomb in Brooklyn's Greenwood Cemetary these words from Matthew VII–12, "Whatsoever Ye Would That Men Should Do To You, Do Ye Even So To Them." He wrote, "These words being writ in imperishable material on the walls of the Tomb, will, I hope, keep them before the minds of my children and grandchildren and give them an inspiration, rule and guide for right living and for all true and just relations between Mankind."

Mrs. Everson's mother, Alexandra Fransioli, came from Switzerland to Brooklyn with her mother, sister, and brothers, and settled there because her uncle, Father Joseph Fransioli, had come earlier. Father Fransioli built St. Peter's Church, School, and Hospital at Warren and Hicks Streets in Cobble Hill, and was a founder of the Brooklyn Bureau of Community Service. "Father Fransioli has always been a kind of mystical hero to me," Mrs. Everson says.

Mrs. Everson attended Packer Collegiate Institute in Brooklyn, then went on to Vassar, and graduated with a Phi Beta Kappa key in 1922. She completed a year at New York University's Law School, but an injury resulting from a fall from a horse interrupted her education, and later she decided to marry rather than return to law school.

While at school, she spent most of her time during vacations and holidays with her family in Park Slope.

The world of the society debutante in the 1920s was exciting, she said. "There were a great number of private parties. The Metropolitan Opera appeared regularly at the Academy of Music, and everyone important in Brooklyn could be seen at these functions.

"If you were not careful, that was all you saw. In those days, neighborhoods were more distinct. The poor lived separately, in Williamsburg, Brownsville, and Bedford.

"The affluent were concentrated in Park Slope, the Clinto-Hill area, Brooklyn Heights and cobble Hill, in the beautiful Italianate and Victorian houses still standing today."

In 1924, the year of her marriage to Alfred Hall Everson, an engineer, she joined as a volunteer the Colony-South Brooklyn Houses and the Brooklyn Bureau of Community Service. Serving on the Brooklyn Bureau's Family Committee, she learned of the problems people were suffering.

"You have to remember that in the '20s there was still no public relief People literally had no one to turn to when they needed help except the voluntary agencies."

The story of voluntary service to poor Brooklyn communities began much earlier, Mrs. Everson said. In 1866, when the Brooklyn Bureau of Community Service was organized, Brooklyn had almost 300,000 people, many of whom were poverty-stricken.

The New York Times, June 30, 1866, said, "There are certain . . . districts in Brooklyn where . . . dirt and filth and poverty reign triumphant—quarters which in misery, squalor and wretchedness . . . equal the lowest quarters of New York, or of any civilized city."

Volunteers did then what volunteers have always done in a crisis, Mrs. Everson said. They organized to help.

Thus, in 1866, the Brooklyn Children's Aid Society (later to merge with the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities and other voluntary social service agencies to form the present Brooklyn Bureau of Community Service) was organized to care for the many children made homeless by the Civil War who were wandering the streets and living by their wits. By 1884, the Brooklyn Bureau had established a work facility and employment service for the jobless. Two years later, the same agency opened a workroom to employ unskilled women.

Campaigns for court reform, mandatory pasteurized milk, free school lunches, free public health services to children and the handicapped, and many other causes were

taken up by Brooklyn voluntary organizations in the years that followed.

During the depression in the 1930s the situation was especially critical, Mrs. Everson said. "With nearly half a million people needing relief in the New York metropolitan area alone, agencies poured all of their resources into an effort to keep people fed and families together."

Mrs. Everson recalls she published in 1952 a ten-point program for Brooklyn while she served as President of the Brooklyn Council for Social Planning and "many of the problems I discussed then are still things we are struggling with today.

"I wrote that we must strengthen our family counseling, child guidance and other services which help families stay together. I asked for more and better foster homes, day care centers for working mothers, premarital counseling services, better teaching, slum clearance and building rehabilitation, better police protection, improved conditions in hospitals and health services, and more adequate financing of Brooklyn's welfare and cultural programs."

In her six years as President of the Brooklyn Bureau of Community Service, Mrs. Everson spurred the development of important new programs in a number of areas.

The Brooklyn Bureau entered the field of foster care services to sick children without parents able to care for them who live in the pediatrics wards of Kings County Hospital. The agency is placing many of these children in foster homes where they receive the affection and care they require.

The Brooklyn Bureau has organized more group counseling services for children, parents, families and the handicapped, and established a teaching center for blind and otherwise handicapped men and women who want to learn to cook, clean, iron, read and write Braille, budget their funds, and live independently.

There is also an organized and strengthened effort to find jobs in industry for handicapped men and women trained for work in the Brooklyn Bureau of Community Service's job training programs.

Mrs. Everson says that her experience as a wife and mother helped her to understand the problems of people served by the social agencies she worked for. "You know, if you have five children to look after as I did, what it means to feel sometimes as if everything is just too much and there isn't time to do what must be done.

"But I really believe my outside interests made me more content and effective at home and my home life made me more understanding of agency problems. I still find pushing a vacuum cleaner conducive to thinking or composing speeches."

She says she was careful to budget her time so that she did not neglect her family. "My family understood what I was trying to do. I would always try to be home just in time to start dinner before my husband arrived!"

As for her own children, four boys and a girl, she says, "As parents, our desire was not to make life as easy as possible for them or give them all possible comforts.

"We kept a coal furnace way beyond the accepted time with its attendant disciplines of shoveling coal and taking out the ashes. This was one of the many responsibilities of the boys, the kind that build character."

What are the lessons she has learned in half a century of voluntary work?

"One thing you must be able to do if you want to change people's attitudes is to develop a thick skin. You can't be too sensitive if somebody turns you down when you've asked for a contribution for an organization that needs help.

"I've found that working to help others increases the fulfillment I've felt in all areas of my life. Your work gives you a feeling that you belong to the world, to life, and that you are involved. Definitely, giving does something important for the giver as well as for the receiver.

"And when you do make someone see the importance of being a good and generous neighbor, you feel that you've really done something worthwhile. People have to change their feeling about each other.

"I say to people that they don't realize what you go through if you are an object of racial or religious prejudice, or poor, or jobless. I have always tried to imagine myself in these positions, and what I would feel and how I would look at the world."

Mrs. Everson's husband died in 1969. Her five children and eight grandchildren continue to occupy some of her great supply of energy. But not all of it.

Today, she continues her volunteer work as chairman of the Executive Committee and Vice President of the Brooklyn Bureau of Community Service, and board member of Colony-South Brooklyn Houses.

Recently, Mrs. Everson attended a party given for blind and otherwise severely handicapped men and women at the Brooklyn Bureau of Community Service. She spoke to them of the goals of achievement and happiness shared by every human being. One mentally retarded young man approached her and said that the agency had found a job for him. He said it was his first job, and he knew he would succeed because everybody had been so helpful to him. "I have people I can really count on for the first time in my life," he said.

Mrs. Everson said later, "Volunteerism is never going to stop. Not ever. Not when we can give so much to people who want to live with decency and self-respect."

OIL CRISIS

HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, the recent "conditions" which the Saudi Arabians laid down by which they will determine their oil policy toward the United States is truly one of the most significant "first steps toward disaster" that we have faced in our entire history. When we are told by one country that we have to change our policy toward a friendly nation in order to do business, and there are conditions existing which put definite "teeth" in that threat, we all must recognize that we are on the brink of disaster.

Ever since the "extremists" in the environmental movement began to achieve goals of their own such as the blocking of the Alaskan pipeline, I have consistently warned that they were dabbling with the security of this country. There are very few doubts now in the minds of any thinking people that this danger has now come into reality. Unless the massive reserves in Alaska are made available to the United States as quickly as possible, we will not only have an energy crisis in this country which will put us at the mercy of unstable governments in the Middle East, but the same crisis can and probably will threaten the security of Israel so severely that its existence may be in danger.

The main stream of the environmental movement is an intelligent one which is based on good sense and good business but the "far out thinkers" in the same movement have already threatened our economic stability and are now threatening our national security to obtain luxuries that are simply not worth the price. Remember, our Nation must survive and our economic system must survive or a pleasant environment will be totally meaningless.

TRIBUTE TO ROBERT NATHAN

HON. THOMAS M. REES

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. REES. Mr. Speaker, Robert Nathan, distinguished California novelist and poet, was honored by the Los Angeles Library Association April 5, at their annual tribute luncheon at the Century Plaza Hotel.

Mr. Nathan, 79, is the author of more than 50 books and 3 volumes of poetry. Among his better known novels are "Portrait of Jennie," "The Bishop's Wife," "Enchanted Voyage," and "One More Spring." All have been made into motion pictures.

Present to honor Mr. Nathan were such noted west coast writers as Irving Stone, Irving Wallace, John Weaver, Leonard Wibberly, Ralph G. Martin, Ray Bradbury, Ariel and Will Durant, Norman Corwin, Michael Blankfort, Robert Carson, and Jack Smith. Actors David Janssen, Joseph Cotten, Anne Baxter, and Anna Lee—Mrs. Nathan—read selections from Nathan's novels and sonnets to the more than 500 guests in attendance.

President Nixon joined in paying tribute, sending a message which read:

Throughout your career you have written with heart-warming compassion and stirring depth of feeling. Your sensitivity and creative genius are best reflected in the inspiration you have brought to the enthusiastic readers of your work.

Senator ALAN CRANSTON echoed the President's sentiments in saying that Mr. Nathan's contributions "to both his community and to the world are sizable—his works of the last 50 years have been varied and outstanding in all their forms." Scores of tributes similar to these were sent to Mr. Nathan on this occasion from public and literary figures throughout the world.

However, Mr. Speaker, we would not be doing this remarkable man justice if we were content to merely speak about him. That is why, at this time, I insert into the RECORD his insightful acceptance address given at the dinner honoring his contributions to English letters. In this way, we may let Robert Nathan speak for himself.

The address follows:

ADDRESS

If this were an "Oscar", I'd know just how to start: I'd thank my producers, Mr. and Mrs. Harold Nathan, and my wonderful director, Anna Lee, and then everybody else . . . publishers, editors, critics . . . it would take forever, and I only have ten min-

utes. So instead, let me say thank you, to all of you—my friends, the writers who came to honor the library and donated their books, the stars who read my poems so beautifully, the committee that worked so hard—and most of all, you librarians without whom I'd have long ago starved to death.

About a hundred years ago, Robert Browning wrote a poem that I've always remembered—or at least, the opening lines: "Ah, did you once see Shelley plain? And did he stop and speak to you? And did you speak to him again? How strange it seems, and new."

It had only been a matter of sixty years or so since Whoever-it was had seen Shelley plain, but to Browning it was already a far-off, magical time. And Who-it-was, who had actually spoken to Shelley, and had heard his voice, was an authentic antique.

You know—I can imagine some young writer—or even a middle-aged one—saying to me: "And did you once see F. Scott Fitzgerald plain, and did he stop and speak to you?" As a matter of a fact, I did, and he did; at a party at Fannie Hurst's, he quoted me one of my own sonnets. That was in 1924, just under fifty years ago. To tell you the truth, I'd forgotten all about it.

Fitzgerald wasn't my Shelley. My Shelley was Stephen Vincent Benet. I thought him—indeed, we all thought him—the most secure immortal of us all. I taught him fencing one year in the basement of a little apartment I had in an old brownstone house near Madison Avenue. I used to give parties there—we all gave parties, because it was prohibition, and one drank whatever and wherever one could. You'd expect me to have a lot of memories—of the Benets, of Elinor Wylie (I was a character in one of her books)—of E. A. Robinson, of Dos Passos, of e e cummings, of Scott Fitzgerald, of Edna Ferber and George S. Kaufman, John Marquand and Dorothy Parker . . . of bright things said, of fine thoughts expressed, wise things, funny things . . . but memory is a queer thing, you either have it or you don't. And the only things I can remember anybody saying to me, were "Hello!" and "Which way to the bathroom?" That's why I'll never be able to write my autobiography.

However . . . just as the first years of the nineteenth century brought in a new era in English Literature, so the first two decades of the twentieth ushered in a new age in American letters. In 1912, just over sixty years ago—I was elected to the editorial board of The Harvard Monthly. That, in itself, was not earth-shattering. But on that same board with me were Estlin Cummings (e e, that is) John Dos Passos, Gilbert Seldes and Robert Hillyer. And at that very same time, on the Yale Lit. there were Stephen Vincent Benet, Thornton Wilder, Archibald MacLeish and Philip Barry. And at Princeton, at the same time, there was Scott Fitzgerald, and Edmund (Bunny) Wilson and John Peale Bishop. Edna St. Vincent Millay was at Vassar; Ben Hecht was in Chicago; and somewhere in the west there was a young schoolboy named Hemingway.

There were others at Harvard and Yale, too: John Marquand, Sam Behrman the playwright, Walter Millis, Donald Ogden Stewart, Bob Benchley, Johnny Farrar. . . . There aren't too many of us left. And the pages of American literature have turned more than once since those far-away days, bringing other manners, other voices, other goals. The voice you are listening to now belongs to the past—to something that was once called the Younger Generation, and that soon enough, will seem as far away as Shelley, and as extinct as the croak of the Pterodactyl.

Therefore—so that you young people in your twenties and thirties and forties—and fifties—can someday say that you saw a Pterodactyl plain, and that he stopped and spoke to you, I'm going to add a few—a very few—remarks about the art of writing—at least, as I see it.

When I was at Harvard, I had to read a book by Tolstoy on "What is Art?" All I learned from it was that art was a form of communication between man and man. My fault, probably. But meanwhile, I've thought a lot about it; and I've come to believe that art is a communication informing man of his own dignity, and of the value of his life, whether in joy or grief, whether in laughter or indignation, beauty or terror. Terror can be a catharsis, indignation can dignify life, can dignify man in his scorn of the mean and the unworthy. On the other hand, the communication which belittles man, or dishonors him—though it may be artful—is not art—it's simply an exercise in malice. And in the grey land between art and malice, there are only happenings. Man needs the comfort of his own dignity—as a Being, a Creature of the Universe, as Max Ehrmann said. And that's what the artist is for. To give him that comfort.

In closing, I'd like to read you a little verse I wrote a few days ago, for this occasion. Even my director hasn't seen it.

My parents revered the Victorian Snob.
When we rose in our youth, I must say
That we loved with a cry and we wrote with throb,
And believed in Millay—and Benet.

I find no delight in the violent flights
Which the critics rejoice to extol.
They speak of the troubles which trouble their nights,
But they speak without soul—

Without form, without cadence, or rhythm or rhyme,
Without beauty or grace. So you see,
All I can say, it's a hell of a time
For Tennyson, Shelley and James Oppenheim,
And Edna and Stephen and me.

PRAISE DUE JIM KRAYESKE

HON. RONALD A. SARASIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. SARASIN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to commend to my colleagues' attention the admirable work being done by Mr. A. James "Jim" Krayeske, Jr., of Naugatuck, Conn., who is the defensive football coach of Wilby High School.

Jim Krayeske's leadership talent has been clearly demonstrated by the successes he has achieved working against adverse conditions and yet still being able to place a solid foundation for beginning, inexperienced football programs.

Jim's ability to instill the desire for victory in his youthful charges at a time when many young people are questioning society's values is, indeed, worthy of praise and is proven by the results of his efforts.

In establishing football programs at three schools, he has never had less than a .500 season.

Jim's coaching skills have not been ignored, as he is the only high school coach from Connecticut ever selected to participate in the annual National Football Coaches Clinic.

Mr. Krayeske has left his mark as a fine and outstanding coach as well as a gentleman wherever he has been.

EMBASSIES FOR SALE

HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, today's New York Times contains a sobering editorial that is a sad commentary on the present state of our Nation's Government.

The editorial, entitled "Auction," details the unconscionable practice of this administration of offering ambassadorships to the highest bidder. The embassies at stake are usually selected from places such as Luxembourg, Trinidad and Tobago, and Costa Rica. The broker in these cases is the Nixon administration and its ill-reputed adjunct, the Committee to Re-elect the President. The bidders are a group of wealthy Americans whose only qualification for a diplomatic post is the size of their check to the Committee to Re-elect the President.

The trophies of this reprehensible auction are as follows: Britain, France, Finland, Trinidad and Tobago, Austria, El Salvador, and Jamaica. Currently under contention is Luxembourg.

It is outrageous that the rich should be able to buy their way into our Government. The Nixon administration owes the people of this country—who cannot afford to buy such favors—an explanation.

This outlandish practice must end. I hope that the Senate, to which the Constitution grants the power of rejecting ambassadorial appointments, will spurn all those who earned their posts by virtue of their pocketbook and have no other qualification. This practice is wholly beneath the ideals upon which our Government was based, and must cease.

I hope that my fellow colleagues in Congress will take the time to read "Auction," and will consider its indictment:

AUCTION

The United States, as most foreigners know, is an extraordinary country with picturesque customs. Every four years, for example, it auctions off its embassies in Western Europe and in a few other agreeable areas to the highest bidders. The cash goes not to the United States Treasury but to the Republicans or Democrats, whichever party is in power. No other country follows this curious custom. But then no other country is as rich as the U.S.A.—and it is well known that the very rich usually practice odd little economies.

As of now, it looks as if Mrs. Ruth L. Farkas of the New York department store family is the top successful spender in the 1972-73 auction. She and her husband contributed $300,000 to President Nixon's campaign. In return, she gets the embassy in Luxembourg. There was a mild ruckus in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee because Mrs. Farkas seemed to be buying her embassy on an easy-payment plan, that is, two-thirds of the money was given after Mr. Nixon was safely re-elected, and the Republican treasury already showed a $4-million surplus.

But this problem has been cleared up. Mrs. Farkas explained she intended to give the money *before* the election but it took time to sell the necessary stock. Rivals agree that it would have been a shame if she had lost out on her bid because she had already lost once. In the 1968-69 auction season, she though she had acquired the embassy in Costa Rica. But that fell through because

of a court case involving a political contribution to a Democrat in the 1965 New York mayoral primary.

Money alone is not always enough, however. W. Clement Stone, the Chicago insurance man, made a big contribution to Mr. Nixon in 1968 and more than $1 million in 1972. Mr. Stone has delicately told the press that he would be "honored" to get the embassy in London. So far, Mr. Nixon—or whoever is conducting this year's auction for him—seems to be looking at the other side of the room and not to have caught Mr. Stone's bid. Perhaps $1 million is not enough. If Luxembourg is going for $300,000, should not London be worth a cool $5 million? Or it may be that Walter H. Annenberg, the current Ambassador in London, has been able to renew his lease by giving $254,000 last year.

Like most other items under Phase 3, the cost of embassies seems to be soaring. It may only be that the new campaign finance law has disclosed spending that until last year had been largely concealed. In any event, consider these prices:

Arthur K. Watson was appointed to France in 1970 and resigned last fall. He donated $49,000 to the G.O.P. in 1968, $22,000 in 1970, and $300,000 in 1972. The new Ambassador to France is his brother-in-law, John N. Irwin 2d who gave only $14,000 in 1968, $16,500 in 1970, but $52,500 in 1972. As a former Under Secretary of State, Mr. Irwin is one bidder who might have made it by merit alone.

John Krehbiel just obtained the embassy in Finland. He gave $5,500 in 1968, $1,000 in 1970, and $12,500 in 1972. Alas, not much for Finland.

Anthony D. Marshall bid in Trinidad and Tobago for $25,000 in 1968, a mere $1,000 at midterm, and $49,505 last year.

John P. Humes has Austria for $43,000 in 1968, $13,000 in midterm, and $103,500 last year. (If that seems a little high for Vienna minus the Habsburgs, he may have been bidding discreetly for Rome or even Paris.)

Henry E. Catto Jr. has El Salvador for $10,750 in 1968, $2,000 in midterm, but $26,000 last year.

Vincent de Roulet obtained Jamaica in the 1968–69 auction for $44,500 then and $32,000 last year. But relatives can also bid. Mr. de Roulet's father-in-law is Charles S. Payson who gave $28,000 in 1968, $32,000 in 1970, and $88,000 last year. At first glance, that seems like an awful lot; but then Jamaica really is a gem of an isle.

It is never too late to enter this auction. President Nixon has been re-elected but the Committee to Re-Elect the President is still in business, and still accepting bids—or "campaign contributions" as they are sometimes called.

PROTEST SALE OF INDIAN MOTHER AND CHILD SKULL

HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, earlier in the day the distinguished gentleman from Montana (Mr. MELCHER) rose to protest the sale in my congressional district of an Indian mother and child skull set complete with skin and foot.

I am pleased to announce that my office has been in touch with the owners of the relics and he has agreed to remove the items from display and sale.

The owner has further graciously agreed to donate the items to the State of Montana where they can be displayed in a museum or given a proper burial.

I thank Mr. MELCHER for bringing this matter to the attention of the House and recommend that other businessmen follow the fine example set forth by a good friend and constituent in Orlando, Fla.

A PROFESSIONAL ANALYSIS OF ISSUES CONCERNING THE RETENTION OF THE SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM

HON. WILLIAM L. DICKINSON

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, professional judgment must always be focused on our Nation's security and, in judging matters which directly affect the individuals who are called to serve in our armed services, it is especially important that the views of experts be sought.

I find it disquieting therefore to learn that those who put out the printed material which we have seen circulating with the stated objective "to dismantle the Selective Service System" failed to seek the views of the national headquarters of the Selective Service System before they launched their campaign.

Examples of their pamphleteering have been entered into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in recent weeks.

Two places in the U.S. Government which have awareness of military manpower problems are the Department of Defense and the national headquarters of the Selective Service System. In writing those two agencies I learn that the position of the National Committee To Repeal the Draft—NCRD—is based upon more than one invalid conclusion and that "facts" alleged by the NCRD are inaccurate.

Obviously no one—neither professional personnel managers nor a group of disparate dismantlers—has the clairvoyance to know at this time if our efforts to reach the goal of an all-volunteer Armed Force will succeed.

Inasmuch as the matter is of such importance to most Americans, I believe each Member will want to have available the professional judgment which I have obtained from the national headquarters, Selective Service System. Accordingly I request that the letter of April 9, 1973, with its attachment from Byron V. Pepitone, Director of Selective Service, be entered at this point in the RECORD:

SELECTIVE SERVICE SYSTEM,
Washington, D.C., April 9, 1973.

Hon. WILLIAM L. DICKINSON,
House of Representatives.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DICKINSON: You recently asked to what extent officials of the National Council to Repeal the Draft (NCRD) had consulted with people of this office. You also asked for comments upon the validity of reasoning in that organization's pamphlet, "Selective Service Without the Draft."

There has been no known or recognized contact with this Headquarters by officials of the NCRD.

The "facts" alleged by the NCRD are quite inaccurate, and the reasoning is no better. For instance, the NCRD says that we have now reached the goal of an all-volunteer armed force. In fact, there are about 100,000 draftees still in service, and their numbers will not be reduced to zero for over eighteen months. We have merely reached the point where the Department of Defense believes it is possible, by volunteers alone, to replace all the men as they are discharged at the end of their service—both draftee and volunteer.

I am aware of the content of the letter on this subject provided at your request by the Office of the Secretary of Defense. Permit me to endorse fully the statements made in that letter.

Attached is a brief discussion of each issue raised in the NCRD pamphlet.

If I may be of further assistance in this matter, please call upon me at any time.

Sincerely,

BYRON V. PEPITONE.

SELECTIVE SERVICE WITHOUT THE DRAFT—AN ANALYSIS

The National Council to Repeal the Draft—NCRD—has recently issued a pamphlet called, "Selective Service Without the Draft". It purports to be a clear exposition of the issues involved in "killing off" the Selective Service System, to dismantle entirely even a standby means of reinitiating the draft in the event of a serious emergency where the peacetime volunteer system is not enough.

The pamphlet lists a number of questions and then provides the answers. Unfortunately for clear understanding on the part of anyone, friend or foe, on the use of conscription in American life, the answers are inaccurate or distorted or sometimes a combination of both. The pamphlet is more hindrance than help in gaining an accurate appreciation of the problem the American people will face in deciding whether the Selective Service System should remain as the Congress now requires, able to function in an emergency, or dismantled and thrown away with the hope it will never again be needed, or that if needed it can be quickly put together again.

As usually happens in many of these cases, the errors presented in such distorted fashion, while briefly stated, can require a long-winded exposition to give a balanced consideration to all aspects of the issue. At the risk of leaving out aspects of interest to a wide range of people, this review will attempt only to hit the highspots of the matter.

The first question asked, "What is the current status of the draft?", is one of two answered with no error and no distortion. NCRD stated the Selective Service System is in operation but no one is presently being drafted and the induction authority is not being used.

The next question was, "Does this mean that we have reached the goal of an all volunteer armed force before the July 1 target date?" NCRD's answer: Yes, there is no need to depend upon draftees to meet our manpower needs.

Fact: The answer is "No". There are 100,000 draftees still in service, it will be two years before they have all been discharged. Since our present forces are a mixture of volunteers and draftees, a major problem of the Pentagon is to increase the volunteer enlistments to the point where they will replace the men being discharged who include both volunteers and draftees. What Secretary Laird called a great "experiment" is still in the test tube.

Question: "What will be the status of the Selective Service System after July 1?" The NCRD says: Continue with its present organization and functions (then a real howler of an error) but since the President's induction authority expires on July 1, he may then no longer use the System to draft 19-year olds.

Fact: It is true that the Selective Service System will continue with the fundamentals of its function. Its mode of operation, however, will shift to a standby type.

The draft authority is not now based on 19-year olds. The draft authority applies to men in the calendar year in which they reach age 20. The median age is 20, some are 19, and some are almost 21.

Question: "Then no one can be drafted after July 1?" NCRD says: The President may still draft millions of men who have been deferred and are under age 35 and drafting could go on for the next 15 years even without induction authority. They also point to the section dealing with a "National Security Training Corps", an obsolete piece of the law which did provide for a basic training stint of six months and they say this "could be activated easily".

Fact: The NCRD has it badly garbled. Under the present provisions of the law and regulations, men aged 26 who have been previously deferred have not lost their liability until age 35 but the rules would have to be changed with all of the attendant public fanfare of justification before anyone over age 26 could be drafted. Even for those under age 26, the only ones to whom this "residual authority" could be applied are those whose basis for deferment has now expired. The total number involved is roughly estimated to be perhaps 500,000 from age 20 to age 26, and not the millions the NCRD claims.

The claim that the National Security Training Corps can be activated easily is nonsense. It has never been activated. A whole series of actions by the Congress and the Executive would need to be taken, including the provision of necessary appropriations. If Congress did not do its part by further legislation authorizations and provision of funds, it could not be activated. Clearly, it is a fundamental exaggeration to say this provision could be done easily. Further, these trainees would not be members of the armed forces available for deployment and combat.

Question, "What Selective Service legislation, if any, does the Administration propose?" NCRD says: "We do not know" and the President has not announced whether "he" would ask for extension of the induction authority or modify the functions of the Selective Service System although he still proposes to expend $55 million on the System in Fiscal 1974.

Fact: Officials of the Administration speaking to Congress and the public have said that the Administration has no intention of asking for an extension of inductions. They also have said unmistakably what they intend to do with the functions of Selective Service and the $55 million budget request. They intend to carry out the provisions of the law to place the Selective Service System in a standby mode of operations, prepared if the Congress authorizes it, to resume inductions.

Question, "Why should we spend all that money on the Selective Service System if we are depending solely on volunteers?" NCRD says: The only possible argument is for insurance so that "we might participate in a major ground war".

Fact: Nonsense. Insurance is correct, but the participation in a major ground war represents a cockeyed look in the crystal ball that only the NCRD seems capable of doing. The rest of the citizens have no way of knowing when the present large group of draftees are discharged that the requirements for men in uniform will be adequately met by volunteer methods. The insurance has nothing to do with intentions to fight any war. It is a prudent measure in case we cannot meet peacetime requirements, and an absolute necessity if we should become engaged in fighting that the Congress believes cannot be supported by volunteers alone.

Question, "But even in peacetime we could have a shortage of men. Shouldn't we keep Selective Service for that possibility?" NCRD says: The shortage is not likely, claims that many things can be done to get enough volunteers in case the present great expenditures don't accomplish the job and that those things such as length of enlistment periods, salaries, fringe benefits, etc., have been the military tradition for maintaining strengths for 160 years and not conscripts.

Fact: More nonsense. Throughout American history, through the Revolutionary War to the present day, whenever the United States has needed more than a mere skeleton force (on one occasion a force so small that it could not even handle the Whiskey Rebellion of a few farmers) we have had to use conscripts. In fact, the requirement for military service by all able-bodied men is a fundamental tradition of democratic countries. In the past the only way that the United States has been able to totally rely upon volunteer methods has been to have very small active forces, and rely on time, distance and our allies to shield us while we prepared the larger number to put muscles on the skeleton we had maintained.

Question, "What about the insurance argument? Shouldn't we keep Selective Service on standby in case of war?" NCRD says: "No", it would take too long to make draftees effective. A scheme of using regulars and reserves and "early volunteers" would give the time to create a draft system. They further claim that we activated the draft rapidly from scratch in World War I and could do it faster today with "computerized technology". When threatened, we have had ample volunteers at onset of hostilities. They claim since it takes six months to process and train draftees, they have no value in emergencies.

Fact: Again, more nonsense. It is generally true that it takes six months to prepare a soft, untrained man to take his part in a military unit but when you add that six months training time to an optimistic six months time to prepare a new draft system, these people would have the United States stay in a crisis situation requiring drafting for over a year before the first man would be available for deployment. Who could think this is a good scheme?

We did not activiate a draft system very rapidly from scratch during World War I. There had been a number of preparations made for it since the flames of the war in Europe had been visibly getting closer for three years. In any event it was months before the scrawny skeleton of the then volunteer Army had enough muscles on it from draftees that it could be deployed for battle. There were not "ample" early volunteers rushing to overwhelm the recruiting sergeants. With all of the Government's most intensive efforts, the total volunteers in the first weeks were only 30,000 men from the entire United States and in a war which many people now view as a "popular war".

What "computerized technology" would do in the absence of a trained, organized and prepared Selective Service organization to use the computers is left unsaid.

Question, "What if the Nation is not 'clearly' threatened?" NCRD says: We should not have a standby organization because it may be used without a "national consensus".

Fact: Once again, nonsense. The standby draft cannot be used to begin the induction process until the Congress of the United States has affirmatively acted to give the President this authority.

A national consensus? What more do these people want?

Question, "Have we ever had a standby draft before?" NCRD says: "Not exactly". They draw a comparison to the situation in 1947 and 1948 when President Truman refused to ask Congress to reenact the Selective Service Act and in effect did what these people want, repealed the draft act. They then have a long list of charges saying that the Armed Forces with President Eisenhower, then Chief of Staff of the Army, and the apparent connivance of the Secretary of Defense and the Service Secretaries, an apparently blind Congress standing by, "sabotaged" the volunteer concept, plotting to bring on a manpower shortage and the reinstitution of the draft act.

Fact: The NCRD misstates the entire situation and carefully avoids the opportunity to compare a standby draft with a no standby draft situation. They are not telling the truth when they say the Armed Forces sabotaged the volunteer concept by raising mental requirements for enlistment. During a good portion of the time the requirements were lower. They say the Armed Forces limited the number of women and black enlistees. In fact, President Truman himself led the way in increasing the use of both blacks and women in the Armed Forces. They say the Armed Forces replaced civilian personnel with uniform personnel. In fact, Secretary of Defense Louis Johnson went to extreme efforts in what he called the "fat elimination process" in which civilians replaced uniformed people. The sabotage claim is a false charge made up out of the whole cloth.

The effort to avoid a comparison of a standby system with a no standby condition must have been deliberate. The facts as to the standby system were too closely involved in the period they cite to be overlooked. The Selective Service Act lapsed in 1947. For 19 months there were no calls for induction. The System was dismantled to a corporal's guard disposing of the cabinets full of files. When the strength of the forces had declined to a disastrously low level, Congress reenacted the Selective Service Act with the greatest of urgency in reconstructing the machinery. The best that could be done after six months was to induct 20,000 men.

The use of the standby system occurred shortly after the Nation recommenced drafting in 1948. The combination of drafting and draft pressure had so improved the strength posture that beginning in January 1949 no draft calls were issued for sixteen months. The System with its draft machinery intact, registering, classifying and examining, but not inducting young men, was in the "standby" mode attacked by the NCRD. Then the United States was struck by the surprise blow of the Korean War. The standby organization was able to begin drafting within two months and at the end of six months had furnished over 220,000 men.

The contrast is clear. No standby is a serious mistake. Standby is a very low cost method of being sure that the United States can do what it needs to do without taking great risks, or the heavy casualties if war begins when we are in a weak condition. It avoids tempting a rash opponent when he believes we cannot react in time, or with enough strength.

Question, "Why should Congress be interested in repeal of the Selective Service Act?"

NCRD believes: The program is wasteful, they could use the money for other things and Congress should end anything connected with the draft in order to regain its Constitutional power to raise Armies.

Fact: Ordinary prudent men and their families do not call an insurance premium a waste. The wasteful acts are those which would provide no insurance to preserve our way of life and this marvelous country which is ours. It is comparing apples and bananas to compare the money for this purpose with money which could be used for other purposes. Any mature student of the political processes knows to not appropriate money for one program does not appropriate money for some other program. It is normal good business, as well as Congressional practice to have each program stand on its own

merits. When you knock off one appropriation, that money does not go elsewhere in the appropriations handled by some other Committee.

Once again, it is a nonsense issue to make a claim that for Congress to maintain a standby draft system whose induction authority depends upon a specific Congressional enactment, is for Congress to lose control of its power to raise Armies. It is in fact a prudent and thoughtful exercise of its power to raise Armies.

Question, "Why should the Defense Department be interested in repeal?"

NCRD urges: If those in the Defense Department do not support the destruction of the Selective Service System, it shows their heart is not in the all volunteer approach proving that the military leaders of today do not rate with those of the 40's, who had to learn their leadership skills in forces manned solely by volunteers in World War II.

Fact: Where were these people in World War II? Twelve million men were drafted—not volunteers. It is a gross insult to claim that our present-day leaders do not rate with those of the 40's. In fact, they were leaders in the 40's. They learned their leadership skills in an Army of Americans—volunteers and draftees alike. The quality of the troops involved then as now had nothing to do with being a draftee or a volunteer. It is also an insult to the quality of the magnificent troops who served our country in World War II, Korea and Vietnam, mostly draftees, or do these people mean that the difficulty of leading volunteers is such that leadership skills thus learned are enhanced? The thought occurs, perhaps they never served at all themselves and have no firsthand experience at all.

Question, "Why should the President be interested in repeal?"

NCRD states: For reasons mentioned above, the President's interest in such repeal stems from a desire to show that he means business about all volunteer forces.

Fact: The President and the Pentagon leaders, making strenuous efforts to achieve an all volunteer force, premised their action to get such a force upon the fact that there would be a standby Selective Service System. This standby mode of operation for the Selective Service System was part and parcel of the Gates Commission recommendation to seek an all volunteer peacetime force. This fact seems to be conveniently forgotten by the NCRD and its adherents.

Question, "Will draft repeal bills be introduced in this session of Congress?"

NCRD says: "Yes".

Fact: Yes, in the first and last responses only does the NCRD give an answer with a reasonable resemblance to accuracy.

A VICTORY OF SORTS

HON. CLAIR W. BURGENER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. BURGENER. Mr. Speaker, the Wall Street Journal carried an editorial on April 17 which I think deserves attention, and I would like to have it printed in the RECORD for all to read:

A VICTORY OF SORTS

We see House Republicans won a key procedural vote in the wage-price control battle yesterday. They back a year's extension of the President's discretionary powers over prices and wages, but a Democratic-controlled committee brought out a bill to roll prices, rents and interest rates but not wages back to the level of January 10.

Frankly, we like the Democratic bill better. Since it amounts to the legislation of mass bankruptcy, the President would have to veto it. Then his wage-price powers would expire at the end of the month and maybe the economy could settle down. (Distortion note: the recent increase in industrial prices "may" have been due partly to business "anticipation" of a new wage-price freeze, a Treasury official says.)

The Democratic leadership, though, decided to "compromise" by rolling prices only back to March 16 instead of January 10. The procedural tilting will keep this proposal from reaching the floor, and this rated a plus for the Republican-backed extension. So far as we can understand it, the theory is that Congress can be depended upon to vote down the utterly preposterous so long as it doesn't have a chance to pass the merely preposterous.

WELFARE SCANDAL—XV

HON. VERNON W. THOMSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, it seems that no matter how much money we spend to help our less fortunate neighbors, the welfare system does not encourage them to help themselves. Despite billions spent, we find some families are recurring or continuing recipents of public largesse.

The Milwaukee Sentinel recently ran a series of articles by two of its investigative reporters, Miss Gene Cunningham and Mr. Stuart Wilk. They found welfare fraud, mismanagement of the welfare department, and failure of many recipients to use the public moneys provided to improve their condition as intended.

Today I am inserting the 15th segment of the series which explores the squalid living conditions self-imposed on many welfare families.

Congress must come to grips with this problem. On one hand we have continuing and mounting evidence of the failure of the big brother approach. On the other we can see that many homemakers lack even rudimentary knowledge of the mental and physical problems attendant to the conditions they force upon their families. It is a scandalous situation that demands our early attention.

WELFARE POOR HOUSEKEEPER

(By Gene Cunningham and Stuart Wilk)

A welfare check can put food on the table but it can do nothing to keep garbage off the floor and filth out of a house.

A number of welfare families are living in self-made squalor.

Their homes are piled with dirty clothes, garbage, debris and filth—a menace to health and a fire hazard. It is also a violation of city code punishable in court.

One welfare mother learned that earlier this month.

She was fined $100 for failing to keep her home in clean and sanitary condition. The fine was stayed to give her time to haul out the debris and clean house.

The case came to the attention of city building inspectors in January. After an inspection of the home, an inspector reported:

"Mrs. ——— has a housekeeper paid by the welfare department to clean house. The housekeeper just left and the place is filthy.

"There is garbage on the floor in the kitchen, living room and bedrooms. It appears that all that was done was to sweep the garbage to one side to provide walking space . . ."

The inspector notified the welfare department's homemaking section of the conditions he had found and also talked to the woman's caseworker.

"Caseworker says Mrs. ——— has been a continual problem. She does not work and is not ill. Housekeeping neglect not justified. Case being turned over to Child Protective Services."

The inspector later reinspected the home to see if the woman had done the necessary cleaning. He reported:

"Two bags of garbage in kitchen, living room. Garbage scattered over floor and furniture. . . Gerbel or hamster in room. Room reeks of urine and animal feces. . . ."

Later, he attempted further reinspections but was refused admission to the house. The only recourse was to take the woman to court for a violation of the city code requiring that dwelling units be kept in clean and sanitary condition.

PLEADS GUILTY

The woman, a young South Side mother with six children, appeared in court March 2. At first she had pleaded not guilty but then changed her plea to guilty.

"She had an attorney represent her in court. . . When it was over she wrote him a check for his fee," a building inspection official said.

Relatively few welfare mothers end up in court for bad housekeeping.

Building inspectors make every effort to correct the conditions through the welfare department and avoid court proceedings, said Robert Kuells, assistant supervisor of the Enforcement Division of the city building inspection office.

Actually, there's nothing a judge can do to make a woman clean her house, and when she's on welfare she can't very well be fined, Kuells said.

LITTLE DONE

There's also little the welfare department can or does do.

The department provides homemaker services to assist and teach women in housekeeping when they learn of poor housekeeping practices by recipients. But some women refuse such services.

"When I get sent out, I knock on the door and tell them who I am and that I'm from the welfare department. If the woman says she won't let me in, I say 'thank you' and I leave," one homemaking aide said.

Another welfare mother will be in court next month for housekeeping practices, or lack of them.

A building inspector served her with an order to clean house early in February. As of last week, nothing had been done; the house was still littered and dirty.

JOINED OWNER

After being refused entry for reinspection, the inspector finally got back in late last month with the owner of the house accompanying him.

"Found housekeeping very poor. All rooms littered and unclean," the inspector said. "Piles of clothes and scattered clothes everywhere. Garbage overflowing in the kitchen. Piles and ground-in dog dirt throughout unit.

"Floors not swept or washed in weeks. All rooms cluttered with personal belongings. Found it difficult to walk through attic. Piles of clothes, rags, broken furniture, papers and junk. . . . Bad fire hazard," the inspector reported.

He also said that he talked to the woman's caseworker and found that the woman attends the University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee all day.

HELP OFFERED

He said the casework told him that she had referred the woman to the homemaking

section for help "but couldn't say if she was getting any help."

A later reinspection of the house showed no change, the inspector reported.

On that occasion, he said, he talked to the woman and she told him that arrangements had been made for her to buy a house under the federal 235 housing program.

She said "she was going to wait till she moved before cleaning," the inspector reported.

One welfare mother living in a ramshackle building on the city's North Side showed a Sentinel reporter through her apartment.

"I need more beds," the woman declared.

FEARS SCRUBBING

"And I'm afraid to scrub the floors. It's so cold in here they wouldn't dry and the kids would all get sick," she said.

The filth and stench of the place were overwhelming.

There was a pool of urine on the bathroom floor running into the kitchen. The kitchen floor was littered with garbage and trash. In the kitchen doorway was a pile of fecal matter.

The bedrooms were piled with dirty clothes, rags and junk. The beds were uncovered, dirty mattresses piled with more clothes and rags.

The children—10 of them of assorted ages—were playing or wandering around the apartment in various stages of dress.

RECEIVED GRANTS

The woman already had received grants from the welfare department for 4 beds and, in the next three months, would get grants for 10 more.

Certainly not all bad housekeepers are welfare recipients, nor are all welfare recipients bad housekeepers.

A reporter toured the home of another North Side welfare family that was immaculately clean. Yet the house had been condemned and was scheduled to be demolished.

The furnishings were modest but well cared for. There was no dirt, litter or odor.

CO-OPERATION CITED

When building inspectors report housekeeping violations to the welfare department, the homemaking section co-operates in trying to get them corrected, Kuells said.

A homemaking aide is sent out to help the woman clean and teach her how to clean properly, Kuells said.

Once a house is cleaned and in compliance, then building inspection cancels its orders against the woman tenant and steps out of the picture, he said.

While the welfare department has no program to teach housekeeping as such to welfare mothers living in rented homes, it does send in aides for a "teach and motivate" program when housekeeping violations are discovered.

MANY REQUESTS

The department gets about 200 requests a month for homemaking aides and about 20 of those are requests made under the teach and motivate program, a department official said.

If housekeeping conditions are so bad that they endanger life and health, the case is referred to the protective services section, he said.

How many welfare families may be living in the filth and litter of neglected housekeeping no one knows or would estimate. But such conditions are not uncommon.

There are cities with programs similar to Alcoholics Anonymous, that teach housekeeping, said Alex P. LeGrand, deputy city building inspector.

When housekeeping violators are taken to court, the judge can sentence them to take part in the program, he said. They are taught proper housekeeping practices and, hopefully, they are motivated to carry them out, LeGrand said.

FACT VERSUS FICTION

HON. SAM STEIGER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, recently a consensus plan of the insurance industry was criticized on the floor of the Senate because its no-fault plan "only" fully compensates 98.5 percent of all injured persons. It was alleged that this plan does not take into account the future earnings for the seriously injured and killed. A DOT study—Economic Consequences of Auto Accident Injuries—was cited as the basis for the attack on this plan.

The economic consequences study is replete with warnings about the speculative nature of the projections of future losses, the substantial errors in classifying the various individuals, the arbitrary criteria used for defining serious injury and the candid admission that "the study does not provide reliable estimates of aggregates."

But it was assumed—contrary to the statements of its authors—that this study represented approximately 500,000 fatalities and seriously injured persons.

The fact is that the scope of this study is considerably more narrow than these statements would imply. This is not a study of 500,000 persons, nor even 5,000. These extrapolations are actually based on interviews with only a mere 1,376 accident victims or their survivors. This relatively small sample is subdivided into dozens of smaller categories, so that the number of persons falling into many of these categories are so low as to have little credibility. Yet this study blows up the results obtained from subsamples as small as 13 persons into national proportions, and conclusions are drawn based on such data.

Mr. Speaker, it is most interesting to note that the record of the Senate Commerce Committee hearings on auto insurance reform does contain a thoughtful critique and analysis of the economic consequences study which clearly shows why continued misuse of this study only impairs the progress of needed auto insurance reform.

Most importantly, the mentioned criticism seems to totally ignore the fact that the States are really doing something about auto insurance reform. The fact is that over one-third of the Nation's population—actually more than 34 percent—are now covered by some type of no-fault law.

Some 15 States have already moved in this area—Minnesota, Massachusetts, Delaware, Florida, Oregon, South Dakota, Connecticut, Maryland, Virginia, New Jersey, Michigan, New York, Arkansas, Utah, and Kansas. Thirteen States including my own State have pending no-fault bills which have passed at least one of their legislative houses or are being debated on the floor.

The fact is that State legislators are enacting plans which are geared to the real life problems and expectations of their constituency and not the very questionable assumptions of a very small study.

Mr. Speaker, real progress is being made in this vital area. It is time to recognize this State movement.

Fact, not fiction, is that needed no-fault auto insurance reform is taking place right now at the State level.

Where it belongs—close to those most concerned.

VIOLENCE BREEDING VIOLENCE

HON. WILLIAM J. KEATING

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, currently the controversy at Wounded Knee, S. Dak., has captured the attention of the media. Millions of Americans watching the evening news are witnesses to armed Indians on horseback patrolling the village while armed Federal forces surround the site with military equipment.

Tragically, the scene is set in 1973 and it is not staged for the benefit of Hollywood moviegoers.

The guns are real, the Indians in earnest and the weapons deadly.

Only the greatest amount of patience and forbearance has prevented the loss of human life at the scene. An errant shot, a lost temper, or a malicious participant could turn the situation into a human tragedy of immense proportions.

Certainly the American Indian has grievances which are just, and needs and rights which deserve action on the part of the American Government.

A recent opinion poll found a majority of Americans sympathetic to Indians as a group and felt they had not received their share of American opportunities and benefits.

However, it is extremely doubtful whether a majority of these same Americans feel that the use of violence is justifiable in the furtherance of Indian claims.

On the contrary, the principles of American democracy call for the use and exploration of all avenues of change—public opinion, voting, legislation, new leadership, negotiations, education—without turning to or depending upon violence to accomplish specific goals.

Last November, the same group of militant Indians seized control of the Bureau of Indian Affairs Building in Washington, D.C., and destroyed and stole most of the contents of the building during their stay.

The failure to adequately prosecute the leaders and participants on that occasion no doubt encouraged the additional acts of violence subsequently committed by this same group of miliant Indians.

When these Indians discovered they could seize a building in Washington, D.C., cause several million dollars damage and escape without prosecution, they proceeded to create incidents at Custer, S. Dak., and Wounded Knee, S. Dak.

The dispossession of people from their stores and homes is a crime. The use of firearms to threaten or injure others is

a crime. And the refusal to disarm and disband at the order of a duly appointed law enforcement official is also a crime.

The perpetrators of these acts should be held responsible and should face prompt and thorough prosecution.

Only when the connection between crime and punishment is made through competent prosecution and swift and fair trials will individuals and groups be dissuaded from lawless acts.

Group crimes which are not spontaneous, such as these organized takeovers of buildings and towns are planned and premeditated by leaders who have only disdain for laws and the rights of others.

When participants are convinced in advance that they will be held accountable for their crimes, no matter how righteous their cause, they will be less likely to destroy property, detain and injure people, and otherwise demonstrate contempt for law and society.

This administration under the leadership of President Nixon has waged an increasingly successful attack on crime. The latest FBI figures show that the growth rate for serious crime has been reduced to 1 percent. This is the lowest rate since 1960.

Since January 1969, Federal assistance for State and local law enforcement has increased from over $100 million to over $1 billion. Some 40,000 law enforcement officers are being trained in the control and prevention of drug abuse. More than 1,200 State and local police officers will graduate from the new FBI Academy and projected Federal assistance next year will grow to $1.2 billion.

Nonetheless, these massive efforts will be negated in large measure if militants throughout the country believe they can engage in lawless acts with impunity.

What we must recognize as reality is the infectious nature of violence and disrespect for law amongst groups who believe that they will not be called upon to pay the penalty for their crimes.

As a cosponsor of speedy trial legislation and a strong believer in competent prosecution, I would urge my colleagues to support legal efforts to effectively deal with lawbreakers as quickly as possible.

Failure to act decisively with the Indians leads to additional militant Indian violence. Prison riots often spark similar riots. And urban violence also has a tendency to become repetitive.

I would encourage my colleagues to condemn violence as a destroyer of liberty, an imprisonment of freedom, and a curse upon a democratic society. Our efforts should be directed at insuring that American justice is speedy and fair and insure that the grievances of different groups be met at civilized levels of human behavior.

REBUILDING SHOULD WAIT

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, in an effort to avoid tax increases, slow inflation, and balance the budget, a wide variety of reductions have been made in Federal spending. Entire programs, such as the Water Bank program, which I introduced, have been eliminated in the name of economy, yet there are proposals for massive aid to North Vietnam.

How many of our Minnesota Sixth Congressional District people feel about this matter is reflected in an excellent editorial written by Editor Scott Schoen in the Redwood Gazette.

With your permission, and for the edification of my colleagues, I insert Scott's editorial in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point:

REBUILDING SHOULD WAIT

It qualifies as mercenary, but practical, to propose that this country postpone applications for any rebuilding of the cities and the economy of North Vietnam for five years, and make it conditional even then on good behavior.

There are several reasons why this would be an excellent procedure, first of which is this nation's balance of payments, which can only be worsened by pouring money for reconstruction into areas our bombs were so recently destroying.

Another, and these are not necessarily in order of importance, it would give allies of the Hanoi government opportunity, if not incentive, to do what they would be silly to do while we were ready and willing, although not so able financially, to do. Russia and Red China have encouraged the North Vietnamese; let them now give them solid comforts.

With the prospect of U.S. aid based on good behavior, quite possibly the status quo in South Vietnam, in which we have invested heavily in lives, limbs and fortunes, might remain undisturbed long enough to permit something of democracy to survive. The alternative may be our do-gooders giving their all in the north while North Vietnamese undermine and negate what little has been accomplished in the south. Hold off for five years, and if nothing has been gained, at least no more has been invested in what may have been, from the first, folly.

There will be those with guilt complexes to whom the slightest delay in reconstruction, gratus, of what we paid fabulous sums to destroy will be bothersome. Perhaps if it is acceptable, as proposed, to designate that $1 from one's income tax payment shall go to a political party, it may also be possible to assign part of an income tax payment to North Vietnamese reconstruction. It should be inherent in any such plan that the amount of any payment is to be subtracted from whatever federal revenue sharing is due the donor's home community.

The precedent has been set, as we will be reminded frequently, of rebuilding what our bombs destroy; German and Japan being the principal examples. It is time to break that precedent, lest urban renewal programs—of which most nations have need—be commenced the world over by going to war with generous old Uncle Sam.

CHESHIRE, CONNECTICUT—ALL AMERICA CITY

HON. RONALD A. SARASIN

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. SARASIN. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to address and inform my colleagues of the recent announcement by the Saturday Evening Post in cosponsorship with the National Municipal League, designating Cheshire, Connecticut as a Special Mention All America City.

At a time when we see the problems of the cities greatly increasing, it is indeed encouraging to find that some cities in an attempt to better their situation are recognized for their efforts.

This award is a recognition of Cheshire's outstanding progress through citizen-led programs. The initiatives of the Jaycees to volunteer their time to counsel the juvenile inmates of the Cheshire Reformatory, so that upon release they will be prepared to enter society as responsive citizens is but an example of their accomplishments and as such is indeed worthy of praise.

Today's cities are the product of an industrial revolution that centralized both residential and commercial functions in one place. This award clearly shows that, as Shakespeare said, "the people are the city."

OPPOSES BLUE RIDGE POWER PROJECT

HON. WILMER MIZELL

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. MIZELL. Mr. Speaker, for more than 4 years now, I have been actively involved in an effort to block construction of the controversial Blue Ridge power project proposed to be built on the New River at the North Carolina-Virginia border.

This project has generated considerable opposition, especially among the people who live in the proposed project area. Many of these are my constituents, living in Ashe and Alleghany Counties, N.C.

As some of my colleagues will remember, last year I authored a section of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act amendments designed to restrict the size of the project and the amount of environmental destruction involved.

My amendment provided that no hydroelectric power projects could include water storage for "pollution-dilution" unless the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency specifically recommended its inclusion.

This "pollution-dilution" technique, in the Blue Ridge project, would involve the inundation of 40,000 acres of land in North Carolina and Virginia to provide a source of clean water for diluting industrial pollution 250 miles downstream in and around Charleston, W. Va.

EPA 2 weeks ago refused to recommend the use of "pollution-dilution" in the Blue Ridge project, citing the fact that the chemical plants in Charleston had not advanced any argument at all in support of the contention that "pollution-dilution" was needed to augment at-source abatement efforts.

This was one of several major points raised by EPA in its comments on the draft environmental impact statement prepared for this project by the staff of the Federal Power Commission.

I filed my own comments on the environmental impact statement, criticizing the fact that the FPC staff recommended keeping the project at its currently proposed dimensions.

In addition, I am continuing to push my legislation, introduced January 3, to prohibit the construction of the project entirely, and I am hopeful that action will be taken on my bill later in this session.

For the benefit of my colleagues, I now insert in the RECORD the text of a news release I distributed on April 10, 1973, outlining my comments on the EPC staff's draft environmental impact statement on Blue Ridge:

WASHINGTON, D.C.—U.S. Representative Wilmer (Vinegar Bend) Mizell (R.-N.C.) Monday took strong exception to a Federal Power Commission staff recommendation that the Blue Ridge power project be built at its currently-proposed dimensions, and he called for extensive revision of the staff's draft environmental impact statement on the project.

Mizell, a staunch opponent of the Blue Ridge project since 1969, filed his comments on the environmental statement with the FPC today, calling the report "little more than a compilation of spurious arguments and inadequate research."

The environmental statement, ordered by the FPC last November and submitted in January, recommended building the Blue Ridge project at essentially the same specifications as those called for with the inclusion of water storage for "pollution-dilution," but said the water storage should be used instead for power generation, flood control and recreational purposes.

Mizell, who authored a section of the Federal Water Pollution Control Act Amendments of 1972 prohibiting the use of "pollution-dilution" unless it was specifically recommended by the Environmental Protection Agency, called the staff recommendation "a poorly substantiated attempt to circumvent (the law) rather than deal with its intended purpose."

He said it was his intent "as the author of this amendment to see the Blue Ridge project reduced to its original, pre-pollution-dilution specifications."

"Changing the basis for this environmental destruction from 'pollution-dilution' to 'power crisis' does not lessen or eliminate the environmental destruction itself," Mizell said, "and the amount of environmental destruction proposed in the Blue Ridge project is massive and terrible indeed."

The project calls for flooding 40,000 acres in Ashe and Alleghany counties in North Carolina and Grayson County, Virginia, displacing hundreds of residents, and leaving the scenic area blighted by mudflats much of the year.

Mizell said "staff's recitation of the need for power and power sources is not contested, but it is also hardly relevant to this proceeding, certainly not to the extent that it would require a doubling of the size and expense of the Blue Ridge project from what was originally envisioned and proposed."

He said the Appalachian Power Company, which applied for a license to construct the project in 1965, anticipated and projected "to the most accurate degree possible the power needs of the nation and the company's role in helping to meet those needs over a period of the next fifty years and more." (The project license, if granted, would be in effect for fifty years.)

He said the decade-long delay in ruling on the license application bears no significance on those projections, and staff's contention that the delay affects those projections so profoundly as to double the size of this project is ludicrous in the extreme.

Mizell said that the FPC,, "while responsible for insuring an adequate supply of energy for the U.S.," is also bound by the Federal Power Act to do so "with the greatest possible economy and with regard to the proper utilization for conservation of natural resources."

He said the reasons advanced for building the larger project "are weaker now than ever before," since pollution-dilution, the original goal of the larger project, was assumed by the Staff to be impermissible in the case of Blue Ridge.

Mizell recommended that the FPC "order a comprehensive revision of this draft, with sufficient time to make the project of value."

He said the revision should include a more detailed analysis of national power needs as they relate to Blue Ridge, an appraisal of such adverse environmental effects as housing displacement; a report on popular opinion among project area residents; and a reevaluation of the original, smaller project proposal as an alternative to the modified project and in light of the Mizell amendment.

REPORT FROM THE HONORABLE EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN

HON. EDWIN D. ESHLEMAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. ESHLEMAN. Mr. Speaker, I will be sending my constituents a newsletter. I am including the contents of that newsletter in the RECORD at this point:

REPORT FROM YOUR CONGRESSMAN,
ED ESHLEMAN

WOUNDED KNEE

There are many of us who are sympathetic with the plight of the American Indian, and who want to see changes in Government policies toward the Indian, but who do not support the kind of terrorism and blackmail that have been so much a part of the present day occupation of Wounded Knee.

Of course, the Wounded Knee area was picked by the militants for its publicity value. There are emotional ties to the "Massacre" that occurred there in 1890. But as with so many of the falsehoods that have highlighted the situation in South Dakota, even the reason for picking the site seems to be based on myth rather than reality.

In his book, "Crimsoned Prairie," historian S. L. A. Marshall gives a factual account of what happened at Wounded Knee in 1890. It seems 340 Indians surrendered to the 7th Cavalry on December 28. Next morning, the Indians still had not given up their arms. A detachment of cavalry was sent in to search for weapons. One Sioux, Black Fox, took a rifle from under his blanket and began firing. Others followed his lead.

"There is no doubt," writes Marshall, "Who started that day's fight, though it is often called a massacre. . . . Deliberate Sioux action, so timed as to indicate that it had been well plotted, initiated the slaughter."

When the shooting stopped, half the Indians were dead. But 31 soldiers also had been killed. It is this cavalry loss which is, according to Marshall, "Too commonly disregarded or treated as insignificant by Americans bent on making Wounded Knee something it definitely was not."

REMEMBER AND REFORM

As we think toward our bicentennial year of 1976, there is a good case to be made for having returned as much power as possible to local hands by that time. The case is presented as an indictment against George III in the Declaration of Independence. It states, "He has erected a multitude of new offices and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance."

WINDS OF CHANGE

Congress is not known for its willingness to revise its rules or reform its way of doing things. But despite that reputation, there are signs that the winds of change are blowing on Capitol Hill. Some of the practices that have long disturbed people about the legislative process are on their way out or have already been eliminated.

Seniority is no longer an automatic assurance of legislative leadership. Committee chairmen are subject to being voted out by their colleagues.

Committee meetings are now open unless the members of the committee take specific action to close a particular session to the public.

The old practice of hiding real legislative decision-making by using the unrecorded teller vote is dead. Teller votes have been made record votes for which the Congressman is then answerable.

VETERANS VISIT

The picture at the right shows Representatives of the Veterans of Foreign Wars who dropped by my Washington office to talk about legislative issues. The veterans are one of many groups that have discussed legislation with me in recent weeks.

One of the special concerns of the VFW was the amnesty issue. It occurs to me that here is an area where there is no apparent generation gap. By overwhelming numbers the young people I've been talking to and hearing from oppose, as the veterans oppose, unconditional amnesty for draft dodgers and deserters.

THEN THEY SAID

In case you thought that Jane Fonda, Father Berrigan and the Washington Post were the ultimate spokesmen for truth about Vietnam, you might be interested in what they had to say about our POWs who took another viewpoint and even sounded patriotic.

Jane Fonda, who had told us to expect the POWs to come off the planes shouting anti-American slogans and condemning the President, revised her story and reminded us that these men were more like murderers than heroes.

Father Berrigan forthrightly described the POWs as "war criminals."

A Washington Post writer tipped us off to the fact that the POW episode was just another Pentagon plot.

Before they're through they may convince us that fiction is stranger than truth.

AL QUIE

The guest editorial in this newsletter was written by Congressman Albert H. Quie of Minnesota's First District. Al Quie is the ranking minority member of the Education and Labor Committee on which I serve, and his views on reforming Federal financing of education are receiving a great deal of attention in the 93rd Congress.

GUEST EDITORIAL

The House Education and Labor Committee is now working on revisions of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

Right now that act is pouring $1.6 billion into school districts with heavy concentrations of youngsters from low-income families. "Economically disadvantaged" students are counted—but not the educationally disadvantaged.

To decide how much money each school district receives, the Office of Education still is using 1960 census figures of low-income population. Those figures were six years old

when the act went into effect. Now they are nearly 14 years old. The children originally counted now are launching their own families.

Even if we went to 1970 census figures next year, the income information would be four years obsolete.

Aid goes on the basis of families with annual income under $2,000. Today there are 47 percent fewer families at that income level in the Nation. The number in Minnesota, for example, has declined 59 percent. In Pennsylvania the drop is 42 percent. A few States actually have gained low-income population.

A 1970 study by Dr. Gene Glass of the Laboratory of Educational Research, University of Colorado, showed 68 percent of fourth grade children from families below $2,000 in annual income had severe reading difficulties.

Significantly enough, 34.8 percent of the students from families with incomes between $4,400 and $8,000 were equally handicapped. More than 27 percent of those in the $8,000 to $12,000 income bracket had similar reading difficulties.

To put it another way, the Glass study indicates that less than one-quarter of all students with educational deficiencies in reading come from the below $2,000 family income group on which ESEA Title I aid is primarily based.

Why not distribute funds on the basis of actual educational need? After all, that is the condition we are attempting to treat.

I have introduced legislation as a substitute for this outmoded system. Through testing of reading and mathematics skills of a nationally drawn sample of students, it would be possible to establish each state's relative ranking and each school's entitlement.

Each school would have the responsibility of establishing realistic performance goals for its students. Parents would be heavily involved and this would make schools more accountable for performance.

Through use of such a goals-oriented system, I believe we could establish objectives for strengthening basic education that would be as valid in Alaska as in Florida.

It would bring more individualized instruction with new challenges—and new satisfactions—for teacher, parent and child.

BUDGET BREAKDOWN

With all the talk today about the Federal budget, you might be interested in the chart at the right [not printed in RECORD] which generally explains where the money comes from and where it goes.

Of course, the figures are based upon the Nixon administration's proposed budget, which is subject to change by the Congress. We are in the process of determining priorities that may or may not end up being the same as those outlined by the President.

NEW ASSIGNMENTS

The way things are going, Henry Kissinger's next journey may be to Capitol Hill to arrange a ceasefire with Congress.

GOOD IDEA

The Ephrata area senior high school sent me a form to fill out which registered me as a part of their community resource file. This file provides names of local people who can be used in the classroom as experts on various subjects. They also say that resource contributions might include supplying materials or displays as learning experiences.

I was happy to volunteer to participate in the program as someone versed in government, based, of course, on the limitations of my congressional schedule. If I can't make it, I indicated that one of my assistants could be made available.

The whole idea impresses me because it starts with finding out who is willing to share their experiences with students and can result in the presentation of valuable personal insight in nearly every field of study.

ARMENIAN-AMERICANS TO DONATE BLOOD IN THANKS FOR U.S. ASSISTANCE

HON. GEORGE E. DANIELSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. DANIELSON. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call to the attention of the House that Americans of Armenian heritage will pledge and donate blood to the American Red Cross during the week of April 24 as an expression of their appreciation for the relief assistance this country gave to Armenia in the 1800's and early 1900's.

During the week of April 24 every year, Armenians commemorate the time when hundreds of thousands of Armenians were massacred, and Americans of Armenian descent donate their blood to repay the American people for their outpouring of assistance to Armenia long ago. As one member of the Armenian National Committee put it, "If blood is to be spilled, it should be for a good cause." Indeed, this is one of the best causes imaginable, because this selfless gesture by Armenian-Americans will help others live.

This nationwide appeal to the 400,000 Americans of Armenian descent is being coordinated through the American Red Cross by the Armenian Youth Federation, the Armenian Relief Society, the Armenian Apostolic Church, the Armenian Revolutionary Federation, the Armenian Cultural Associations of America, the Hairnik Association, Armenian newspapers in this country, and by many other national and local Armenian groups.

American aid to Armenians goes back to 1896 when Clara Barton, founder of the American Red Cross, led a relief expedition to the Near East to aid the victims of starvation. This assistance continued into the early decades of this century as massive relief programs for the Armenians were organized by many groups and organizations in this country. Cooperative relief efforts were conducted by the American Red Cross and the Armenian Relief Society beginning in 1916, and in 1919 Congress established the Near East Relief organization, which distributed vast amounts of aid in that part of the world.

During those years, orphanages were operated to care for the children left without families, ten villages were built to house refugees, vocational training programs were developed to enable people to learn skills such as weaving or embroidery, and feeding stations were established to ward off starvation.

Today, the Armenian Relief Society continues to aid people both in the United States and abroad through educational efforts, operation of orphanages and summer camps, provision of welfare assistance to families of Armenian descent and by continuing to acquaint young people with the history of their ancestors.

I am sure that I can speak for all the people of our Nation in expressing my deep appreciation to the Americans of Armenian descent who organized this effort, and who will be donating their blood during the week of April 24.

REPRESENTATIVE LENT COMMEMORATES THE COURAGE OF THE WARSAW GHETTO JEWS

HON. NORMAN F. LENT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. LENT. Mr. Speaker, because April 29 marks the 30th anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising, I would like to take this opportunity to mark that occasion and salute once again those brave people who gave their lives for the principles of freedom and as defenders of the Jewish faith.

The ruthless victories of the German armies in the early years of World War II resulted in the corraling of much of European Jewry under the inhumane Nazis and their sympathizers. From the Atlantic to the Volga and from Norway to Sicily, Jews were robbed of all human rights—their property was confiscated and most of them were herded into ghettos and concentration camps marked for future inhuman deportation to Poland. Adolf Hitler's scheme made Poland the site for what he described as his "final solution to the Jewish problem."

But in 1941, Hitler became impatient with previous methods of Jewish extermination which included mass shootings, systematic starvation, and disease. He deemed them too slow to suit his brutal fancy, and ordered the German Government to embark on a new plan of genocide, and those whose will to resist had been sapped by prolonged starvation and disease were often unaware of their impending fate until the last moment.

It is not difficult to understand why, under these circumstances, very few Jewish communities across Europe rose against this merciless aggression and why most of them turned to flight and hiding as the only means to escape the Nazi horror.

But neither is it difficult to comprehend the human spirit which ultimately dictated that these brave people stand and fight, even in the face of overwhelming odds and in the face of certain death. So it was at Warsaw in the spring of 1943.

At one time, prior to the German invasion of Poland, the Warsaw ghetto clutched a half a million people, but the murders had taken their toll and by April 1943, only 40,000 were left—a small pitiful unarmed camp, hardly capable of mounting any resistance

But then came the deadly deportation order, directing all Jews to assemble, surely in preparation for the final journey to probably extinction. It was then that the people of the Warsaw ghetto rose in fury against their tormentors—to wage a war for their survival knowing full well any chance of victory was minute. But looking back, who, I ask, could have followed any other course?

The Germans tried to quell these brave

people, first with clubs and small arms only to be beaten back. Then came the storm troops with large guns and flamethrowers, yet the Warsaw Jews continued to fight on with a passion that astonished everyone. The Nazis even went so far as to promise future good treatment, but the password of the Warsaw ghetto was "no surrender"—and on that promise, the Jews of Warsaw perished, almost to the man.

Thirty years later, we have all learned the lessons of World War II—we have learned that diplomacy is far preferable to armed conflict. But we have also learned that in the face of certain madness, there is no substitute for unselfish heroism as a lesson to the madmen of the future.

So today, let us not forget the heroes of the Warsaw ghetto, who, without a sliver of a chance for survival, beat off the Nazi murderers for nearly a month and in so doing supplied the cornerstone for the construction of the Jewish state of Israel. And let us not forget either that the password of the Warsaw ghetto—"no surrender"— lives on today in Israel and we can join in collective hope that it will never die.

REPORTER/TAXPAYER GLAD TO BE OUT OF VIETNAM

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, Bob McCarthy, writing in a recent issue of the Penn Hills Progress, notes with great substantiation that most Americans feel no great surge of emotion over our getting out of Vietnam.

This attitude reflects the general relief that we have finally unleashed this albatross from our necks and possibly we can now get back to the many domestic problems facing us.

I find myself in solid agreement with Mr. McCarthy's sentiments and would like to introduce his article in the RECORD at this time for the information of my colleagues:

RELIEF INSTEAD OF GRATITUDE OVER TRUCE

(By Bob McCarthy)

According to a recent wire service news report, President Nixon is disappointed that instead of an outward pouring of gratitude over the negotiated truce in Vietnam the American people are demonstrating only a great sense of relief.

He is correct in his reading of the American reaction. But why this should disturb him is beyond us.

Surely, despite his insistence that there be a peace with honor and now his claim that at last this has been achieved, as President he knows a great many Americans don't care what kind of peace it is as long as we can get our troops and prisoners of war out of the place.

The name of the game ever since the late Lyndon Johnson rode the Vietnam War right out of office has been to get out. Whether or not this truce holds up, and there's abundant evidence right now to suggest otherwise, America's overriding concern is that it must last long enough for the United States to make an orderly exit.

Even that may be hoping for too much. According to Newsweek Magazine, in the first few days of the so called truce the South Vietnamese forces have suffered 1,113 killed, 5,155 wounded and 900 missing. The report also estimates 6,487 North Vietnamese and Viet Cong deaths over the same period.

That's some truce.

In view of Southeast Asia's lousy track record on living up to past truce agreements, and the latest evidence that nothing has changed, the President should fully understand why Americans don't expect this "honorable peace" to last very long. They recognize the latest Paris agreement for what it really is . . . a cease fire to allow the United States time to get out before the fighting resumes. Nothing more.

Even if the truce should last longer than it now looks, there isn't much chance we'll accept this as "peace with honor." A great many of the President's countrymen find it hard to attach any honor to our involvement in this Vietnam mess. Their relief is over the opportunity to get untracked and wash our hands of the whole thing.

President Nixon is finding out for himself that there is precious little enthusiasm for maintaining an American presence there. Congress, above all, seems awfully stubborn about making a substantial withdrawal from the area. That's all a part of the relief over our exit and the determination that we won't get sucked in again.

Whatever the President's intentions, many of us view the request that we now help rebuild North Vietnam as part of a scheme to keep the North Vietnamese off the back of Thieu's regime down south by pouring dollars into rebuilding the north. We like the reaction of Senator Barry Goldwater. Let the Russians and Chinese who kept oiling the North Vietnamese war machinery pick up the tab for that.

Personally, this writer, speaking as a taxpayer, doesn't feel a dime's worth of obligation to either North or South Vietnam. We paid our price for this stupid war. In fact we overpaid it . . . in blood, money and machinery, and now we don't owe anyone (except the courageous Americans who fought there) a red cent.

So let's get out, either under a flag of truce, peace with honor, or whatever people want to call it. The important thing is to get our American boys back from harm's way so that when the fighting resumes in Vietnam as it inevitably will our guys aren't in the line of fire.

The next important thing is to stay out of there . . . permanently.

President Nixon should be content that history will give him high marks for achieving an end to this American folly in Southeast Asia. It will not ponder long over whether or not the terms of the settlement were honorable. For there is so precious little of that involved in the first place, it won't rate much of an historian's attention.

WOOL INCENTIVE PROGRAM TO COST NOTHING THIS YEAR

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, with wool and mohair prices holding up well thus far this year, it now appears likely there will be no payment to growers required for 1972.

The cost of the incentive program was rather high in 1971 when the average price of wool dropped to 19 cents per pound, the lowest in 33 years. But the average was 35 cents last year, and 1973 sales will probably be above the incentive level as established by the Secretary of Agriculture.

In order to provide a perspective of the way the program operates, and its objectives, I include a copy of a weekly newsletter on that subject:

WOOL INCENTIVE PROGRAM TO COST NOTHING THIS YEAR

Should there be a viable wool and mohair industry in this country? That is a recurring question which in 1954 was reflected in the National Wool Act whereby it became a national policy to seek an annual production level of 300 million pounds. Availability of raw wool had been declared an essential for national defense, since in time of war only domestically produced wool could be counted to meet our minimum requirements.

Due to low-cost foreign competition, domestic wool producers were in plenty of trouble in the early 1950's. A Tariff Commission study at that time found our domestic production costs to be about 10¢ below what low-cost competitors could produce and deliver it, including tariff, to our markets, and recommended addition of a 10-cent per pound import fee.

Instead, President Eisenhower proposed what became the Wool Incentive Act, whereby the Secretary of Agriculture would annually establish an incentive price level designed to encourage increased production of up to 300-million pounds, which since 1954 has been from 62 to 72 cents on wool.

The Wool Act provided for an annual incentive payment to growers of the percentage difference between the average annual domestic price and the incentive level.

In 1971 our wool and mohair prices were the lowest in 33 years, and the incentives, to approach the incentive level, were high. Wool prices that year averaged only 19¢; in 1972 it was 35¢, and this year (1973) no incentive payments are expected because of good market prices for both wool and mohair.

It should be pointed out that no incentive payments whatever can be made from U.S. appropriated funds. Such payments, if any, come exclusively from import tariffs imposed on imported competitive products. Thus, technically at least, Australian and New Zealand growers pick up the tab for most of the cost of financing our incentive program and payments made to individual U.S. growers.

The law prohibits more than 70 percent of the tariff generated revenue from ever being used to finance the incentive program. It is usually much less.

ROGERT W. MERGNER RECEIVES RED CROSS AWARD

HON. LESTER L. WOLFF

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. WOLFF. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to bring to the attention of my colleagues a noteworthy act of mercy undertaken by one of my constituents, Mr. Robert W. Mergner, 46–20 159th Street, Flushing, N.Y., who has been named to receive the Red Cross Certificate of Merit. This is the highest award given by the American Red Cross to a person who saves a life by using skills

learned in a Red Cross first aid, small craft, or water safety course. The certificate bears the signatures of the President of the United States, Honorary Chairman, and E. Roland Harriman, Chairman of the American National Red Cross. Presentation will be made by the American Red Cross in greater New York chapter, New York.

On August 21, 1972, Mr. Mergner, who has been trained in Red Cross first aid, was at home when he heard a neighbor screaming. Her 2-year-old son had fallen into the family swimming pool and had apparently drowned. When the child's mother removed him from the pool he was unconscious and not breathing. Mr. Mergner immediately began mouth-to-mouth resuscitation which he continued while the boy was transported to a hospital. The child survived. There is no doubt that Mr. Mergner's first aid knowledge and skill saved a life.

This action exemplifies the highest ideal of the concern of one human being for another who is in distress.

DRINAN OPPOSES NIXON MEDICARE AND MEDICAID CUTS

HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, on Monday, March 26, 1973, Senator MONDALE introduced with 50 cosponsors a resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the Nixon administration should not be allowed to cut the medicare and medicaid allocations and otherwise reduce the benefits and increase the cost of these health services for millions of older Americans. I commend Senator MONDALE for taking the lead in insuring that the Federal Government lives up to its promise of providing quality health care to all older Americans at a reasonable cost.

Congress passed the medicare bill in 1965 to assure quality health care for the millions of older Americans who depend primarily on social security benefits for their retirement income. The assumption was that the Federal Government should underwrite a health insurance program which would cover the majority of acute health care needs of older Americans, while not establishing a free medical care program. The President now seeks to substantially change this health insurance plan. He proposes to increase the charge to patents for the first day of hospitalization from $72 to a full hospital charge: the patient would be required to pay 10 percent of actual hospital costs between the 1st and 61st days—now free under medicare. Those covered under part B of medicare would have to pay the first $85 of bills for physicians' service—instead of the first $60, and 25 percent of everything above that—instead of 20 percent. "Low priority" medicaid services would be eliminated—including dental care for adults.

The President seems to have forgotten that millions of Americans have paid the added payroll tax resulting from the medicare program in good faith, expecting to receive benefits at the present level in case of serious illness. Disheartening as these proposed changes must be for those who are now paying for medicare with every paycheck, these changes strike hardest at those now retired who depend on medicare for protection against the financial ruin of hospitalization and other major medical expenses. These elderly Americans have no choice but to continue to pay the same premium, but receive less insurance coverage, and worse still, face the possibility of substantially higher medical costs to themselves if they become ill.

Since 1965, the first year in which medicare benefits were paid, hospital daily service charges have increased by 104 percent, and the inflation in health care costs shows no signs of slowing down. At the same time, the average income of elderly Americans has increased by an appreciably smaller amount. The result is that now, more than ever, millions of our Nation's elderly would be unable to meet major medical expenses without continuing Government help. But if the President's proposals become law, then our senior citizens eligible for medicare will be forced to pay for the cost increases in medical care over the present level—a burden they can ill afford. Worse, the President's proposals would virtually nullify the effect of the 20-percent increase in social security benefits passed by Congress just last year. In fact, with the added financial burden the President's proposals would cause, many elderly Americans will be worse off than before.

For the sake of a relatively minor reduction in Federal expenditures, the administration proposals will significantly increase the cost of medical care for millions of older Americans. Retired people living on fixed incomes, already hard hit by inflation, will see their coinsurance payments markedly increased without any protection against further inflation of health care costs. I believe the President's proposals to be unnecessary and of great potential harm. They must not go into effect.

Because of the great concern expressed to me as to the most unfortunate—and unwarranted—potential effects of the administration proposals, today I am introducing in the House of Representatives a measure similar to that of Senator MONDALE, which would express the sense of Congress in opposition to these proposed changes in medicare. The text of the resolution is as follows:

H. CON. RES. 204

Concurrent resolution expressing the opposition of the Congress to certain measures for the curtailment of benefits under the Medicare and Medicaid programs

Whereas, the cost of health care has accelerated at a rate faster than the rate of increase in the income of recipients of Medicare and Medicaid benefits; and

Whereas, the purpose of Medicare and Medicaid is to provide medical care for older Americans at a price they can afford; and

Whereas, any economies resulting from the proposed budget changes would not be reflected in a reduction in either the payroll tax or the monthly premium which finances these services; and

Whereas, in the Administration's proposed budget for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975, the amount allocated for the Medicare and Medicaid programs for such year is predicated upon the enactment of certain amendments to titles XVIII and XIX of the Social Security Act which amendments will be unduly burdensome on the elderly—those least able to pay: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that no amendments should be made to titles XVIII and XIX of the Social Security Act which would have the effect of—

(1) increasing the amount of the deductible, which is applicable (under part A of such title XVIII) with respect to the first day of inpatient hospital services received by a patient, to an amount equal to the average per diem cost of inpatient hospital services;

(2) imposing a coinsurance amount with respect to inpatient hospital services (under part A of such title XVIII) received after the first day a patient receives such services and prior to the 61st day he receives such services, equal to 10 per centum of the actual costs imposed for such services;

(3) reducing coverage for physicians' services (under part B of such title XVIII) by increasing the deductible applicable thereto from $60 to $85, and by increasing the patient's share of such costs, above the deductible, from 20 per centum to 25 per centum; or

(4) eliminating (under such title XIX) Federal financial participation with respect to costs, incurred under a State plan approved under such title, attributable to the provision of certain low-priority services (including dental care) to adults.

THE "RIGHT" TO CHEAP FOOD

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, high food prices are on nearly everyone's minds, but the sad part of it is, all too few people have a real understanding of our food prices in relation to the balance of our general economy.

One of the most lucid articles I have read on this subject is by Earl W. McMunn in the Ohio Farmer.

Because of the good sense contained in this article, I insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and highly recommend its reading to all of those concerned with food prices.

The article follows:

THE "RIGHT" TO CHEAP FOOD

Ours is a great food production system. Perhaps it is too good. It has lulled most Americans into believing that food production is almost automatic. That their incomes should rise, but that the price of farm products should not. And, that they should pay the grocery bills with an ever-decreasing share of their take-home pay.

This is the way it was for a good many years. Consumers got used to the idea. Twenty years ago the average consumer spent 25 percent of his take-home pay for food. By 1972 the percentage was down to about 16.

But, late in the year food prices did start to rise. Most conspicuous were increases in the price of beef. That is when farm product prices came under attack and the clamor has increased in volume. And few there are who know or care that food is still a bargain. Not many have the facts, and not many care. They wanted a culprit and were willing to heap the blame on farmers.

It's true that higher farm prices have been responsible for some of the food price increase of recent months. But, unless there's a better understanding about basic economics, consumers are in for a real jolt during the years ahead.

We could keep food prices from rising. It is not likely we will do so. It is a sure bet we will never keep retail prices from rising by clamping ceilings on prices of farm products.

The basic reason is obvious. Farmers get just about a third of each food dollar. The other two-thirds is the cost of getting food from the farm into the hands of consumers. And labor gets half of that total. Farm product prices move up and down in response to supply and demand. Labor rates move in one direction. That direction is upward. If farm product prices never again advanced by a single dollar, food prices would continue to rise!

Or, at today's levels, food prices could be cut back by only a third, even if all farm products were given away absolutely free! This is why we'll have to attack the other end of the problem if there is any real hope of stabilizing food prices. We need to look where most of the cost is added and this isn't on the farm.

The real truth is that almost everyone who deplores higher food prices had something to do with bringing them about. But few are willing to accept their share of the blame. It is more comfortable to point the finger at someone else. And, some of the biggest culprits are now shouting the loudest as they direct their attack away from themselves.

Who is really causing higher food prices? Look around and you will find them wherever you turn. They include labor leaders who use their monopoly powers to force wage increases in excess of gains in productivity. They include members of Congress who have voted for deficit spending with the inflation it creates. The culprits also include voters who make demands which lead to such irresponsible action.

The list doesn't stop here. It includes consumers who believe they should be provided with a never-ending supply of "free" maid services. And high on the list are consumer activists who make ill-informed demands for changes in farm management and technology under the guise of environmental improvement.

We know that deficit government spending is a major cause of inflation. That lawmakers are making our dollars less valuable when they spend more than they collect in taxes. This is the condition we have created in our federal government. And yet, some of the most irresponsible spenders in Congress now voice the greatest concern about rising food prices.

The truth is that off-farm incomes have kept ahead of farm income for most of the period since World War II. This is why we have had a cost-price squeeze in farming. We survived largely because of marvelous gains in farm productive efficiency. Average gains in productivity were well ahead of those for industry in general.

This was accomplished by use of new technology which depended upon a wide range of commercial inputs. They included greater use of fertilizer to improve crop yields, feed additives to improve livestock gains, pesticides to reduce insect damage, herbicides to combat weeds and a host of others. These products were not used because the farmer liked the stuff. All gained acceptance because they reduced production costs. And consumers reaped the benefits in lower food prices.

Now, most of these products are under attack by some group or other. A few have already been banned. Others are likely to follow. Much of the attack has been highly emotional and irresponsible in nature. Scientific evidence has been largely ignored. Overlooked is the fact that every product used in agriculture undergoes a vast amount of scientific testing before it is allowed on the market. And, that these products used as directed result in a food product which is safe and of high quality.

Some of the agitation is successful because of a federal law which says a food product is unsafe when it contains any detectable amount of certain substances. Modern laboratory techniques permit detection of amounts of less than half a part per trillion. Thus, there is an excuse for the legal ban even though there is no proof that the product would ever be harmful to anyone.

People leading the attacks on farm chemicals, growth stimulators and all the others claim they are motivated by concern for the welfare of people. What they don't understand, or fail to admit, is that they are helping drive food prices upward. They will reduce supplies. In many cases, quality also will be impaired. A head of wormy cabbage, for instance, isn't the most wholesome or appetizing!

One material, DES, was widely used as a feed additive in cattle rations. It increased feeding efficiency by as much as 10 percent. Yet, because traces were found in a few cattle livers, it was banned as a feed additive. Most lawmakers who favor bans on this and similar products probably see no connection with food prices. But the connection is there and it is becoming more apparent.

Weeds are a major reason for reduced crop yields, as every farmer knows. They may well cut production by 20 or 25 percent, often by more. Modern herbicides are the best and cheapest method of keeping them under control. Still, a lot of people don't see the connection between herbicides and food prices.

There have even been some who would ban or severely limit the use of chemical fertilizer. They don't understand that without fertilizer we could soon reduce crop production in this country by as much as a half.

Higher food prices are not the cause of inflation. They are a logical result. Deficit government spending creates inflation and will continue to do so until it is brought under control. Lawmakers who press for higher spending while crying about food prices are about as sensible as a man who would drive a car with the throttle pushed to the floorboard and the brake set!

Farmers and laborers each get about equal amounts out of each food dollar. But labor has been granted monopoly powers to force wages in one direction. That direction is upward. Farm product prices move up and down in response to changes in supply and the wishes of consumers. Irresponsible demands of environmentalists will continue to increase production costs and in some cases discourage production.

Until lawmakers and other decision makers understand these facts there is little reason for a reduction in food costs. There are many reasons why they should go higher.

Many consumers appear to believe they have a "right" to a plentiful food supply and at an ever-decreasing share of their take-home pay. This is not a right. It is a gift delivered by the bounty of our system of farming. It could be taken away by a succession of unwise decisions. The sooner a lot of people understand this fact the better we all will fare.

PUBLIC POLICY ON ABORTION: AN AFFIRMATIVE RESPONSE BY THE HEALTH SYSTEM TO THE SUPREME COURT DECISION

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, a few weeks ago, a distinguished physician and public health leader in the United States, Dr. John H. Knowles, now president of the Rockefeller Foundation, delivered an excellent paper on the Supreme Court's decision on abortions.

Dr. Knowles said that without immediate and systematic intervention by government and the health system, "low-income women, members of minority groups, and youth in general, who presently have little contact with the health system, will have greater difficulty securing abortions than higher income women. Inner-city, and even more so, the rural poor, may find themselves without services for years to come."

"A wise public policy," according to Dr. Knowles:

In a pluralistic society on a sensitive matter such as abortion should seek to maximize free choice and avoid any situation in which individuals or institutions are compelled to act against their deeply felt beliefs. . . . In some areas of the country, the principal—sometimes the only—hospitals and health institutions have religious affiliations which forbid abortion as a matter of conscience. A wise public policy would seek to avoid direct confrontations between the two values in tension in these communities—the beliefs of the institutions versus the Constitutional rights of the consumer to the services she needs and wants. A wise public policy would accomplish this . . . by insuring that alternative service facilities and referral services are available and accessible in such communities so as to preclude the need for divisive and tragic confrontations.

Dr. Knowles urges:

Government and . . . the health system to respond affirmatively . . . to insure that individuals are able to gain access to abortions performed under the safest, most dignified and humane conditions.

The complete text of Dr. Knowles' speech follows:

PUBLIC POLICY ON ABORTION: AN AFFIRMATIVE RESPONSE BY THE HEALTH SYSTEM TO THE SUPREME COURT DECISION

(By John H. Knowles, M.D.)

Abortion is and will continue to be an emotionally charged issue. It is an intellectually charged issue, too, and the moral and ethical considerations surrounding abortion have yet to be adequately aired. One need not either oppose or advocate abortion, however, to recognize that the U.S. Supreme Court has placed an immense responsibility on the U.S. health system and on national health policy. The Court has recognized as part of a woman's Constitutional right to privacy, her qualified right to have an unwanted pregnancy terminated by a doctor. This right, the Court rules, is subject to further state regulation during the second trimester of pregnancy only on grounds reasonably related to the pregnant woman's health and safety, and may be prohibited during the third trimester only if such prohibition poses no threat to the pregnant woman's life or health. The public interest in this distinctly private matter, the Court held, lies in insuring for women who utilize abortion the maximum degree of safety that current knowledge and technology will permit. A public policy consistent with the law, therefore, would seek to guarantee the legal, regulatory and institutional conditions necessary to promote that public interest. Legislators and public officials cannot by themselves, however, determine the requirements for ensuring medical safety in abortion services, nor can they implement them. They must depend on the judgments of health professionals and organizations in meeting those requirements. We—all of us—have a

unique opportunity to develop an important component of health policy and planning in a manner responsive to the law and to public interest. In coming to its decision, the Court must have been cognizant of the fact that abortions have occurred and will continue to occur, whatever the law may be. Christopher Tietze has estimated that in the first two years of a liberalized abortion law in New York City, legal abortions to residents replaced some 100,000 previously illegal abortions. In 1971, there were half a million legal abortions reported to the Center for Disease Control throughout the United States, and it is believed that there were about two times that many illegal operations. Thus, we may expect that following the Supreme Court decision, some 1.2–1.8 million legal abortions will need to be performed each year in the nation. It is the responsibility of government and the health system—both the public and private sectors—to see that these abortions take place under optimum medical circumstances. Both government, through law, administrative regulations and resource allocations, and the health system, through its own ethical and administrative standards, share the responsibility. The Court's ruling constitutes a mandate to government and to the health system to respond affirmatively with an active program to insure that individuals are able to gain access to abortions performed under the safest, most dignified, and humane conditions. It remains for the individual to persuade or dissuade herself as regards abortion, according to her own values, morals, or religious beliefs.

There are some who contend that neither government nor the health system need take action of any kind. If left alone, they argue, the free market will operate in such a way as to carry out the Court's injunction. Laissez-faire may be fine for soap and cars, but not for health services. I believe we know enough about how the free market operates in medical care generally to assert that prompt action is absolutely essential. The free market has *not* provided accessible services to the poor; it has *not* stressed those services with a high benefit: cost ratio; and it has placed too much emphasis on the ability to pay as contrasted with need as the prime determinant for receipt of services.

An example of how other unfettered forces may operate derives from the experience during the last two years in states where abortion was legal before the Court decision. According to data compiled by the Center for Disease Control and others, there is great variation in the ratio of abortions to live births reported in these states. In Hawaii during 1971, the ratio was 271 abortions per 1,000 live births, while among residents of New York City it was 511 in 1970–71 and 650 during 1971–72. It does not seem likely that regional differences in attitudes alone would lead to such large variations. Rather, the differences more probably stem from differences in legal and institutional arrangements. In Hawaii, abortions, by law, could be performed only in hospitals, and the lowest total fee for an outpatient abortion is about $300. In New York City, properly equipped clinics perform half of all abortions, and the lowest fee is about $125. New York also has had an extensive information and referral program emphasizing the importance of early abortion. I would like to point out what is perhaps obvious: these differences are traceable not to variations in *medical* judgments, but to differences in *administrative* commitment and responsibility.

While the future is never certain, we have enough experience to predict at least the major outlines of what will happen if the free market is left to its own devices:

(1) Some abortions will become available to some people (the more affluent and most informed) in most areas of the country, certainly in all major cities.

(2) Because of political pressures, tax-supported public hospitals are likely to have more restrictive administrative policies governing abortion than nondenominational voluntary and proprietary hospitals. A good many urban teaching hospitals may refuse their "fair share" responsibility too with the complaint that too many abortions will dilute their teaching programs.

(3) In some areas, physicians and organizations will be able to establish specialized outpatient clinics for early abortion.

(4) As these facilities and resources develop, a variety of referral systems will be established which will enable some women seeking abortions to secure them at reasonable cost without undue delay or red tape. (Although it seems probable, based on past experience, that some of these referral agencies may gouge patients and refer them to facilities whose medical standards are uncertain.)

(5) Some abortions will be performed under conditions of higher risk than is desirable, for example, in poorly equipped facilities, and by poorly trained personnel.

(6) The fee structure for abortion will be quite high, both because the supply of abortion services will be limited and because there will not be sufficient specialized nonprofit facilities which can serve as the standard setters for costs and quality.

(7) Low-income women, members of minority groups, and youth in general, who presently have little contact with the health system, will have greater difficulty securing abortions than higher income women. Innercity, and even more so, the rural poor, may find themselves without services for years to come.

(8) Some women—Particularly the very young and the poor—will have difficulty securing early abortions because of the scarcity of outpatient facilities and the lack of information about the risks of delay and the sources of care.

These predictable consequences do not constitute adequate fulfillment of the Supreme Court's injunction to respect the private rights of the individual and to ensure the best standards for medical safety. They will, in the aggregate, result in denial of access to safe, legal abortions to many, and particularly those most in need. They will result in delay for many more, resulting in rates of mortality and morbidity which a properly functioning health system could have prevented.

In sum, without an adequate public policy and an effective action program, the "free market" will not be free at all, but will instead be subject to numerous constraints, most of them political and discriminatory in nature. The objective of public policy on abortion should be to replace narrow political and economic criteria for determining policy with objective medical criteria.

The key to reducing morbidity and mortality from abortion—in addition to the requirements for proper facilities and trained personnel lies in the documentation of significantly greater medical risks when abortions are performed in the second as contrasted with the first trimester of pregnancy. According to Dr. Tietze's detailed studies, the risk of both major and minor complications is four times greater during the second trimester than during the first; and in New York City, he found that mortality ratios for late abortions were nearly 10 times higher than for early abortions. A pluralistic society need not encourage or discourage abortions but would seek to make sure that those who need and want abortions can get them, and that all abortions will be performed as early as possible. Such a policy requires action by the agencies of government (particularly state and local government) which regulate the health system, and by health institutions and organizations in both the public and private sectors.

What would such an action program look like? The following proposals are not intended to be exhaustive, but rather to suggest what could and should be done.

In the first instance, we need to develop rapidly overall medical standards for the safe performance of abortions, at the various stages of gestation, which facilitate and do not reduce the availability of early abortion. While there is room for reasonable difference of professional opinion, there is, nevertheless, a broad area on which most professional bodies will agree, if the determination is made on purely medical grounds. In the states and cities, governors and mayors should call together committees of responsible medical authorities to develop such standards. For the nation as a whole, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare should form a working committee of experts such as Dr. Tietze and representatives of such groups as the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, the American Public Health Association, the American Medical Associaton, the National Medical Association, the American Medical Women's Association, the American Association of Planned Parenthood Physicians and the American Academy of Family Practitioners to formulate general guidelines. ACOG's action last month in formulating detailed basic safeguards for the performance of first trimester abortions in facilities outside of hospitals, like APHA's earlier guidelines, is exactly the kind of response I am referring to.

Regulations and licensing are usually the responsibility of state and local health departments and hospital boards. They should incorporate these standards and specify the criteria for licensing out-patient facilities to perform early abortions. There may be some variation in such regulations to account for unique local conditions, but if the determining criteria are medical, the range of variation should not be large. The requirements for insuring medical safety in Alabama are not substantially different from those in Alaska or California.

The public policy objective of making certain that abortions are performed as early as possible requires that abortion be available at low cost with minimum red tape and administrative delay. To achieve this, state and local government and private organizations should:

Encourage establishment of licensed nonprofit outpatient facilities (as part of hospitals or freestanding) sufficient to handle a large volume of early abortions, since the experience in New York City demonstrates conclusively the safety of such facilities and their efficacy in relieving hospitals of the burden of performing early abortions for which the hospital is an inappropriate site. To create such facilities, short-term loans may be needed by public or private agencies in some communities. Vigilance must be maintained to see that local pressures do not result in misuse of clinic licensing procedures to discriminate against establishment of nonprofit outpatient abortion facilities.

Initiate a public education program, using all available media, to emphasize the advantages of early pregnancy detection and termination, and to outline objectively the options available to pregnant women, and provide information on the availability of services. This should include a "clearing house" through which abortion provider agencies may exchange information on abortion demand and capacity so as to avoid development of long and dangerous waiting times for patients. It should also include a "hot line" information service directing patients to the most convenient and appropriate facility for their care. (Such a program of public information need not be morally or ethically offensive to any religious group. Arguments that such information demoralizes youth or fosters libertine sexual activity are unfounded.)

Support the development of free or low cost pregnancy detection servies, and of referral and counseling services which offer women detailed information on their options (including maternity care and adoption) and assistance in making the necessary arrangements.

Support the availability of family planning services to all women regardless of income, and encourage the widest possible dissemination of information about the availability of these services, as a major positive immediate step to minimize need for abortion. It is crucial that this be done, I believe, for both moral and economic reasons. Postabortal facilities should include contraceptive counseling and services, and at least access to religious or psychiatric services if requested.

In addition to insuring the availability of these basic services, state and local governments have responsibilities in the financing of abortion services. In those states which regulate the insurance industry, the appropriate state agency should review current health insurance plans to insure that they cover abortions performed in licensed clinics as well as in hospitals, that single women employees and single female dependents of male employees are eligible, and that procedures are developed to insure confidentiality in filing abortion claims. State and local governments should insure that Medicaid sets the same standards for abortion patients as for those eligible for other services under Medicaid, and they should make provisions to subsidize, at least in part, abortions for medically needy women not covered by Medicaid or private insurance. For the long-range, health insurance in all its forms should include payment for family planning services.

In most parts of the country there is very little experience in the health system with legal abortion. This fact imposes special responsibilities on public and private health agencies (particularly our health planning agencies) in the areas of program planning, development and evaluation. In the absence of detailed planning, it is predictable that nonmedical, political and economic factors will be more influential in determining what the health system does. It will be difficult but it should be possible, based on experience in states and communities where abortion had been legalized prior to the Court's decision, for public and private health agencies to estimate the likely range of need for abortion services as an initial framework for program planning, and to develop means of monitoring the number actually performed by hospitals and licensed clinics. The purpose of such analyses should be to identify areas where abortion services are in short supply and thus to guide the allocation of resources available for developing needed programs. In a sense, we need to apply to abortion services the methods of program planning and development which have been employed in the last decade in the family planning field. This will be, admittedly, a very difficult job, especially in an area like abortion, where emotions are so intense and experience is so limited.

The rapid and seemingly endless rise in medical care costs is one of the principal issues confronting the American people. Governmental and private agencies should routinely compile data on fees and sources of financing, and publish periodic reports which provide an evaluation of fee structures and a means of identifying administrative practices which restrict the financing of needed abortion services. At the same time, public and private agencies should begin now—before it is too late—to assemble information required for the adequate evaluation of the medical, social and economic consequences of abortion, and the consequences for the health system. For example, data are beginning to emerge from New York City which suggest that the availability of abortion, by reducing the incidence of prematurity, malformations, illegitimacy and abandoned infants, has released hospital resources for other urgently needed care. These interrelations need to be documented so that health planners and leaders can learn how the prevention of unwanted births through abortion facilitates achievement of other goals. The moral and socio-economic cost of abortion services has to be weighed against the moral and socio-economic cost of unwanted infants. I have no reason to doubt the wisdom of the Supreme Court in its decision.

Finally, it seems apparent that the implementation of such a program will require substantial amounts of training and technical assistance. For most of the health system, abortion is a new and anxiety provoking service. An increased number of staff will need training in abortion techniques and counseling, and a large number of institutions will need help in planning, organizing, and managing abortion services, pregnancy testing clinics, referral services and information programs. This is a large order for an already overburdened health system, but I firmly believe that the benefits of such a program will far outweigh the costs.

These are some of the elements which I believe would constitute an adequate response by government and the health system to the Supreme Court decision. I want to emphasize that they are based primarily on the Court's injunction to maximize medical safety. To insure medical safety will require that the health system act *systematically* to guarantee the availability and accessibility of early abortion, and that government undertake the responsibility to coordinate and guide such a systematic response.

I should like to add one note in passing. The fear has sometimes been expressed that easier access to abortion will make women careless about using contraception, and that we may become an aborting rather than a contracepting nation—something like the countries of eastern Europe. Nothing in the experience of contracepting nations, such as England and Scandinavia, which have liberal abortion laws, would add credence to this concern. In our own country, in states like New York and Hawaii, there has apparently been no relaxation of contraceptive vigilance, and in New York, at least, contraceptive practice has apparently improved significantly since that state's abortion law was liberalized in 1970.

Finally, there is an indirect consequence of the approach which I have suggested. "A wise public policy in a pluralistic society on a sensitive matter such as abortion should seek to maximize free choice and avoid any situation in which individuals or institutions are compelled to act against their deeply felt beliefs. The Court's decision does not require anyone to undergo an abortion, nor does it require any physician to perform one. It does require, if the Constitutional right which the Court recognized is not to be nullified, that abortion services be available and accessible to those who need and want them under conditions of optimum medical safety. In some areas of the country, the principal—sometimes the only—hospitals and health institutions have religious affiliations which forbid abortion as a matter of conscience. A wise public policy would seek to avoid direct confrontations between the two values in tension in these communities—the beliefs of the institutions versus the Constitutional rights of the consumer to the services she needs and wants. A wise public policy would accomplish this, as I have outlined above, by insuring that alternative service facilities and referral services are available and accessible in such communities so as to preclude the need for divisive and tragic confrontations." (It is also incumbent, of course, on the religiously-affiliated institutions not to seek to prevent the establishment of alternative services.) Without such a policy and program, it is unfortunately predictable that legal and other pressures will be brought to bear to compel the existing institutions to meet community needs. Such confrontations are unnecessary and preventable.

In sum, the Supreme Court decision offers the U.S. health system a unique opportunity to demonstrate its ability to respond to social need in a systematic fashion, and to enhance its understanding of how to meet societal requirements in other health areas. I hope all of you, and your organizations, will take up the challenge.

LEGION FIGHTS POSTAL RATE INCREASE

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, the most recent edition of the American Legion's "Legislative Bulletin" contains an article explaining the Legion's position on postal rate increases. I submit the full text of that article for the RECORD:

LEGION FIGHTS POSTAL RATE INCREASE

On March 28 before the House Subcommittee on Postal Service, and again on April 2 before the full Senate Committee on Post Office and Civil Service, representatives of The American Legion and the American Legion Auxiliary made a strong appeal for legislative relief from the increase in postal rates on our Legion and Auxiliary publications.

Publisher James F. O'Neil testified on behalf of the Legion Magazine, Daniel H. Burkhardt, Maryland Department Adjutant, represented our Department publications and Mrs. Maxine Chilton, National President, made the case for the National News and state publications of the American Legion Auxiliary. Following is a summary of their testimony.

All witnesses testified that the increase in postal rates has created a serious financial problem for their publications. The Legion Magazine and the National News are the only direct link between the national organizations and their individual members. The increase in postal rates has placed the future of each magazine in jeopardy unless the Congress provides legislative relief. The advertising potential of the profit publications is not available to these magazines. Their principal source of income is through subscription revenue which is part of the dues structure of each organization. The magazines cannot arbitrarily raise their subscription prices in order to absorb the increased postal costs. They must await action of their conventions to modify the dues structure and this is not easily accomplished.

The American Legion Magazine: Mr. O'Neil said the Magazine fulfills the historic policy enunciated by the Congress and the Supreme Court of the United States through the dissemination of current information of benefit to the public. He cited many examples of public information services provided by the Magazine, including the Braille edition published without charge for distribution to blinded veterans, and submitted a tabulation outlining the development of the special second-class rates for nonprofit organizations.

The American Legion was an intervenor in the proceedings of the Postal Rate Commission last year and strongly protested the proposed increase in rates at that time. It was an expensive undertaking and the Legion was handicapped in the development of its material because of cost.

The current postal rates applicable to nonprofit publications is the second highest in-

crease assigned to any class of mail. When the rates are fully phased in, the increase approximates 235 per cent for the Legion Magazine. These increases are manifestly unfair and inequitable as they apply to nonprofit, low-advertising content publications. They discriminate against a class of publications least able to absorb the rate increase and whose history has been one of disseminating information in the public interest, rather than being income oriented through the sale of large amounts of advertising.

The rate increases are in contravention of the traditional concept of the preferential second-class mail rate treatment for qualified nonprofit organizations established by the Congress and by the Postal Reorganization Act. The language of the Act clearly supports the proposition that the Congress had no intention of abandoning the traditional treatment accorded second-class authorized nonprofit mailers.

In 1969 the postal bill for the Legion Magazine was $201,356.53. In 1972 the cost rose to $313,759.42. The projection for 1973 is $372,000 and by 1980 the postage will exceed one million dollars.

The present second-class rates for nonprofit organizations are a complete and dramatic departure from the rate concept traditionally accorded preferential second-class mailers. The Post Office Department and the Postal Rate Commission callously ignored those provisions of the Postal Reorganization Act and 54 years of Congressional policy concerning the rate treatment of nonprofit mailers.

The publisher endorsed S. 1395 and H.R. 6157 which would provide the relief needed for the Magazine and other Legion publications. The provisions of these bills will be discussed at the end of this article.

National News: Mrs. Chilton testified that the American Legion Auxiliary is composed of wives, mothers, sisters, daughters and granddaughters of men and women who served our Nation in the armed forces during time of war. It is a non-profit, community-oriented organization and supports The American Legion in all its legislative activities.

Preferential second-class postal rates for authorized nonprofit publications have always been part of the Nation's historic policy of encouraging dissemination of material of benefit to the public. Certain requirements, however, are placed upon those who publish under that rate structure. In every way, the National News has conformed to these requirements and to the intent of the Congress.

The Auxiliary, last year, through its National State and local organzations, contributed $5,828,000 in aid and nearly three million hours of volunteer effort to their communities.

The money and time donated by Auxiliary members demonstrate their devotion to the community, although the organization is by definition a veterans Auxiliary. It has always been believed that complete aid to the veteran and his dependent can only be accomplished through attention to the needs and problems of the whole community. By definition and by action, the Auxiliary has long been recognized as a leader among the nonprofit, community-oriented women's organizations.

The Auxiliary first began publication of a magazine in 1927. Two years ago, rising costs forced cutbacks in publication to six issues per year so that National News now operates as a bimonthly, five-by-eight inch, forty-eight page publication. The advertising content is very small, averaging only 18.9 per cent in 1972.

All advertising revenue is applied toward the cost of publishing the magazine, which under the existing rate structure, is operating on the barest of margins.

The impact of the new postal rate increases on the American Legion Auxiliary and on its magazine will be disastrous. The Department publications may also face termination of publication if relief from the excessive increases is not granted.

Under the new schedule of rates, the annual postage costs of National News will go from $21,000 to $105,675, an increase of over five hundred per cent. The organization cannot financially meet such an increase at the present rate of revenue.

National News receives nearly all of its revenue from dues paid to the national organization. This revenue amounted to about $334,000 last year and an additional $50,000 was received from advertising. The membership has remained fairly stable since 1955 and no substantial increase in advertising is anticipated.

Publication and related expenses allocated from the National News budget in 1972 amounted to $301,898.96. Expenses in 1973, including a five per cent increase in the cost of paper, a two and a half per cent increase in labor costs and the projected 1973 postage increase will be approximately $320,000.

By 1982, when the full postal increase has been added to the other publication costs, the expenses, discounting other increases, will approximate $382,573, leaving the Auxiliary with about $2,000 to meet other rising costs. National News will then be out of business.

Most of the Auxiliary Departments share publication of a newspaper with The American Legion. In many cases, the Legion absorbs the total cost of publication; in others, it charges the Auxiliary a flat fee. The increase in postage, resulting in higher costs to the Legion, will likewise increase the cost to the state organizations of the Auxiliary.

Twelve of the Auxiliary Departments publish separate newspapers, nine of them financed through dues to the organizations. One is financed through the general fund—which of course means dues—and the other two finance publications through separate subscription fees which are supplemented by monies from the general fund.

Mrs. Chilton told the Congress that in a survey conducted this month, two of the nine states dependent on dues financing said that a dues increase to cover postal increases would be impossible. An increase in dues must be approved by convention action. Any increase usually means a decrease in members. Seven of these nine states said it would be very difficult to secure the approval of convention delegates for such an increase.

Of the twelve states affected, two replied that the postal increases will force their newspapers to discontinue publications. Six expressed grave doubts that they could continue to publish and only one was sure that deficits could be covered by the general fund to maintain publication.

Since National News is now published only once every two months, the Department newspapers are a necessary program aid to the members, providing useful information to assist them in their community activities.

Because of the serious problems brought about by the increase in postal rates, several alternatives of publication have been studied. None have proven to be the answer.

Mrs. Chilton said the postal increases as scheduled over the next ten years will not permit the Auxiliary publications to survive. She endorsed S. 1395 and H.R. 6157 as legislation which would enable National News and publications of its kind to continue to publish—not just for the next three or four years while costs can still be met—but for as long as the need for them exists.

Department publications: In addition to 24 years of service as Department Adjutant of Maryland, Dan Burkhardt is the editor and publisher of the Free State Warrior, the official Legion newspaper in his State. He testified in behalf of his newspaper and also for publications in the other Departments of the Legion. Mr. Burkhardt pointed to the rising costs of labor, material and supplies in addition to the postage rate increase which in some cases totaled several hundred per cent. He said "when profit making publications such as Look and Life are forced to give up the ghost you know the rest of us are not far behind.

"Not just veterans publications are involved . . . church papers, farm publications, labor papers and all the other worthy contributors to the national scene will be gone unless the Congress provides relief. In my own publication we devote considerable space to free printing of internal revenue information. We print a column every month for the Social Security Administration; information from the Veterans Administration; a column covering traffic safety, one by our Chaplain and another covering assistance to children and youth.

"Our newspaper contains information on dangerous drugs and promotes the Medical Eye Bank, Heart Fund, Diabetes Association and many other charitable drives. We are now engaged in publishing a definitive work on the Flag of the United States of America and history of the Star Spangled Banner.

"In the case of my own newspaper, and this is true of many other nonprofit publications, no one receives any salary or expense account. We have already cut to the bone in order to make the grade. We are tied to a tight dues structure which prevents any raise, therefore, the postal increases simply mean we cannot survive unless some relief is granted."

Legion proposals: Bills have been introduced in both Houses at the Legion's request which will provide the relief needed if our magazines and other publications are to survive. The Senate bill is S. 1395, introduced by Senator Jennings Randolph of West Virginia. The House bill is H.R. 6157, by Congressman Lawrence J. Hogan of Maryland. Our proposals are incorporated in each of these measures.

Briefly, these bills would 1) make it clear that the Postal Service is obliagted to provide postal services at rates which will encourage and support the widest possible dissemination of news and information of benefit to the public; 2) apportion the costs of postal operations to all users of the mail on a fair and equitable basis that takes into consideration all aspects of postal policy; 3) prohibit imposition of the exorbitant and unfair per piece charge on second-class qualified nonprofit publications now in effect. (This is the principal inequity in the existing rate schedule); 4) freeze second-class postal rates at the level of July 6, 1972, for the first 250,000 copies of newspapers and magazines sent through the mails; and 5) provide that revenues received from any increase in rates on qualified nonprofit publications after July 6, 1972, shall not exceed 50 per cent of the amount that would otherwise be received from any increase in rates for such class of publications.

Our recommendations are before the Congress and our spokesmen have made the case for our organizations. Now is the time to contact your Senators and the Congressman from your District. We also urge each of you to write to the members of the Senate and House Committees on Post Office and Civil Service. The names of those members were published in our Legislative News Bulletin of February 20. Please ask the members of the Senate Committee (and your own Senators), to support S. 1395. Ask the members of the House Committee (and your own Congressman), to support H.R. 6157. There are a number of other bills pending on this subject but S. 1395 and H.R. 6157 are the ones that would provide the most help for nonprofit publications such as ours.

Contacts by letter or telegram should be made as soon as possible. If the Legion and the Auxiliary are to obtain the legislation

needed so that our members can continue to receive their publications as in the past, an all-out effort must be made without delay. The Postal Service sets the rates but the Congress can intervene. It must reassert its historic policy of providing preferential rate treatment for authorized nonprofit mailers by appropriate legislation.

It is important that every member of the Congress hear from his or her constituents on this subject. There are many organizations in every community who should be concerned about the survival of their own publications. This includes churches, fraternal, farm and labor groups in addition to veterans organizations. These groups should be contacted and urged to join in our protests. If all the nonprofit organizations make their voices heard loud and clear on Capitol Hill, the Congress will respond. Now is the time for action and we need your help.

THE SAN ANTONIO EXPRESSWAY

HON. BOB ECKHARDT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, I submitted for the RECORD the comments of several administrative agencies and executive officers regarding the long range impact of the passage of legislation exempting the San Antonio North Expressway from the reach of Federal environmental statutes. Today, I would like to add a statement from the National Trust for Historic Preservation, whose responsibility it is to facilitate public participation in the preservaton of sites of national significance or interest, regarding the proposed exemption:

NATIONAL TRUST FOR
HISTORIC PRESERVATION,
Washington, D.C., April 19, 1973.

Congressman BOB ECKHARDT,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ECKHARDT: Thank you for your letter of April 13th requesting a position statement from the National Trust for Historic Preservation in regard to Section 147, "Termination of Federal-Aid Relationship", pertaining to the San Antonio North Expressway in S. 502, the Federal-Aid Highway Act. During the consideration of the Federal-Aid Highway Act during the last Congress, the National Trust expressed its concern to a number of members of the Congress, on the matter of the San Antonio North Expressway. At that time, we said in part:

"The San Antonio North Expressway has a long and complicated history. The San Antonio Conservation Society, which has had so much to do with the North Expressway controversy, is a member organization of the National Trust. It is our conviction that should this section of the bill be passed intact, it will have an important nation-wide impact and seriously threaten the effectiveness of federal environmental laws. By giving legislative relief to the Texas Highway Department in the matter of segmenting highway construction, this section of the bill will set a very dangerous precedent to ignore and disregard important environmental and historic preservation considerations. Section 147 of the bill will in effect abrogate the environmental protections that have been upheld by the courts. With the upcoming observance of the 200th anniversary of the founding of our nation, we should not now erode the reminders of our historical past and the natural beauty that is so distinctly American."

As you know, the National Trust for Historic Preservation in the United States was created by an Act of Congress in 1949 to further the national preservation policy enunciated in the Historic Sites Act of 1935 to facilitate public participation in the preservation of sites, buildings and objects of national significance or interest, and to provide a national trust to acquire such properties significant in American history and culture and preserve and administer them for public benefit. We act as a leader in the preservation community and today have well over 1,000 organizational members and over 37,000 individual members throughout the country. Through our technical services, we provide advice and help on preservation to our members and others ranging from furnishing a historic house museum to historic district legislation and battling the bulldozer.

As part of this work to foster preservation, we have for some years been actively concerned about the adverse impact that highways can have on areas of historical and architectural interest. It may interest you to know that we have just finished administering a grant from the Department of Transportation to develop a handbook of preservation factors in highway planning. We are pleased to have the opportunity to again state our views in regard to Section 147 of the Federal Aid-Highway Act. Should you desire, we will be happy to discuss our views on S. 502 with you in more detail at your convenience.

Sincerely,

JAMES BIDDLE,
President.

NEW YORK CITY'S OFF-TRACK BETTING

HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. CAREY of New York. Mr. Speaker, all New Yorkers are familiar with the tremendous success of the city's Off-Track Betting Corporation, which is headed by Howard Samuels. Statistics have shown that OTB has succeeded in hindering the illegal activities of the bookmaker, while at the same time bringing a tremendous amount of income into New York City. The following two articles, one from the New York Times Sunday magazine and the other from New York Magazine, point to this fact. I offer these articles as guidance to other jurisdictions who may be contemplating similar programs for public wagering:

[From the New York Times Magazine, Apr. 1, 1973]

AFTER 2 YEARS, OTB'S IN THE MONEY: AND THE BOOKIE STANDS IN LINE

(By Fred J. Cook)

The master bookie was bragging. A veteran of the business (he likes to say, perhaps with pardonable exaggeration, that he's been in it for 50 years), he was ridiculing the idea that the Off-Track Betting Corporation's invasion of his preserve could ever hurt him.

"Naw," he said, "I like it. The clients I have would rather bet with me than with OTB." He explained in his expansive fashion that he disdains the $2 and $5 bettor, even the $50 bettor. Only the big action for him. "Those $1,000 bets—I always take that kind of action. I love it," he confided.

OTB has been a real help to him in his business, he insisted, somewhat surprisingly. "Look," he said, "suppose I get overloaded on a long shot. I can just send a guy over to OTB and lay off right there; I don't have to worry about laying off at the track."

The layoff is, as the initiated know, the insurance system by which a bookie guarantees himself against financial disaster if some 40-to-1 long shot comes in first. To protect himself on days when his clientele has become irrationally fascinated en masse with such a nag, the bookie must cover himself by betting enough on the horse so that he won't be hurt if the unlikely animal wins. If the hayburner loses, the bookie who has calculated his needs correctly at least breaks even on this particular race, and takes his profit from the other ventures of the day. If the horse wins, he wins along with his bettors, and can pay off without feeling any pain.

OTB, according to the master book, makes this layoff system convenient and especially remunerative. "Look at it this way," he says. "I get a break laying off with OTB. They pay track odds."

He winks.

The wink is meaningful. No bookie in his right mind pays off at odds of more than 20-to-1, regardless of what the track pays. But a bookie who has laid off his dangerous play at his friendly neighborhood OTB office can collect 30- or 40-to-1 on his money, while giving his customers only the 20-to-1 odds his profession sets.

Is the master bookie puffing smoke through both ears, or is he telling the truth about his profession in the era of OTB? In his case, he's probably telling the truth, but much evidence indicates his experience is hardly typical of what has happened to his fraternity as a whole. Actually, one fairly well established fact emerges: A lot of bookies have been badly hurt by the competition of OTB.

Of course, there is little doubt that the big-time bookie, handling heavy action, is still prospering despite OTB. For one thing, the really big play—those $500 and $1,000 bets the master bookie relishes—comes largely from wagering on sports: basketball, prize fights, hockey, football and baseball. The sports bettor is the big plunger; and, since three- and four-figure gambles are ingrained in his nature, he plunges the same way when he becomes fascinated with a horse.

This kind of bettor still prefers to patronize his favorite bookie for a number of reasons. First, there is credit. If he loses today, he may win tomorrow—or, at least before the end of the week when he has to settle his account. Second, if he wins, there is no tax on that money if he doesn't declare his winnings, Internal Revenue is not looking over his shoulder. And then there is a powerful psychological motivation: There's a certain panache about dealing with a Damon Runyonesque bookie character, much as it was a status symbol in Prohibition days to be on a first-name basis with a big bootlegger.

A businessman, who possesses an impressive wad and likes the thrill of a daily gamble was in a prominent West Side Steak house one night recently, and he was exulting because he had hit a real long shot at Aqueduct. He was griping a bit, too, because he got paid off only at his bookie's top 20-to-1 rate.

"Well, why didn't you go over and place the bet with OTB?" someone asked.

The bettor reared back as if someone had just made an unpardonable suggestion. "You think I would go over there and stand in that line?" he asked in offended tones.

"No, but you could have sent someone to place the bet for you," he was told.

"I wouldn't think of it,' the bettor replied huffily. "I wouldn't think of betting with anyone but Mannie. I'd rather take the 20-to-1."

That's status for you—and, perhaps, a tax break, too.

In the shadowy world of the bookie, it is often hard to get at the truth. Bookies are a paradoxical breed, always boasting like the master bookie about the big money they handle; then, in the next breath, moaning about what a hard life they have because so many of their customers have picked winning horses. To hear them tell it, theirs is the best of all possible worlds one minute—and the worst the very next.

The fraternity's favorite line before OTB came in was that legalization couldn't hurt them, at all; they welcomed OTB because legal betting would whet the appetite of thousands of innocents who would be brought into the gambling fold for the shearing. Now, confronted with the reality, they are as little likely to admit that this forecast was wrong as they are to acknowledge that they have ever committed the cardinal sin of the profession—getting cleaned out, or nearly so, by miscalculating the damage that could be caused by a winning long shot.

Although, the master bookie with a well-heeled clientele addicted to heavy betting on sports and an occasional fling on the horses, may, indeed, hardly feel the pinch, the same is not true for a large number of neighborhood bookies who used to handle the smaller play of the tip-sheet clan.

For example, a few years ago a number of bookies used to congregate around the jewelers' Exchange in the Bowery area. One veteran operator even had a booth in the exchange. He had a few watches and trinkets scattered about has window-dressing, but it is doubtful that he ever tinkered with a mainspring. He spent a busy day booking horses.

This ingenious innovator is now dead, but it seems significant that no successor has appeared to handle what was once a lucrative trade. Significant, too, according to habitues of the exchange, is the fact that the other bookies who used to throng the area have vanished as if whisked away by some magic wand.

Perhaps one of the most striking examples of the way OTB is hurting came in February, when police arrested five alleged bookies who had been infiltrating the betting lines at OTB offices in Queens and Brooklyn. In the same raids, police arrested four more men in a syndicate "figure room" in Brooklyn to which the bets had been funneled. The handle was reported to have been between $15,000 and $20,000 a day.

According to authorities, the bookies had begun to hang around OTB offices because so many of their former customers had been lured away to the legal betting windows. Howard J. Samuels, chairman of OTB, said at the time: "They have been approaching our customers in our offices, telling them they don't have to wait on line to bet with them and offering quick service in placing and collecting wagers. They have also taken bets on football, basketball and hockey—sports action which we are not permitted to handle. They have also offered credit."

When a bookie has to chase down his former customers and take the risk of trying to proposition them almost in front of the OTB windows, it stands to reason that he is finding the new world of, legalized gambling less of a paradise than the master bookie pictured. Ralph Salerno, the veteran crime consultant who is now an adviser to OTB, is convinced that legalized betting has put a definite crimp in the bookies' business. He cites one graphic example:

City detectives monitoring a legal wiretap on a major syndicate crime operation, recorded a revealing conversation between a young mobster and his girl friend. The girl had obtained a tip virtually from the horse's mouth about a long shot that was supposed to win, and she telephoned her boy friend to get down a bet for her. He listened to her description of the hot nag, and then the conversation went like this:

HE: I think I'll put down a bet myself if it's that good.

SHE: Where you going to take it—to Johnny?

HE: Naw. He won't give me the full odds. I'll go to OTB.

SHE (surprised): You mean you go there?

HE: Sure, we all do. You can walk in like a gentleman; you don't have to hunt for somebody in a cellar. And you can get the full odds on a race, no chiseling.

"This was a thief," Salerno emphasizes, "and when even his kind prefers to bet with us instead of using the underworld's own bookmaking system, we must be hurting [them]."

Much other evidence points in the same direction. Late last year, the Fund for the City of New York published a report on gambling, based on a survey of bettors made by the Oliver Quayle organization. Quayle's opinion-samplers concluded: "Three times as many horse players say they bet with OTB as say they bet with bookmakers. OTB would appear then to be cutting substantially into illegal bookmaking operations."

The Quayle survey analyzed the habits of betting addicts in several ways. In one series of questions, the pollsters asked sports bettors, who also sometimes bet on horses, how they placed their action. This group, whose sports bets had to be placed with bookies, reported that some 41 per cent of their betting dollars were going to OTB, and only 25 per cent to bookmakers. The Quayle report concluded that, "while bookmaking is still a thriving business, betting with OTB has taken a very substantial sum of [bookmakers'] former business away from them. . . ."

In another portion of the study, the Quayle pollsters questioned those who said they bet only on horses. The object was to find out whether this particular clientele—the bettors directly affected by OTB—were betting with bookies as much as formerly or whether they were betting less.

Of those surveyed, 29 per cent said they were betting with bookies "much less" than formerly, and 30 per cent said "somewhat less." Thirty-four per cent said they were betting with bookies about the same as before the advent of OTB; 5 per cent were not certain—and, a significant figure, only 2 per cent said they actually bet more with bookmakers now.

The Quayle report concluded: "All the foregoing data make it clear that OTB, with all its teething problems and occasional computer breakdowns, has taken a great deal of betting money out of illegal channels. Those who fear that the advent of OTB has whetted an appetite for betting that can only be satisfied by wagering with bookmakers can put their fears to rest. Our data show that, of those still betting with bookmakers now, only a handful say they are wagering more with bookies now than they did in the past. Such data also demonstrate rather conclusively, in our judgment, that while legalizing sports betting will not do away with bookmaking on sports like football, basketball and baseball, most of the money now bet with bookies on these sports (which is also most of the total money now bet on sports) would flow into a legal operation."

What appears to have happened is that OTB has attracted the great mass of the small-time betters. The master bookie who licks his lips over the $1,000 plunger still gets much of the heavier action, but the thousands of small fry who used to keep the neighborhood bookie in business have transferred their allegiance in great numbers to OTB.

District Attorney William Kahn of Nassau County, not an advocate of legalized gambling, disclosed in announcing the indictment of an organized-crime bookmaking ring that his legalized widetaps had produced some significant information. They showed, Kahn said, that bookies were turning down racetrack bets of under $100. Those wishing to bet smaller amounts were being told to "go to OTB."

What this indicates to Ralph Salerno is that "organized-crime bookmakers are ceding the major portion of their market to us." Small horse bets were profitable to the illegal bookie only if he did a volume business; take away the volume, and it's hardly worth his while to deal with picayune bets. Yet, the evidence indicates, most horserace betting is relatively small-time stuff.

In the Quayle survey, horse bettors were asked about the size of their wagers. Only 5 per cent bet $50 or more. When asked what was the highest bet they had ever placed, only 24 per cent said that they had ever risked more than $50. Howard Samuels and his staff see these findings as significant as they plan their next hoped-for expansion of legalized gambling.

This is to invade the territory now preempted by the numbers racket, the most flourishing betting ploy in Harlem and many other poorer areas of the city. Samuels unveiled his proposal at a City Hall press conference Feb. 26, when he announced he would ask Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller and the State Legislature to approve a bill putting OTB into the numbers field.

How could OTB compete with the lucrative numbers racket? Well, said Samuels, just as in horse betting, it would pay odds: 750-to-1 on a winning number instead of the current 600- or 500-to-1 payout by numbers runners. In addition to the 75 per cent of the handle returned to winners, there would be other benefits. Fifteen per cent of the take would be funneled directly back to planning boards or school boards in the communities generating the action. Another 5 percent would be spent for salaries for those hired for the new numbers operation, and the remaining 5 per cent would be used to defray the expenses of OTB.

Though Samuels admitted the program might have "tough sledding" in getting state approval, he predicted it "would strike a deadly blow against organized crime" if it became a reality. He may be right.

As one Harlem resident reports, the numbers boys who scurry up and down the streets daily during the heat of the action are already becoming jittery at the prospect of possible OTB competition. A couple of them were commiserating with each other recently in a Harlem barbershop.

"If that goes through," said one, referring to the new OTB plan, "we're all going to have to go out and get jobs."

"Damn," said the other. "Do you know how I can get a job with OTB?"

[From the New York Magazine, Apr. 2, 1973]

THE CITY POLITIC: A STUDY IN RACING RELATIONS

(By Pete Axthelm)

The Governor's Commission on the Future of Horse Racing in New York State, headed by former investment banker and Con Ed executive Charles B. Delafield, labored for eight months to bring forth a 180-page document designed, apparently, to kill New York's OTB. Its charts, graphs and compilations of facts are impressive, and some of its recommendations are unquestionably sound, but instead of dealing with the crisis in the gambling industry in a searching and visionary way, the report, in political terms, comes down to a straightforward power grab by the state. New York City put up the money to launch OTB and suffered the risks and setbacks of its first hesitant days. But now that the risks have passed and the proof is in, the state will be happy to snatch OTB out from under the city.

When the nine-member Delafield Commis-

sion was appointed last summer by Governor Rockefeller, everyone familiar with the racing industry knew that significant changes were needed. New York racing, poorly promoted and dependent on an elderly clientele that was not being replenished by enough new fans, had proven vulnerable to off-track competition for the betting dollar. The cost of going to the races was rising steadily, the quality of the sport was declining, and many fans—particularly the smaller bettors—had switched their allegiance to their neighborhood betting parlors. To make matters worse, the hastily-drawn 1970 bill that authorized OTB had provided woefully inadequate shares of off-track revenues to the tracks—as OTB President Howard Samuels was among the first to admit.

The state government showed a poignantly paternalistic interest in the problems of Yonkers and Roosevelt Raceways and the New York Racing Association—and with good reason. Under existing law, the state takes in a healthy 10 per cent of on-track handle, while the lion's share of OTB profits goes to the city. So as OTB grew—New Yorkers now bet more than $2 million a day at OTB offices—and the tracks faltered, city income increased by some $11 million in 1972 while state revenue fell by $8 million. Faced with such figures, the Delafield Report understandably concluded, "OTB's net effect has been redistributive."

The Commission had clearly been appointed to do some harsh redistributing of its own. Under the Delafield proposals, the track owners and the state will turn racing back into a private garden party for the wealthy, OTB will be emasculated as a force in the gambling market, what's left of it will be turned over to the state—and the city will be right back where it was before it took on the massive task and headaches involved in making OTB work. Even among the horseplayers themselves, the Delafield scheme will draw sharp class distinctions. Those who can afford to attend the races will enjoy a tax reduction, from 17 per cent of the mutuel handle down to 14. But OTB customers will be subjected to a tax hike from 17 to 25 per cent on exotic wagers (three or more horses in one bet), plus a 5 per cent surcharge on all bets—and the eventual elimination from OTB of all forms of betting except exotic, lottery-type gimmicks.

The Commission's attempt to discourage the little man from stumbling into the exciting and alluring world of gambling is most disheartening. The thinking of the Commission is perhaps best exemplified by its proposal of the 5 per cent surcharge on off-track wagers. Instead of drawing fans to the tracks by making on-track beting more appealing, the state is now going to make off-track betting more repugnant. One result of the proposed $2.10 price tag on a $2 ticket wil be to drive many OTB fans to friendly bookmakers; another will be an exodus of disillusioned customers from the betting industry. And for those who stay around, there will be still another deterrent. As regular win, place, show and exacta betting is phased out of OTB, gimmick bets will offer larger but less frequent payoffs; and frequent rewards—even smaller ones—are what keep new customers interested in betting. Thus the Delafield plan could deprive OTB of one of its strongest asets—the influx of new fans.

Track management could hardly be more delighted with the Delafield Report; the industry is already marshaling its lobbying forces to press the proposals into law. Unquestionably the most thoughtful and potentially far-reaching recommendation is the roll-back of the on-track betting tax. Students of pari-mutuel wagering have long maintained that a decrease in such taxation leads to an over-all rise in volume and total tax revenues, simply by keeping more betting money in circulation—and more horseplayers solvent. Experiments of this nature have succeeded dramatically at smaller tracks, and racing people are eagerly awaiting the results of an "experiment" with the lower tax at the Aqueduct fall meeting.

Other Delafield suggestions, such as a fairer share of OTB money for the tracks, better track promotion, and wider experiments with television racing, are also interesting—particularly because they have all been voiced in the past by Howard Samuels. Like any thinking man in the betting business, Samuels has recognized the needs of tracks and horsemen and the vast potential of television. But his hands were tied: the tracks' share couldn't be increased without new legislation, and television was effectively blocked by Rockefeller's racing commissioner, Joseph Gimma. Now the state is willing to do the things that New York OTB has wanted all along—while cutting the city out of the action. When Delafield is asked why his imminently sound cures for racing's ills couldn't be utilized under city control, he refers vaguely to the problems of regulation if many cities are allowed to run their own betting operations. "It would be like dealing with a lot of little utilities companies," he said at one point. "From my experience, I'd rather deal with one Con Ed." Considering the power situation, the metaphor is revealing.

The greatest disappointment of the Delafield Report, however, is neither its state-oriented politics nor its pro-track posture. Created by Rockefeller and pledged to making racing "viable," the Commission practically had its biases built in; yet, as its deliberations proceeded, there seemed reason to hope for broader and bolder strokes than the mere protection of parochial interests, but the Delafield Commission offered only a cautious retreat from the critical issues.

Sports betting, for example, was rejected out of hand, partly because of "security problems" and partly because it would compete with racing for the betting dollar. If the origin of racing's alleged right to exist without competition seems obscure, consider the equally murky logic of the security argument: are large and easily spotted leftfielders and split ends any more difficult to police than 112-pound jockeys? In addition to rejecting the idea of casino gambling, the Commission also backed gingerly away from Sunday racing, an innovation that could open up the sport to thousands who can't go to the tracks on weekdays. The scapegoats in this case are the unions, who would ask for huge bonuses for Sunday work; presumably it is easier to hide from that problem than to negotiate Sunday racing into being. Also interestingly, Commission member M. Donald Grant didn't object one bit to this conclusion; Grant's Mets play baseball on Sunday, and their right to head off competition is apparently every bit as sacred as racing's.

Without a massive infusion of new fans, racing will be left with essentially the same problem it faced before the Delafield Report. The on-track rollback will undoubtedly breathe some life into the wallets of racing's sturdy but aging constituency; the redistribution of revenues will surely make the rich richer. But those changes are basically short-term. The real future of legal gambling still lies off the tracks, and it will be realized only by leaders who are willing to make high-stakes bets at long odds. New York City was daring, or desperate, enough to take such chances—but now the prospect of a giant payoff in legal gambling may be snatched away. The Delafield Commission would then turn it all over to the kinds of millionaires who bet $2 to show—and that doesn't promise much action for anybody.

ARE WE CONDEMNED TO REPEAT THE PAST?

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, today I would like to insert in the RECORD the third part of an abortion commentary by Dr. Herbert Ratner, M.D., public health director of Oak Park, Ill., and editor of Child and Family Quarterly. The article is entitled "Commonwealth Against Brunelle II." Commentary published in "Child and Family Quarterly," volume 9, number 2, page 159:

ARE WE CONDEMNED TO REPEAT THE PAST?

It was not too long ago that our country's concern with life involved us in World War II. Following the war, the impact of the Nazi attack on innocent human life as seen in the genocidal persecution of non-Aryans, the medical atrocities, and the pro-abortion and pro-euthanasia movements impelled medicine to recommit itself to the rights of the living. This recommitment took the form of the Geneva reformulation of the Hippocratic Oath by the World Medical Association and the Helsinki Declaration on Human Experimentation, a recommitment in which organized American medicine participated. Concerning abortion, the World Medical Association reaffirmed the physician's obligation to "maintain the utmost respect for human life from the time of conception."

Yet one generation later, in headlong fashion, we are renouncing our respect for early human life and increasingly renouncing our respect for later human life—the disadvantaged and elderly. Today we see pro-abortion advocates (as well as euthanasiasts and over-enthusiastic medical experimenters) espousing the very principle which was the basis of our condemnation of prominent German physicians at the Nuremberg trials, that is, that a justified function of the medical profession is to serve society's demands and science's dictates irrespective of the rights of the living.

How could we have forgotten so quickly? Did we not grasp the lessons taught by mankind's greatest challenge to the integrity and independence of medicine as a learned profession dedicated to healing? Or do these lessons retreat from our consciousness as we succumb to 'population explosion' propaganda or confront the insoluble complexities of the abortion issue? What lessons of World War II have we failed to pass on to new generations of physicians born since the thirties to whom the Nazi holocaust is a remote happening of a bygone, irrelevant age?

To forget in the sixties and seventies the Geneva and Helsinki declarations of the forties is a Pyrrhic victory of devastating proportions: an ironic case of the vanquished vanquishing the victors—of winning World War II physically but losing it spiritually. The historical facts and factors associated with the decline and fall of German medicine contain a teaching we must not ignore.

We cannot remind ourselves too often of modern civilization's darkest hour. As the official German physician-scholars of the Nuremberg trials emphasized in 1949:

"It does not seem impossible that this very recent history may repeat itself in some fashion, or even that it is not already repeating itself in some part of the world. That is why we think it necessary to recall ceaselessly this lesson from the past."

Unfortunately, as Gabriel Marcel states in an essay entitled *Techniques of Degradation*, we must contend with "the extraordinary unreadiness men show to learn from the lessons of the past" despite George Santayana's stern warning that "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

What happened then to German medicine is happening now to American medicine. And we speak not only of the fetus. To permit feticide for social and other non-medical reasons whether for convenience, economy, psychologic distress, 'overpopulation,' or for 'the good of the one to be killed,' is to introduce the principle of euthanasia. Today, the forces arguing and fighting for euthanasia practically match the forces fighting for abortion—fetal euthanasia. And euthanasia in any form inexorably leads to the extermination of—to use the Nazi phrase—"useless eaters." In this sense abortion is the tip of the euthanasia iceberg, the open sea to the widespread acceptance of killing as a primary function of the physician and his contribution to the solution of national social and economic problems. Much is at stake here. The ultimate decline and fall of American medicine is contained in the abortion controversy.

In retrospect the historical facts relating to the breakdown of German medicine stand out clearly.

1. A highly cultured nation, Germany, and one of the most esteemed national bodies of physicians in the world, were not immune to decadent forces and moral collapse.

2. The erosion of medical values came from within the medical profession and preceded the ascendency of Hitler.

3. Medicine's downtrend had small beginnings—a little mistake at the beginning became a catastrophic mistake at the end.

4. What started out as voluntary, subsequently became compulsory: the "right to die" was quickly replaced by the "right to kill."

5. Many academically prominent and other highly respected physicians were implicated.

Noteworthy in reporting, documenting and explicating these facts have been psychiatrists Leo Alexander, M.D., and Frederic Wertham, M.D., Yale Kamisar, Professor of Law, formerly of the University of Minnesota and now at the University of Michigan, has also analyzed the German experience in the context of the euthanasia movement. They have done their utmost to warn us.

Alexander was one of two official medical experts representing the United States at the Nuremberg trials in 1947. The other expert was Professor Andrew Ivy, M.D., of the University of Illinois School of Medicine. It is significant that today, 23 years later, both have taken firm public positions against abortion-on-demand. Following his return from the Trials, Alexander published his observations in the *New England Journal of Medicine* in an article entitled, "Medical Science Under Dictatorship."

Wertham, a practicing psychiatrist in the U.S. received his medical training in Germany and was personally acquainted with the erosion of psychiatry in his native land. His book entitled, *A Sign for Cain: An Exploration of Human Violence*, is the most recent warning of major proportions relating to the ascendency of violence as a solution to social problems.

Kamisar's contribution is an extensive analysis entitled, "Some Non-Religious Views Against Proposed 'Mercy Killing' Legislation."

Contrary to popular opinion that the fall of German medicine resulted from a handful of psychopaths and madmen who gained control, these three analysts show that it began by small, unreflective, pragmatic beginnings within the medical profession. Ultimately these small beginnings made the downfall of German medicine inevitable. The studies of these critics validated the cogency of the "wedge principle"—the "camel's nose in the tent" thesis that if the nose gains entrance the rest of his body will ultimately take over. Kamisar recalls in this connection Supreme Court Justice Cardozo's judicial insight concerning "the tendency of a principle to expand itself to the limit of its logic."

Alexander explicates how the "wedge principle" operated in Germany:

"Whatever proportions these crimes finally assumed, it became evident to all who investigated them that they had started from small beginnings. The beginnings at first were merely a subtle shift in emphasis in the basic attitude of the physicians. It started with the acceptance of the attitude basic in the euthanasia movement that there is such a thing as life not worthy to be lived. This attitude in its early stages concerned itself merely with the severely and chronically sick. Gradually the sphere of those to be included in this category was enlarged to encompass the socially unproductive, the ideologically unwanted, the racially unwanted and finally all non-Germans. But it is important to realize that the infinitely small wedge-in lever from which this entire trend of mind received its impetus was the attitude toward the non-rehabilitable sick.

"It is, therefore, this subtle shift in emphasis of the physician's attitude that one must thoroughly investigate. It is a recent significant trend in medicine, including psychiatry, to regard prevention as more important than cure. Observation and recognition of early signs and symptoms have become the basis for prevention of further advance of disease.

"In looking for these early signs one may well retrace the early steps of propaganda on the part of the Nazis in Germany as well as in the countries that they overran and in which they attempted to gain supporters by means of indoctrination, seduction, and propaganda.

There is no doubt that in Germany itself the first and most effective step of propaganda within the medical profession was the propaganda against the useless, incurably sick."

Later, Alexander reemphasizes that:

"It is the first seemingly innocent step away from principle that frequently decides a career of crime. Corrosion begins in microscopic proportions."

Alexander subsequently applies his observations to the United States:

"Under all forms of dictatorship the dictating bodies or individuals claim that all that is done is being done for the best of the people as a whole, and for that reason they look at health merely in terms of utility, efficiency and productivity. It is natural in such a setting that eventually Hegel's principle that 'what is useful is good wins out completely. The killing center is the *reductio ad absurdum* of all health planning based only on rational principles and economy and not on humane compassion and divine law. To be sure, American physicians are still far from the point of thinking of killing centers, but they have arrived at a danger point in thinking, at which likelihood of full rehabilitation is considered a factor that should determine the amount of time, effort and cost to be devoted to a particular type of patient on the part of the social body upon which the decision rests. At this point Americans should remember that the enormity of the euthanasia movement is present in their own midst.

"The case, therefore, that I should like to make is that American medicine must realize where it stands in its fundamental premises. There can be no doubt that in a subtle way the Hegelian premise of 'what is useful is right' has infected society including the medical portion. . . . The destructive principle, once unleashed, is bound to engulf the whole personality and to occupy all its relationships. Destructive urges and destructive concepts arising therefrom cannot remain limited or focused upon one subject or several subjects alone, but must inevitably spread and be directed against one's entire surrounding world, including one's own group and ultimately the self. The ameliorative point of view maintained in relation to all others is the only real means of self-preservation."

The above was written in 1949. In the light of what has happened since, Alexander's explicit warning takes on prophetic proportions. Eighteen short years later, the American Medical Association took its first step down the last mile. In 1967 at its Annual Meeting it accepted a new principle completely alien to medicine's tradition, namely, that a physician on the basis of his determination of fitness can determine, in cooperation with the guardian, who should or should not be permitted to live. They introduced this principle when they accepted a provision of the Model Code of the American Law Institute concerning fetal indications for therapeutic abortion. The diabolical misuse of the term *therapeutic* should be noted. From acts directed to the elimination of a disease, it now is extended to acts directed to the elimination of the patient who has the disease.

Three years later, again in the context of the abortion issue, the American Medical Association took another giant step in imitation of German medicine. In 1970 at its Annual Meeting it introduced an additional principle, one completely inimical to the nature of a learned profession and fraught with forebodings, that what is legal is ethical. This was done, presumably, to free physicians from New York and other pro-abortion states from the bind created by abortion-on-demand, a lucrative, legally permissable act on one hand and a medically unethical act on the other.

Finally, to show how fast we have moved since Alexander's 1947 report, "killing centers" in the form of abortariums now exist in New York, California and elsewhere.

Lastly, we have Wertham's account of the insidious beginnings that culminated in the ultimate degradation of German medicine. Psychiatry was the chief culprit. In his chapter, "The 'Euthanasia' Murders," Wertham recalls Dr. Karl Brandt's key defense at the Nuremberg trials. Brandt was the medical chief of Nazi Germany's euthanasia project, the project that ultimately led to the extermination of "useless eaters."

"And when Dr. Karl Brandt . . . defended himself for his leading role in the action, he stated that he had asked for the 'most critical' evaluation of who was mentally incurable. And he added: 'Were not the regular professors of the universities with the program? Who could there be who was better qualified than they?' Wertham adds."

SURFACE MINING LEGISLATION

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, on Monday of this week, April 16, 1973, Mr. Robert J. Babich, executive vice president of the Northeastern Minnesota Development Association, testified before two subcommittees of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs on pending surface mining legislation. His remarks before joint hearings of

the Environmental Subcommittee and Mines and Mining Subcommittee appropriately and succinctly call attention to the complex and far-reaching affect of this proposed legislation. His testimony is an excellent illustration of the many diverse types of mining situations that must be considered in the development of efficient legislation. Mr. Babich represents an organization which is deeply concerned with both the environment and economic development. In northeastern Minnesota we are proud of our clean air, clean water, and untrammeled forests and we are doing all in our power to keep it that way. Mr. Babich's approach to regulating surface mining as it applies to iron ore and taconite mining in northeastern Minnesota is responsible and effective. I want to take this opportunity to call to the attention of my colleagues this balanced, well-reasoned statement:

Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, my name is Robert J. Babich and I am the executive vice president of the Northeastern Minnesota Development Association, hereafter referred to as NEMDA.

Let me first express my sincere thanks for allowing me to visit with you about this very important legislation before the committee. It is my hope that after our discussion here today we may all be a bit wiser in the matter of legislation regulating the reclamation of surface mining land.

To help you better understand the reason for my appearance today, let me brief you on the origin and functions of NEMDA.

NEMDA was founded back in 1964 under the direction of Hubert Humphrey, Walter Mondale, John Blatnik, former Minnesota Governor Karl Rolvaag, labor and industrial leaders, a group of concerned citizens and myself to revitalize the depressed area of Northeastern Minnesota. It was at that time that we received a mandate from the state through the passage of the Taconite Amendment to develop the taconite industry to its fullest potential.

We organized NEMDA both to encourage the development of our mining and wood fiber industries and to diversify the economy by bringing other types of industry to Northeastern Minnesota. Since that time NEMDA has played a key role in the economic development of the six counties we cover in Northeastern Minnesota.

It gives me pleasure to tell you that our efforts have been successful. Industry, labor unions and many, many small businesses of all types invested their money and manpower into our development program. As a result, today the economy of Northeastern Minnesota is healthier and more stable than at any other time in history.

For instance, we have managed to diversify our economic base by encouraging the growth of satellite industries to service our basic industries. This may come as a surprise to some of you, but we now have a mushrooming garment industry in our area which is providing supplemental incomes that weren't there eight years ago. And we have worked hard to develop and sophisticate our service and recreation industries. We have one of the most beautiful sections of the country, and we must take advantage of the ever-increasing tourist-travel dollar.

We are witnessing growth in our wood fiber industry that we haven't seen before. Not only are our wood fiber plants expanding, they are also diversifying their product lines to more fully utilize our great sources of raw material in Northeastern Minnesota. All of this means jobs and future opportunities for today's families and their children.

On a statewide basis, the forest products industry is the third largest industry in Minnesota. By far the largest single producer of forest products in Minnesota is the pulp and paper manufacturing industry. Eleven pulp and paper mills in the state the equivalent of a million and a half cords of pulpwood annually.

Products from these eleven mills are valued at about $350 million annually. From 1960 to 1970, the pulp and paper industry of the state expanded $143 million in basic capital investment and an additional $48 million in plant maintenance. These mills employ over 10,000 people whose earnings exceed $100 million each year. They have a freight bill of $30 million and they purchase $120 million of materials and supplies, exclusive of pulpwood.

In addition, pulpwood harvesting provides full and part-time employment for another 9,000 people. Nearly all the pulpwood harvested in Minnesota comes from 17 counties in the northeast and north central section of the state. All Minnesota pulp and paper manufacturing facilities are located in the same area—Northeastern Minnesota.

An additional 10,000 people are employed in other wood fiber industries such as saw mills, box factories and box manufacturing in the state of Minnesota.

As you can see, this is a substantial part of our economy. It is an industry which will continue to grow through proper forest management and assurances to the industry of an adequate supply of raw material.

Iron ore mining is another industry which has significant impact on the economy of Minnesota, especally Northeastern Minnesota. The following facts and figures will illustrate just how important iron mining is to the state.

Today there are about 12,000 people employed in mining in Minnesota, with about 10,000 of those working in year-around jobs in the taconite industry. These people were paid more than $150,000,000 in wages in 1972. A recent study showed that the number of additional jobs in industries closely tied to mining is estimated to be another 12,000. Indirectly, each mining job supports between eight and nine people.

Much of the goods and services required by the mining industry is purchased from 1700 Minnesota firms. In 1972, purchases from these Minnesota firms totaled more than $175,000,000 with taconite firms spending over $160,000,000 of this amount, and this figure represents only a part of the total expenditure for taconite production.

Taconite's importance is also reflected in tax payments. The estimated taconite taxes paid to state and local governments in 1972 is $20,000,000. In addition, commercial railroads paid more than $2,500,000 in gross earnings taxes derived from hauling iron ore and taconite.

To date there has been approximately $1.2 billion invested in taconite plants in Northeastern Minnesota, with another $220,000,000 in taconite facilities under construction. These six commercial plants are producing 39,700,000 tons of taconite pellets annually. When the new facilities are completed they will have an additional annual tonnage capacity of 6,000,000 tons.

However, in the past decade we have seen a steady decline in our natural ore production. From 1971 there was a drop in natural production from 16,462,000 tons to 14,297,000 tons. As our natural ore bodies are depleted, the mines close, and of course this means unemployment. Today there are about 2,000 people still working in natural ore mines. We expect all of the men and women will be unemployed by 1985.

The answer to this problem is to continue to expand our taconite industry. Most authorities agree that production of taconite pellets could reach 65,000,000 tons per year, as competitive and economic conditions permit. Achieving this rate of production would have a beneficial effect on the economy of Minnesota and Iron Range communities. It would certainly solve the unemployment caused by the closing of natural ore mines. Maturing of the industry to the potential 65,000,000 ton mark, however, depends on many factors.

Our future, of course, is in taconite, and with all plants going at or near full capacity, the taconite industry will produce 40,000,000 tons of pellets in 1973. But that's less than two-thirds of our potential. Sustaining a healthy economy depends on further taconite development to replace jobs being lost in natural ore mines.

We are also facing competition from other areas of the nation and world. Other iron ore producing areas have been very busy promoting and developing their iron ore reserves. Twenty years ago, Minnesota shipments were 22 percent of the world's production. Now they are less than 7 percent. This is due to new discoveries and lower production costs in other parts of the country and world. Ores produced in foreign countries also have become more competitive because of changes in ocean transportation, like ships five to eight times larger than the biggest on the Great Lakes. Twenty years ago there was little or no mining in Australia, Brazil, India, Labrador, Liberia, Peru, Quebec, or Venezuela. Today, they're all competing with us. And, their ore deposits are typically very large, and of high quality.

Also the last twenty years have seen dramatic changes in steelmaking. In 1971 Russia produced more steel than the U.S. Japan has become the world's third largest steelmaker, the world's largest shipbuilder, and the builder of the world's largest ships. Japan's steel industry has been built around deepwater harbors which can accommodate these huge ore carriers, hauling ore from all parts of the world.

So the changing world, plus the fact that iron ore is plentiful and produced by many other nations, has an impact on Minnesota's iron ore and taconite pellet production.

As I stated earlier, employment in natural ore has been steadily declining. On the other hand, growth in the taconite industry has provided new jobs to replace those being lost due to the decline in natural ore production.

Gentlemen, for the first time in the history of Northeastern Minnesota, people like my nine brothers and sisters and their families have year 'round employment. In my father's twenty-eight years as an iron ore miner, the best employment year he had was nine months. Most years were much less. Today, we are blessed with a clean taconite industry creating jobs for our people.

In studying your bill, I find that it could become effective legislation controlling surface and strip mining and continue to permit development of our mineral resources. However, there are provisions in the bill, as they relate to iron mining which seriously threaten the existence of our iron mining industry in Northeastern Minnesota.

There are provisions in the bill which would limit the term of any permit for surface mining and reclamation five years or less. In view of the enormous capital investment for iron mining operations, normally involving loans running for 25 to 30 years, such a limitation would create serious financial problems.

There is also a provision to force backfilling of our open pits. You must understand that our iron mines operate for as long as 50 years. The natural iron ore open pits of years past are now our source for the low grade taconite ores. To limit permits to five years and force backfilling in our open pits are regulations that could very well kill the taconite industry in Northeastern Minnesota.

Gentlemen, as I have illustrated in my testimony, the economy of our state and especially Northeastern Minnesota basically

relies on the wood fiber and iron mining industries. Both of these industries have made every effort to comply with new state and federal regulations regarding air and water quality. In this compliance they have invested millions of dollars for pollution equipment which adds not one cent to the companies' earnings. Our companies have recognized their responsibilities and have willingly invested their money to correct environmental problems.

The mining companies are not opposed to legislation regulating reclamation of mine lands. However, these regulations must be written so as to allow these to continue to operate in realistic terms.

We at NEMDA are knowledgeable of the iron mining industry in Northeastern Minnesota, and have a deep desire, as I'm sure you do, to see that legislation to regulate surface mining is effective and equitable. We offer our services to you in reviewing and amending your "working document".

Again, thank you for your time and consideration.

GROWTH IN THE TACONITE INDUSTRY IN MINNESOTA FOLLOWING PASSAGE OF THE TACONITE AMENDMENT IN 1964

[Dollar amounts in thousands]

	Annual capacity (thousands of tons)	Investment	Employment
Taconite facilities presently in operation:			
Reserve Mining Co	10,800	$350,000	3,200
Erie Mining Co	10,500	350,000	2,900
Minntac	12,000	275,000	2,000
Eveleth Taconite Co	2,000	45,000	450
Butler Taconite	2,000	56,000	400
National Steel Pellet	2,400	90,000	425
Total, 6 commercial plants	39,700	1,166,000	9,375
Taconite facilities in operation prior to the passage of the taconite amendment in 1964:			
Reserve Mining Co	6,500	210,000	2,500
Erie Mining Co	7,500	300,000	2,400
Pilotac (United States Steel)	1,000	50,000	500
Total, 2 commercial plants and 1 pilot plant	15,000	560,000	5,400
Growth since 1964	24,700	606,000	3,975
Additional taconite facilities under consideration:			
X	2,000	70,000	600
Y	4,000	150,000	1,300
Total	6,000	220,000	1,900

GLENSIDE NEWS MARKS 50TH ANNIVERSARY

HON. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call to the attention of my colleagues the 50th anniversary of the Glenside News, one of the fine community newspapers that enjoys such loyal readership in the Montgomery County section of the 13th Congressional District.

For many years, weekly newspapers have served the many Montgomery County communities with an interesting blend of local news items. Their stature in the community has grown over the decades.

The Glenside News first was published on February 7, 1923, by the Robinson Publishing Co., later sold in 1939. From then until 1959, the Glenside News was published as one of the Times Chronicle Newspapers.

In 1959, the Times Chronicle Newspapers were purchased by Montgomery Publishing Co., one of the largest weekly newspaper chains in the area. While a member of a chain of weeklies, the Glenside News has remained closely attuned to local needs. It serves residents of the Greater Glenside Area including Glenside, Ardsley, Edge Hill, North Hills, Custis Woods, Glenside Gardens, Laverock, Roslyn, Weldon, and Wyncote.

The excellence of the Glenside News is shown by the numerous editorial awards that the newspaper and its staff have received. Not only has the newspaper been cited by the Pennsylvania Newspaper Publishers Association in statewide competition, but it also has been honored by the National Newspaper Association in nationwide contests.

With a current circulation of 4,500, the Glenside News today commands a special place in the affections of its readers. While printing local news of importance and interest, the newspaper has won a deserved reputation for integrity, dignity and civic-mindedness in its half-century of publishing.

I salute the staff of the Glenside News for its outstanding efforts in the field of community journalism, exemplified by its high standards of writing, editing and publishing. They have maintained a proud record.

The communities served by the Glenside News, I am certain, regard the newspaper as a vital part of local life. They are fortunate in having so professional and community-oriented a newspaper covering local news events.

I offer my congratulations and best wishes on this 50th anniversary, and know the Glenside News will continue for many more years to serve its readers honestly and effectively.

SHOE PRICES RAPIDLY RISING DUE TO HIDE EXPORTS

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, as consumers we all have a tendency to grumble, shake our heads, and then proceed to buy high priced commodities.

But, as Members of Congress we cannot just shake our heads and passively accept inflated prices. We must take action.

Food prices are an easily visible indicator of our runaway economy. But other essential products have prices which are also skyrocketing.

Wholesale shoe prices are climbing. It is not the retailers or wholesalers fault that shoe prices have gone up. The rising price of hides because of their increased exportation is the villain behind the increasing price of shoes.

In the last 10 years, U.S. hide exports have risen from under 7 million to over 17 million hides annually.

During the same time period, shoe imports into the United States have climbed from 50 million pairs to almost 300 million pairs—a sixfold increase.

The increasing net deficit in foreign trade of hides, leather, and shoes, has paralleled the increased hide export and shoe import figures. Since 1962, the net deficit has gone from $150 million to over $1 billion in 1972.

A shoe retailer recently explained the necessary price increase in a letter to the dealers selling his products.

His letter cogently details how the exportation of hides is raising the price shoe manufacturers pay for their major raw material—hides.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to share one shoe producer's dilemma with all of my colleagues. After all, we all share in his dilemma—we must all purchase shoes.

The following letter was sent to a shoe dealer in my district:

NEW PRICES EFFECTIVE APRIL 1, 1973

MUSEBECK SHOE CO., INC.,
March 30, 1973.

To all Foot-So-Port Dealers:

It is with a feeling of helplessness of being caught up in a flow of events that you cannot fight against that we announce another increase in our wholesale shoe prices.

Several factors bring this about. Nothing has been done to stop the export of hides out of this country; in fact, it's still increasing, with outside countries bidding up the price.

On top of this, since Phase III has been discontinued, we are now beginning to get price increases from other suppliers, all of which bring about the prediction that shoe retail prices will have to go up from $1.00 to $3.00 a pair very shortly. We feel that our prices are still competitive in our particular field, but we have to recognize that the leather shoe of high quality is becoming a premium product, as are all leather products.

We are seeing a parallel in other raw material products, such as wool, which is forcing all wool clothing to record highs; and the export of logs and lumber, which has added over a thousand dollars to the cost of a home in the last few months.

The government so far doesn't seem to have come up with any solution except the statement that we don't dare offend any foreign countries for fear of a trade war, which would make things worse. We are beginning to wonder how long we can keep on buying overseas at the expense of jobs in this country and continuing inflation.

Thanking you for your understanding of the situation.

Sincerely,

W. W. GALLAHER, *President.*

ALL-AMERICA CITY

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, I am placing in the RECORD a letter from the managing editor of the Saturday Evening Post regarding the city of Somerville,

which has just been awarded the title of All-America City. I am justly proud to represent the city of Somerville, and the exemplary citizens who have demonstrated their devotion to ideals of democracy and leadership in attaining national recognition from the Saturday Evening Post and the National Municipal League. Each and every member of the community deserves congratulations and gratitude for having made Somerville such a fine place to live and work.

The letter follows:

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST,
April 9, 1973.

Hon. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, Jr.,
Representative from Massachusetts,
Rayburn Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE O'NEILL: It is my pleasure to inform you that Somerville, Massachusetts, has just been awarded the title of All-America City.

The award goes to Somerville for the vigorous action of its citizens in bringing about major improvements in their community, thus setting an example of good citizenship to the nation.

The All-American Cities Awards contest, now entering its 25th year, is co-sponsored by the National Municipal League and The Saturday Evening Post to recognize and encourage citizen action. Each year, eleven winners are selected for the honor by a jury of distinguished citizens and experts on government impanelled by the League.

The names of the eleven winners will be *released officially on April 15,* and an article highlighting the All-America Cities will appear in the May/June issue of The Saturday Evening Post, on sale, April 15.

The Post is proud to announce this year's fine new team of All-America Cities. We know that you will join us in offering the heartiest congratulations to the citizens in your constituency who have shown such an avid interest in their community.

Sincerely,

FREDERICK A. BIRMINGHAM,
Managing Editor.

REPORT ON FIRST 100 DAYS IN CONGRESS

HON. ROBERT J. HUBER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Speaker, to report on my activities since this session of Congress began 100 days ago, next week, my office will be sending our first regular newsletter to my constituents.

Emphasis has been placed on two matters of particular concern to Michigan's 18th District which I have the honor to represent. One is the forced busing mess that is growing into a countrywide cancer, and the other is the dilemma faced by me and other Members of Congress who want to drastically cut spending by the Federal Government but not cripple essential programs.

The report follows:

April 1973.

Roughly 100 days have passed since coming to Washington as your Representative from Michigan's redefined 18th District. This first regular report will summarize my principal activities and assignments during this period, and note legislation I have introduced. It also will indicate the dilemma faced by me and other Congressmen who want to hold down your taxes while voting for worthwhile programs.

Let me repeat: your comments and suggestions on Congressional and national matters always will be welcomed and carefully weighed. My offices in Royal Oak and Washington are staffed to be of service to you on matters relating to the federal government.

To serve constituents better, I have made it a point to meet and confer with top officials here in Washington at both day and evening meetings. Among those have been Secy. of State Rogers, Secy. of HEW Weinberger, Secy. of Navy Warner, OEO Director Phillips, Pres. Advisor Kissinger, Pres. Assts. Haldeman and Friedersdorf, and high level officials of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. Numerous contacts are made daily with lesser officials throughout the bureaucracy.

Relevant, responsible committee posts have been assigned me for the next two years. I will serve on the Committee on Education and Labor, and its Special Education and General Labor Subcommittees. Here my years of experience as a Michigan legislator and as a manufacturer will be most useful.

I also agreed to serve on the Veterans' Affairs Committee and three of its Subcommittees—Education and Training, Hospitals, and Housing. Here again, my training and experience such as my U.S. Army service, years in the American Legion, and the past Post Commander in the Catholic War Veterans should make a contribution to the deliberations and work of the groups.

Meeting at the White House at the President's invitation to explore ways to slash federal spending and thus stop increasing taxes.

An influential post has resulted from my world travel and work with the Detroit Chamber of Commerce promoting overseas trade and my concern for developing fiscally sound economic policies. I have been selected to serve on the 16 member Republican Task Force on International Economic Policy. This group will study such key issues as monetary reform, the U.S. trade deficit, international investments, and the role of the multinational corporation.

Members of Ferndale School Board meet with me to fight racial discrimination charge by HEW against the district.

Ban busing: To resolve the forced busing mess in this country, I am working on a day-to-day basis with like-minded Members of Congress and with concerned organizations and individuals.

We have introduced four Constitutional Amendments to reduce and eliminate forced busing. (I testified before the House Education and Labor and the Senate Judiciary Committees on these earlier.) Under this legislation, a child's neighborhood would remain the appropriate area for determining his public school assignment. Getting a Constitutional Amendment adopted, however, calls for a two-thirds vote in both the House and Senate, and then ratification by 38 states—a process that is slow and uncertain. Hence, we also are attacking the problem of forced busing by enacting new federal laws. One of our bills makes it clear all court-ordered busing would be stopped until all appeals have been exhausted. Another would limit student assignment to a child's neighborhood.

There is no question of the effectiveness, in total, of the concerted efforts of the nation's citizens groups that oppose forced busing. Equally true, the battles for high quality education for all, for neighborhood schools, and for an end to forced busing is still far from won. You can count on my continued participation with anti-busing groups in Michigan. Coupled with efforts in other Congressional Districts, we can help persuade the courts as well as Congress that the majority of Americans, will not tolerate forced busing for arbitrary racial balances.

A 15%–20% increase in income taxes is about the last thing most taxpayers can handle without further cutting their standards of living. Yet this is exactly what the nation faces unless excessive spending by the federal government is slashed.

The problem becomes especially acute when bad legislation is masked by alluring names and labels. It poses a special problem for me and other Congressmen who want to trim waste and the nice-but-necessary projects, but at the same time make sure we do not cripple essential programs.

The Vocational Rehabilitation Act presents a good example of the problem. Over strong Republican opposition, the Democrats forced a bill through Congress that would increase federal spending by a full *billion* dollars above the level we can pay without increasing taxes or slashing some other equally important program. I had voted *for* an expanded but reasonable Republican vocational rehabilitation program that failed to pass, then voted *against* the wastefully extravagant Democrat bill that passes. The President vetoed this over-stuffed bill, and the Senate sustained his veto.

Supporters of the extravagant version didn't bother to point out that such excessive spending would mean more deficit spending and inflation more devaluation of the U.S. dollar and more federal income taxes. They didn't remind us that haphazardly passing out bundles of taxpayers' money rarely solves problems or hits the target. They certainly didn't show how much the federal rehabilitation program had expanded and improved since President Nixon came into office. For example, the budget for vocational rehabilitation, from fiscal year 1969 to fiscal year 1974, shows a 75% increase. The number of Americans being served jumps from 781,000 to some 1,225,000 during this period. And its estimated about 350,000 persons will be rehabilitated compared with 241,000 at the start of Nixon's administration in 1969.

Of course we must and will continue to meet essential needs of our citizens, but with costs as high as they are today we cannot afford to waste taxpayers' money. My vote on this bill—as it will be on others that have become extravagantly padded—will be to cut wasteful spending in order to avoid the need for an increase in our already heavy income taxes.

Helping constituents with their problems began the day I became your Congressman. For instance:

3713 letters mailed.

12 round trips made to the 18th District.

47 bills and resolutions introduced.

128 problem cases handled, including ones involving Social Security, Veterans Administration, Army, Navy, Air Force and Civil Service.

355 long distance phone calls completed.

131 citizens visited our Washington office.

96 citizens visited our Royal Oak office.

152,000 questionnaires, seeking 18th District opinions, distributed.

National Commander Jos. Sanson recently presented me with Honorary Life Membership in AMVETS.

In voting, and in proposing new legislation, my prior experience as a mayor, county supervisor and State Senator is helping me get off to a fast, sure start. In deciding how to vote, or whether or not to introduce legislation, each issue is approached on its individual merit—its advantages or disadvantages to my neighbors in Michigan and to those in the rest of the nation. Here are typical measures introduced since coming to Washington in January:

To improve Postal Service:

Each year have Congress pass on requests from the U.S. Postal Service for supplementary operating funds.

To aid veterans:

Insure that their disability rates will not be lowered.

To protect the environment:

Provide tax incentives to recycle trash, or to burn it for fuel.

To help the taxpayer:

Create a Senate-House Committee on the Budget to tighten control of federal spending.

Give single persons the same federal income tax benefits as married ones.

To fight crime:

Impose stiff, mandatory sentences on those using firearms in committing a felony.

Make it a federal crime to kill or assault a fireman or policeman performing his duty.

THE REALITY OF REGIONALISM

HON. PAUL W. CRONIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. CRONIN. Mr. Speaker, several weeks ago, we in the Congress were honored by the visit of the Honorable Frank McManus, a member of the British Parliament elected by the people of Northern Ireland. Mr. McManus was in Washington to speak with Members of Congress about the tragic events in Northern Ireland. He spoke in highly moving terms, and I know that his words had a profound effect on many of my colleagues. To his credit, he was able to take the complex issues relative to Northern Ireland, which are often difficult for the American people to follow, and place them in a context which could be understood by all.

Mr. McManus has set forth one possible solution to the hostilities in a book entitled: "Ulster—The Future." This book has been reviewed by Mr. Fred O'Brien, of Charlestown, Mass., who is a contributing author to "The Irish People" and a frequent commentator on the events in Northern Ireland.

Mr. Speaker, I respectfully request that Mr. O'Brien's review be placed in the RECORD.

The review follows:

THE REALITY OF REGIONALISM

(By Fred Burns O'Brien)

Having just finished reading the booklet "Ulster—The Future" by The Honorable Frank McManus, M.P., it seems appropriate to offer more discussion on the theory of regionalism that Mr. McManus presents so convincingly. The theory of regional government is a rational approach to the problem of uniting all the people of the island of Ireland, including those at extreme poles on the political spectrum. Most concepts discussed herein are those developed by Mr. McManus, however, a few ideas developed as an outgrowth of those which are my own.

Dividing Ireland into the four provinces with strong regional parliaments is confronting the problem of implementing unity face to face. No citizen of the Six Counties, Orange or Green, is going to accept the Dublin Government suddenly being thrust upon them in a governing capacity. All the people would feel resentment to some degree for they would be passed from one domineering force to another with the new one being as unfamiliar with local problems as the past government across the Irish Sea., Frank McManus fully realizes that a new Ulster, like a new Ireland, requires new creative government. This eliminates the Government of Dublin as it presently exists. There, they have had one-party government similar to that of one-party domination in the North with the one exception that the "Republic" has had an opposition that was able to interrupt its rule twice over the last forty years of its power. The Government of Dublin is as stale as that of Stormont was before it was brought down and deep down as indifferent as that in London. The indifference of both London and Dublin has prolonged the agony of the North. There has never been any real pressure from either government to have a settlement, only guarded words.

The regional government could be looked at as permanent government in a transitional context. A united nine-county Ulster would allow its inhabitants to adjust to the idea of the united province and accept this entity eventually transmitting their loyalty to a central Irish Government which would be the overseer of the regional areas. Until that time the regional and central governments could work hand in hand for the betterment of the province. This form of regionalism would be beneficial to the people of Ireland as a whole especially in areas with particular problems. The North has been living under a wartime atmosphere and needs delicate reshaping that only its citizens can work out. The West of Ireland needs a special attention on development that a regional parliament would give attention of a particular sort that the central government would not be able to allow for due to complexitys.

Ulster's problems are best understood by those who live there and best resolved by all factions of opinions hammering out viable programs offering equitable solutions. The population of the full nine counties would reflect almost a 50–50 division between the two major sectarian groupings. This would give rise to a healthy political climate where there would always be effective opposition. Mr. McManus contends that initially the present Unionist coalition of opinion would be in the majority and control the proposed Ulster Parliament. Their position of power would not be decimated by this form of Irish unity. They would maintain power, but in a rational vein.

The melding of "historic Ulster" is simple geographic sanity. It is a vehicle that is needed to assure the present Protestant majority of the Six County State that they will not be so dominated as to be devoid of equality. The fears of Protestants have to be alleviated and appeased. Some of the Protestant fears are mythical as pointed out at the beginning of the McManus booklet. The inflammatory rhetoric of the Orange Order conjure myths to keep in line those who by their way of life should be opposed to the leaders of the order. The other fears are certainly legitimate and must be tended to by the government. These would be in reference to the divorce laws, contraception, abortion, censorship and other social legislation. The denial of these entities are certain to bring cries of papist tyranny and verify the Orange myths.

Asking Unionists to accept Regionalism offers a less offensive tone to it than ordering them to reject all that they hold necessary to their existence and have them accept the Dublin Government at face value. This would surely bring on a civil war. Regionalism brings a new Ulster for all parties to offer concrete contributions regardless of past politics. McManus cites the regional approach of Switzerland, Germany and the United States as workable regionally based states with controlling central governments.

The United States of America has always had regionalism. Each region or block of states have certain problems fixed to their particular region to be considered and solved by those of power in the regions. The Congressmen and Senators of the Southern States of the United States have a different approach to the central government than their counterparts in the Northeast States. There are pertinent regional concerns that are primary goals of representatives of the region and of course there are central issues of a national concern that are solved in the context of the whole nation, but always with over-riding regional concerns. This would be true in Ireland as well as the United States.

The booklet presents the overbearing issue of domination. Do those in Ulster want to be dominated by either London or Dublin? McManus correctly, in my judgment, states that the overwhelming number of Ulster citizens would reject domination of either in favor of the regional concept with allegiance eventually to an Irish central government reshaped to be acceptable to all the Irish people. In addition to the idea of domination by an "outside force" Mr. McManus dwells on the all too true fact that unity of the two states that make up Ireland is not just a possibility, but a certain necessity. It is only a matter of when and it will not be too great a time because of the economic strain on the British economy in financing the North and the added pressure of Europe leaning on Britain to resolve their "internal problems."

The establishment of an Ulster identity formed by all of the people can be accepted by all its people, healing wounds of the past as all of Ulster will strive to maintain benefits that will accrue to them. The figure in the booklet suggests that a nine-county Ulster will make up 40% of the population of Ireland. Numerically as stated, the Protestants will control Ulster and have a powerful voice in the central government. This cold fact should alleviate many Protestant fears since they will control 40% of the population of Ireland and they will be stronger that their 25% of the population. The more advanced North will be able to exert a great influence due to their industrial potential.

Ulster certainly has a future if those of Ulster want it and can repress past myths in favor of a reasonable future. Each side must divest itself of selfish one-sided goals in favor of what is best for the entire community. These are easy words to say and are general concepts. They have not been effectuated because they remain general and easy for politicians to speak of, but far too broad for practical enactment. This is another reason in favor of regionalism which could be implemented since it is more specific and operable.

For anyone with an interest in the future of the North, I highly recommend reading *Ulster—The Future*. It offers a rational approach to a problem that must be solved.

ARMY MEDICAL CORPS

HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, on April 12, I introduced H.R. 6907, a bill which would bring long-needed equity into the promotion considerations of all officers in the U.S. Army. The Army is entering a period of experimentation, with the end of selective service and the initiating of the concept of the volunteer army. It would be especially fitting that if at the same time, the Army could be reorganized so that the officers of the Army Medical Service Corps achieve the recognition they deserve and have been denied for too long.

H.R. 6907 would elevate the rank of the chief of the Army Medical Service

Corps to a major general; the assistant chiefs, the heads of the various sections in the corps, would rank at brigadier general. Such upgrading of rank would present an equitable position with other Army officers and thus undoubtedly enhance the prestige of the corps. According to the current ratio of 5 general officer positions for 1,000 Regular Army strength, there should be 10 such positions in the Medical Service Corps, instead of the single such position now allocated.

Recent statistics reveal that 11 percent of all Army officers with graduate degrees are in the Medical Service Corps, and that this corps also boasts 31 percent of all doctorate degrees. This educational background demands attention in promotion considerations.

Until this time, the Army has had no problem in securing health care professionals; at least on the surface, it would seem that way. There was always the doctor draft. The Army depended on this situation, since the retention rate has not been overwhelming in this area. And how can we expect a good retention rate, with less chance of promotion than for officers in other corps in the same Army or with the great disparity between civilian and military income.

We are now in a position where the Army must begin to depend on volunteers. This upgrading of rank for health care professionals is one sure way to at least encourage these needed officers to consider the military as a satisfying career, this is one sure way to increase retention. Surely the retention factor alone would present a long-term financial savings as well.

As the Nation and Congress turn more and more attention to the question of health in this country, the Army cannot be exempt from this consideration. The health and well-being of the Army should be a prime concern. With the volunteer army, it will be a necessity to provide comprehensive health care to all military professionals. Upgrading the rank of the Army Medical Service Corps by H.R. 6907 is an initial step in this whole process.

SCRANTON PREP—STAR CHAMPION

HON. JOSEPH M. McDADE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, last St. Patrick's Day, Irish eyes were smiling on the Scranton Prep basketball team as they defeated Pittsburgh North Catholic High School 48–44 in Pittsburgh to win the PCIAA class A State championship. The victory gave Prep their first State championship in the school's history and culminated one of their finest seasons.

It was much more than good luck which accounted for the tremendous season enjoyed by the Cavaliers under the very able leadership of Coach Jack Farrell. Included in their championship season was a 17-game winning streak, a victory in the prestigious Lynett Tournament that gave Coach Farrell his 100th victory at Prep, and the succession of victories that led to their final win over Pittsburgh.

Not to be outdone by the varsity, the Prep junior varsity posted an 18-2 record this year, indicating that my alma mater should enjoy continued success in the future.

Mr. Speaker, I know the Members of the House will join me in extending to the coaches, faculty, students, and players at Scranton Prep our hearty congratulations on this outstanding achievement.

NEW WAY TO FIGHT POVERTY NEEDED

HON. PAUL W. CRONIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. CRONIN. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in the Maine Sunday Telegram, Portland, Maine, points out that since the war on poverty has not worked, another method to fight poverty must be undertaken.

The strategies and plans to raise the poor out of poverty have failed and the only way to do that is to learn from past mistakes, scrap and restructure programs which have failed, and develop a new and progressive program based on programs which have been successful.

It is for these reasons that OEO must be restructured.

I include the following editorial in the RECORD:

[The Portland, Maine, Telegram, Feb. 25, 1973]

WAR ON POVERTY; WHAT BATTLES WON?

OEO—sloganized as the "war on poverty" —was a high and splendid idea. But after eight years and billions of dollars, its record of results achieved in defeating poverty was a sorry one.

As soon as President Nixon said he was dismantling the Office of Economic Opportunity, wailing words poured out from congressmen on Capitol Hill, including wails from the Maine delegation. After weeks of hearing those wails we came across two statistics which strike us as somewhat relevant . . . Since 1950 a congressman's salary has increased 183 per cent and the price of a manure spreader has increased 395 per cent.

Enough expensive crocodile tears, we say.

Now the job is not to mouth political invective over the dismemberment of OEO because of its failure to win the war against poverty. The job is to develop other tools that may perform more effectively. For America should and must continue the fight against poverty in our midst.

Today, the challenge to the windy army of OEO poverty fighters is not to keep themselves on the payroll but rather to marshall enough convincing facts, figures and program proposals to persuade local government authorities to finance provenly effective anti-poverty programs out of new revenue sharing funds.

So far this is not happening. Why not?

It is a cherished tenet in America that the closer government is to the people the more effective and more responsive government is to the needs of the people.

If this tenet is true, why are local officials not responding more to the needs of the poor, the sick, the elderly, the children? Local officials surely are not steely hearted human beings. Furthermore, as politicians they know that to be re-elected they need the votes of the poor, because the poor and the aged are numerous.

Is the fault therefore with the innumerable agencies of OEO?

Are they unable to present a convincing case?

Are these tens of thousands of people on OEO payrolls unable to muster provable facts that their programs are indeed moving people up out of poverty? Are they unable to show that dollar for dollar they are achieving results that demonstrably deserve re-financing from local budgets, where all are better able to see both the costs and the results? If they can't do this, then let's stop the wailing about the end of OEO.

The fight against poverty can be won not by putting a few poor on OEO payrolls, but only by helping people move themselves up out of poverty. If the OEO agencies can show they are performing this vital job, then we are confident that they can compete successfully in getting their due share of revenue-sharing funds from Maine town, municipal and state government. And then carry on their work.

While the American people have no love for taxes, the one thing they really hate is paying taxes to government agencies which fail to deliver the goods. And that has been the fault of OEO nationwide. Its goals are fine. Its performance is not. Who therefore, can quarrel with the President's proposal that a more effective method to fight poverty be tried?

FEDERAL-AID HIGHWAY ACT MONEYS FOR ALASKA

HON. DON YOUNG

OF ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. YOUNG of Alaska. Mr. Speaker, today is a very important day in the history of Alaska, And because of this, I would like to insert my remarks.

I say this is an important day for my State because the Congress has approved the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1973. For many of my colleagues, this action will bring needed highway improvement. For others, it will open the way for improved inner-city transportation.

But for Alaska, the law means more, much more. It means that a major segment of the only road connecting Alaska with her sister States will be paved for the first time. It also means that Alaska will receive $20 million for each of the next 3 years to improve and expand her highway system.

Alaska is the only State in the Union that has never been made eligible to receive Federal interstate highway trust funds; this you all know. But Alaska's very special needs have not been forgotten by her friends in the Congress.

The quest for these highway improvement moneys started many years ago, when the Honorable Howard Pollock was Alaska's only Representative in Congress. The late Nick Begich worked long and hard with Mr. BLATNICK, the Honorable Representative from Minnesota who chairs the House Committee on Public Works, to provide for badly needed highway improvement funds.

The Honorable DON H. CLAUSEN, the gentleman from California, has also given Alaska his able assistance in committee meetings and on the floor. To these gentlemen and to others who have worked to help Alaska become a more equal partner in the Union go my thanks and the sincere appreciation of all Alaska.

They know that Alaska, a State 2½ times the size of Texas has only 7,500 miles of roads. They are aware, too, that Texas, by way of comparison, has 248,340 miles in its road systems. The distinguished Members who have helped include Alaska in this highway appropriation measure know that Rhode Island, a State smaller than Alaska's Malaspina Glacier, has 5,500 miles of roads, very nearly as many miles of highways and city streets as there are in all of Alaska.

Alaska, I may remind you, is one-fifth the size of the entire continental United States. In the 50 States and the District of Columbia, there are 3,758,942 miles of roads, highways, and city streets. If the Nation's roadways were built in proportion to the size of each State, Alaska's highway system would have to be expanded a hundredfold. For the present, this is obviously impossible. But before closing my remarks, I must point out that Nevada, a State with a population closest to Alaska's has a road system seven times the size of Alaska's.

Appropriations for the next 3 fiscal years—$20 million for each—will bring substantial improvement to Alaska's road system. And, the specific allocation that links the main body of the State and the panhandle region of southeast Alaska will enable Alaskans and all citizens who each year visit the Great Land in increasing numbers to make their journeys more safely and with greater convenience.

A SYMBOLIC VOTE

HON. WILLIAM L. ARMSTRONG

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Mr. Speaker, today's vote on the highway trust fund amendment, an amendment to provide some additional funding for mass transit, posed the most difficult decision which I have faced on any legislation since coming to Congress. After weighing arguments presented during floor debate and studying the written reports on the proposed amendment, I voted against diverting money from the highway trust fund.

This was a difficult decision because I am for mass transit. This country needs environmentally and economically sound mass transit systems; this need is particularly acute in my home State, Colorado. But the amendment proposed today would not solve the problem. On the contrary, I am convinced the amendment would undermine both mass transit and highway programs.

Of course, today's vote was mostly symbolic. In its original form S. 502 already provides $3 billion in general fund money for mass transit. So permitting the diversion of a part of the $700 million in urban systems money would not have significant financial impact.

But it would undoubtedly foster the impression that mass transit funding problems are solved. And nothing could be further from the truth.

Since it is obvious there is not enough money in the highway fund now, or in the future, to finance both highways and mass transit, creating competition for highway user funds will divert attention from the real need—separate funding for transit on a realistic basis.

Some people believe the highway fund has a heavy surplus. But the National Transportation Report, submitted to Congress last year by the Department of Transportation, estimates $600 billion is required to meet highway needs between now and 1990. The highway trust fund will have income of less than half this amount. And the $5.4 billion balance expected in the trust fund at the end of this fiscal year is already $2.6 billion short of unpaid obligations.

Tying the future of mass transit to an already depleted highway fund does not make sense. We must have responsible financing of mass transit on its own merits.

In this respect the legislation adopted by the House today is a constructive step. It provides $3 billion in new authorizations on the basis of an 80–20 matching formula, an improvement over the previous 2–1 formula.

A new degree of local flexibility permitting a city to substitute all or a part of its urban highway money for mass transit investments—either fixed rail or rolling stock for rail or bus operations—is also included. This will be made available in advance obligational authority against general revenues. The $700 million earmarked for urban highways will be available for such optional use.

Furthermore, existing legislation permits the use of any interstate, primary, secondary or urban money wherever the needs exist for construction of preferential bus lanes, fringe parking facilities and so on.

I should also point out that this legislation extends the Nation's program for highway construction by providing an additional $3.5 billion for completion of the Interstate System; $1.1 billion per year for urban roads; $1.1 billion a year for primary and secondary work in rural areas; and lesser amounts for other purposes. This highway construction program is the greatest single public works project in the history of our country and it is worthwhile to note that the Interstate Highway System is the only pay-as-you-go project of large magnitude which the Federal Government has undertaken.

All in all, Mr. Speaker, this is a good bill. But I deeply regret the symbolic overtones of today's House action. Many Americans will interpret today's action as being antimass transit and it is for this reason that I wished to explain my reasons for opposing the amendment and to reaffirm my own support for mass transit systems which are so urgently needed.

MINNESOTA'S WCCO: SQUARESVILLE-ON-THE-AIR?

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, this morning's issue of the Wall Street Journal features a delightful front-page article on a friend known to nearly everybody in Minnesota, radio station WCCO. Of course, some faithful listeners may be a bit surprised to find WCCO described as squaresville-on-the-air. But on the other hand, maybe that is why this popular station is one of the most successful in the entire country.

Since Morgan Mundane, "sports editor" of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD seems to be covering a wrestling match between President and Congress at the moment, I am pleased to substitute for him by inserting the WCCO story in the RECORD:

"JUST FOLKS" RADIO: WCCO STILL SOUNDS AS IT DID IN THE 1940'S, BUT MINNESOTANS LISTEN

(By M. Howard Gelfand)

MINNEAPOLIS.—Listen to WCCO radio:

At the crack of dawn, Maynard Speece tells folks about the price of frozen pork bellies. Later in the morning, Howard Viken plays a Patti Page ballad for his listeners. During the afternoon, Steve Cannon makes the city's worst sports prognostications. At night, Ray Christensen tells a quiz show contestant, "Gee, it was fun talking about your farm."

Without listening any further, you should begin to understand why a local newspaper columnist labels WCCO radio "squaresville-on-the-air." What you may have a bit more trouble understanding is that Maynard and Howard and Steve and Ray and their associates dominate their listening area like no other metropolitan radio station in the country.

Most big-city radio stations are thrilled to muster a tenth of their area's listening audience. Only a handful of them can claim a share of audience greater than 20%. But Maynard and Howard and Steve and Ray, et al., regularly command 30% to 40% of the Minneapolis-St. Paul radio audience (depending on which figures you use).

All those listeners don't hear the strident jukebox sounds of "top-40" rock music; nor do they hear all-news or all-talk or all-"easy listening" music or any of the other round-the-clock formats that have dominated radio in the years since television first reared its head. Instead, WCCO offers a little music, a little sports, a good deal of news, a resolute avoidance of anything controversial, and an endless stream of light chatter about home, farm, family and anything else that Maynard and Howard and Steve and Ray find interesting.

A MODEL—OF THE 1940'S

That sounds like a standard radio format for the 1940s, and it is. In fact, other than the demise of a couple of soap operas, the only difference between the WCCO of 1953 and the WCCO of 1973 is that in those days, WCCO was fighting for dominance of the Twin Cities radio market; these days, WCCO *is* the Twin Cities radio market.

WCCO radio (there's a sister television station) acquired that dominance by flatly refusing to change with the times during the mid-1950s. A good many broadcasters decided then to focus their energies on TV; many also converted their radio operations to, in effect, free jukeboxes that occasionally tell time, temperature and a few headlines.

One WCCO rival, KSTP, maintained a talk-and-music format but shifted much of its radio talent to KSTP–TV, and it has gradually seen its share of the audience slip to 3% from 26% two decades ago. Currently, two rock-music stations vie for second place in the 20-station market with about 10% of the Twin Cities audience apiece.

As a result, WCCO "is one of the last radio stations in the country to appeal to a wide range of audience," says Leonard Bart, professor of broadcasting at the University of Minnesota. "It's a model of how to run a successful radio station—in the 1940s. But somehow they've been able to sustain their appeal, largely because their 'we're-just-like-you' approach is so much a part of their market."

Standing pat was a gamble. "We lost money in those years (in the early 1950s), but we knew we could hang on," says Lawrence Haeg, president of Midwest Radio-Television Inc., which owns WCCO. "Other stations were cutting their advertising rates, but we said 'by God, these are our rates, and this is what you'll pay'."

WCCO is still saying just that (station manager Phil Lewis is fond of referring to "the novelty of television"), and advertisers pay. It's estimated that last year's pretax profit was more than $3 million, or over 40% of WCCO's $7 million in revenue, a staggering performance in an industry where a 20% profit margin is considered exceptional. (The profits remain in the Twin Cities. Midwest Radio-Television Inc. is controlled, through some rather complex corporate geneology, by Minneapolis Star & Tribune Co. and by the Ridder family, which also controls a nationwide string of newspapers, including those in St. Paul.)

A BELLYDANCER AND DAVID HALBERSTAM

One reason for that prosperity is purely technical. For civil defense reasons, the federal government in 1932 designated WCCO and 11 other stations as "clear-channel" stations, meaning that after sundown no other stations can share their frequencies. During the day, WCCO's 50,000-watt signal booms out to all of Minnesota plus large chunks of Wisconsin, Iowa and the Dakotas. At night, the same signal carries as far as Ohio to the East and Texas to the South.

But all that signal does, of course, is transmit the sounds of WCCO, sounds like the 10:30 show done each morning by Charlie Boone and Roger Erickson, who are probably the station's best-known announcers. The two of them go light on the music—in 90 minutes they may play no more than four records—and heavy on the interviews, with guests ranging from a bellydancer to touring authors like David Halberstam, who called the show one of the best he'd been on.

Messrs. Boone and Erickson also do skits they concoct themselves, such as their tongue-in-cheek campaign to save the skeet, which they claimed was an endangered species nearing extinction. (Indeed it is—skeet shooting consists of blasting clay targets out of the air with a shotgun.) And they toss around humor of a sort.

Roger: "Hey, have ya seen those pictures from 'Last Tango in Paris'?"

Charlie: "If that's what goes on in Paris, now I know why it took them so long to sign a peace treaty." Or, perhaps:

Charlie: "Say, women's lib keeps saying it's time women take things into their own hands."

Roger: "You mean, like a mop?"

Charlie: "No, that's not what they have in mind."

Then, as often as not, comes a commercial, to which Roger and Charlie transfer their energies with such enthusiasm that they'll often run 15 or 20 seconds over on a one-minute commercial. Advertisers, who pay $85 to $105 a minute for the privilege, don't object.

Jack Miller, editor of the North Country Anvil, a local review, recently offered Messrs. Boone and Erickson this faintly sarcastic praise: "Perhaps the greatest thing about B&E is that they *never* get controversial. They tell you so, too. . . . They don't invite any fringe nuts that are going to say something upsetting on the air. And even with the middle-of-the-road guests they have, B&E are always diligent about seeing that the discussion is kept light and fluffy—in a word, optimistic. And isn't that what we need, when the world is in such a depressing state?"

Charlie Boone thinks so. "We don't like to make people uncomfortable," he says. "It was frustrating for us during the Vietnam war. We had to be objective, and it was difficult for us to remain silent. We had to keep light and fun because people needed that." But occasionally an edge shows through, as when, playing a pompous Senator, he declared, "I don't mind the Defense Department spending $81 billion on bombs, missiles and bullets—as long as it's spent constructively."

The voices and the programs change as the day rolls on, but the mood remains the same. Mr. Cannon's afternoon "drive-time" show features such characters (played by Mr. Cannon) as Morgan Mundane, "sports editor of the Congressional Record," whose prognostications are invariably wrong.

Mr. Christensen's 9 p.m. quiz show is entitled "Honest-to-Goodness" and contestants really do win cash prizes of $8.30 for answering questions like "What was the original name of the comic strip 'Popeye'?" (answer: "Thimble Theater"). Mostly, though, Mr. Christensen and co-host Steve Edstrom just chat with contestants about their families, jobs and farms.

"WE LIKE IT HERE"

Talky shows like these take years to build audiences, but then station manager Lewis can't recall an announcer quitting for another job in years, Messrs. Boone and Erickson have 14 years each at WCCO, making them relative newcomers alongside Maynard Speece and Howard Viken, who have 20 and 23 years in, respectively.

"We've all had many offers, but we like it here, and it would take more than money to make us move," says Charlie Boone. Not that Mr. Boone is starving. He's reported to earn about $60,000 a year, while Mr. Viken, who presides over the morning "drive-time," pulls down an estimated $100,000 a year.

Lacing all the chitchat together is a quite substantial amount of local news and information—almost 4½ hours daily, not counting the hourly "feed" of national headlines from the CBS radio network, with which WCCO is affiliated. Local residents clearly rely on WCCO to be their news bulletin board. When the station announced at 4:45 one morning that Honeywell Inc. didn't want the first shift at local plant to report because of a power failure, some 90% of the 1,300 employes got the word.

Though WCCO news has won a variety of awards over the years, there are those who think its quality isn't terribly exciting. Paul Gruchow, who heads the news department at KSJN radio, a local noncommercial station, says, "Among commercial operations, WCCO makes a more serious effort than anyone else, but a great deal of what they do is simply a shortened version of the Minneapolis Tribune. It seems to me that their news operation constitutes a minimum response to an obligation that can be fairly placed upon them as the richest station around."

PLAY-BY-PLAY OF A TORNADO

Nonetheless, and possibly because of the size of its audience, WCCO does make news. Secretary of Agriculture Earl Butz, for example, made his first public defense of the cutback in federal aid to farmers on a recent WCCO call-in show.

During a call-in show in 1964, Sen. Hubert Humphrey was talking to Roger Erickson from the Democratic National Convention when the CBS network broke in with a bulletin—President Johnson wanted the Minnesota Senator as a running-mate and was trying to get a call through to him. "A man could miss the train," Sen. Humphrey remarked as he hung up the telephone.

If there's a news area in which WCCO excels, it's the weather. On summer nights when there are tornado warnings, a tour of the Twin Cities would reveal thousands of people standing on their porches, staring at the sky, the sound of WCCO coming from their living rooms. The station has tracked tornados for so long that for many listeners, calling WCCO is a reflex action when they spy a twister. As a result, the station often outdoes the Weather Service at tracing tornados.

"I'll always recall the May 1965 tornado that killed 14 persons in Fridley (a suburb)," says former WCCO promotion manager Rob Brown. "We did an actual play-by-play of that thing. It was the most exciting, rewarding thing I've ever done." It also won Peabody and duPont awards for the station.

Tornadoes are serious business in Minnesota, and WCCO has been persuaded to use its nerve-shattering klaxon horn only when a tornado is actually sighted, not every time there's a "tornado watch" (conditions in which a tornado could develop). Critics charged overuse of the klaxon was a scare tactic that didn't exactly reduce the station's audience.

But then WCCO has never been particularly bashful about blowing its own horn. When rival WDGY, a rock station, made a splash in 1957 with lucrative contests and cash giveaways, Mr. Haeg countered with "Big Bill Cash," a mythical figure who gave up to $5,000 to listeners who answered their phone with a designated phrase announced on WCCO. WDGY retorted by announcing WCCO's phrase on its own programs, so WCCO began selecting such self-serving aphorisms as "WCCO, your good neighbor to the northwest." WDGY eventually surrendered.

If the winds of change are blowing at WCCO, they're not blowing very hard. The advertising department recently dropped its ban on ads for hemorrhoid remedies, "but we still won't play the commercials during the dinner hour," says Clayton Kaufman, WCCO's national advertising director. Music director Dennis Long, at 29 the youngest member of the announcing staff, manages to slip a few Beatles and James Taylor tunes in among the Lawrence Welk and Ferrante and Teicher standards, but he acknowledges that "the music is secondary" to the station's conversational fare.

The reason change comes slowly, if at all, is simple enough. "Just look at this antiquated equipment. Some of this stuff is as old as the station itself (50 years)," growls the normally affable Howard Viken as he points to the control board in his announcing booth. Then he explains that when he and other announcers have tried to persuade management to modernize, the answer is always the same—"If it works, leave it alone."

LOOK TO THE CROSS

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. DOMINICK V. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, as we approach the season when we observe the celebration of the risen Christ, I would like to offer to my col-

leagues in this House a few words of poetic inspiration by a valued constituent, Mrs. Georgianna Childs Mello of Jersey City, N.J. Mrs. Mello is a dear friend of mine of many years standing and I think her words will be of value to all who read this RECORD.

Her poem follows:

LOOK TO THE CROSS

(By Georgianna Childs Mello)

A Cross stands high on a hill in Calvary
Symbol of strength . . . courage . . . misery,
How His heart must yearn for those
Who know not what His eyes discern
For the young and old who have ignored Him;
Sometimes I wonder as I sit and ponder
The wrongs we have done, His mysteries we flounder,
I wonder what He thinks, as He looks down from Calvary
I wonder what He would say, of all this blood and thunder.
Nearer each day His coming seems nearer,
Nearer, oh nearer, each day my God; nearer oh nearer,
Let us not forget His teaching, and stop this reaching
For the moon, the stars, the sun.
But rather reach for the things He taught;
A different world would we see, as we Look to the Cross on Calvary.

CONGRESSMAN DOMINICK V. DANIELS SAYS "ISRAEL MUST CONTINUE TO EXIST"

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. DOMINICK V. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, as part of the celebration of the 25th anniversary of Israel, Arnold Forster, general counsel of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith interviewed Prime Minister Golda Meir and Mr. Abba Eban, the Foreign Minister of Israel. The interviews are so significant that I urge all Members of this House and all Americans who read the RECORD to pause for a few minutes to listen to the voices of two of the most respected leaders of this plucky little nation which in a short quarter century has taught the world so much.

Mr. Speaker, the qualities of the small Jewish state are those that all people who love liberty should emulate. Alone in a hostile world, Israel has by the bravery of her people managed to remain viable as a nation. Yet, through a quarter century of war and near war she has kept her democratic traditions alive.

I urge all Members of this House to ponder on our historic commitment to the only democratic nation in the troubled Middle East. Israel must continue to exist and this nation must not renege on our commitment.

The interviews follow:

CONVERSATION WITH GOLDA MEIR

"I believed that when there would be a Jewish state, anti-Semitism would disappear. To my sorrow, that didn't happen."

FORSTER. What does the existence of Israel mean for Jews in other countries?

MEIR. It has made them more conscious of their Jewishness, which is not in contradiction to their being good citizens or loyal to the countries in which they live. But they are Jews, and there's a connection in history and culture and religion. Maybe some of them have never known too much about Jewish history and Jewish past. Israel has awakened in them a desire to know more about themselves, as Jews.

FORSTER. Israel is a small country, with limited resources. Why is it committed to the burden of unlimited immigration?

MEIR. Because that's what this is all about. We haven't created something for a number of Jews that happened to be here at a given time. When the estate was established, we were only about 650,000 Jews. It would have been absolutely ridiculous if we would have thought that for that number of Jews we needed a state.

FORSTER. Can you see a limitation on the number of Jews in Israel?

MEIR. Never, never.

FORSTER. Do you regard Israel as having a special role among nations?

MEIR. No, I don't think that we have to be something for the nations of the world. We have to be a Jewish state. When I say a Jewish state, I don't mean that no others can live among us, God forbid. We have a minority of non-Jews now of about 13, 14%, and always room for people who are not Jewish. But when I say a Jewish state, I mean that this is where Jewish culture, the Hebrew language, the principals of Judaism are carried out and implemented. For ourselves, I would want this to be a model state that would have an informed society, justice, and not too great differences between various groups in society. I would like a society where each one really has equal opportunity, where those that come to us from societies in which they have been held back be given greater opportunities in order to reach a certain cultural or educational level. I would like a society where it's good to live for everybody—not because we want to be a model for other countries but for ourselves.

FORSTER. Has Israel's presence for a quarter of a century changed anti-Semitism anywhere in the world?

MEIR. This is probably my greatest disappointment. I believed that when there would be a Jewish state, anti-Semitism would automatically disappear. To my sorrow, that didn't happen. There is anti-Semitism in the world—in some places, very evident and very brutal, in other places, less. Anti-Semitism did not disappear.

FORSTER. It's made no fundamental difference in the feelings of Christians toward Jews?

MEIR. That I wouldn't say. For instance, when I was Minister of Foreign Affairs back in '57, a foreign minister said to me, look, I don't understand, Jews were never known as outstanding farmers, or as soldiers. This was after the Sinai Campaign. He asked me, what happened to you people? He said in his country a team of farmers from Israel have done wonderful things for his people. And now, he said, you have won this war, in several hours practically. You've done something which is held up as an example of what your army is. I said, yes, it's because wherever we were, we had no natural roots. We grew and sometimes hoped that we contributed something wherever we were. You can take a plant out of its natural environment and replant it somewhere else. It will grow, maybe even give fruit, but it will not be the same as where it came from. Go back to the country which grows this plant naturally, with full roots and accustomed to the climate, and it develops differently. This is what happened to us, coming back to our land. Once upon a time we were farmers. We go back to the soil and we become good at it again.

FORSTER. Do you see a major challenge in the character of the Israeli people over the 25 years of Israel's existence?

MEIR. It isn't correct to begin our existence here from the 14th of May, 1948. There were always Jews here. Throughout the 2,000 years since our dispersion, this country was never entirely free of Jews. On November 29, 1947, the United Nations declared that there should be a Jewish state. They would never have declared it if all the elements of a state had not already been created. The basis, the foundation, was created for many, many decades. The United Nations decided on the fact that the foundation was already here and because the second war highlighted what happens to a people who have no place in the world to which they can come. I'm convinced, for instance, that during the Holocaust, during the Nazi regime, if there had been a Jewish state at that time—I don't say that we could have saved all of the six million Jews, but there's no doubt whatsoever in my mind that many of them would have been saved. In the darkest, darkest hours of that period, we were dependent upon the number of certificates that we got from another power as to how many Jews we could bring into the country. If the doors of Israel had been open, as they are today, many of those that are not here any more would have been alive. Many of those children that were sent to the gas chambers would have been alive. We would have brought them here.

FORSTER. Now there is an Israel and Soviet Jewry is in trouble . . .

MEIR. Here is a very concrete example of what having a Jewish state means to a Jew. There are three million, four million Jews in Russia, nobody really knows. Many of them, don't forget, are the second and third generation of Jews after the Bolshevik revolution. For decades, these Jews were cut off from contact with any other Jewish groups. Study of Hebrew is prohibited, it's a crime. Zionism is a crime. Jews are supposed to become non-Jews as far as the religion is concerned, as far as their history is concerned. But their identity cards say who is a Jew. This is the situation of Jews in the Soviet Union. They're not to develop anything of their Jewishness, but as far as their government is concerned they're Jews. So in that kind of atmosphere, in that double kind of existence, they would go on living until I don't know what would have happened to them. With the establishment of the Jewish state, those that remembered their Jewishness, and those that knew very little of it, all of a sudden became conscious that they're Jews and that they're not entirely dependent, that their fate is not decided only and entirely by the Soviet Union. There is a Jewish state with which they can identify themselves, to which they can go and be equal in every way and end this schizophrenia. What's happening now in the Soviet Union is something that nobody has really yet grasped. Young people, some of them really didn't know they were Jews anymore because their parents tried to hide it from them to maybe make their lives easier for them, all of a sudden have come aware of their Jewishness. The heroism with which they fight, not against the regime, but for the right to come and be themselves in a Jewish state! They couldn't struggle to go to Canada, or to go to France, because that would mean that they wanted a different regime. But when they struggle to come to Israel, it's not because they're against the Bolshevik regime, the communist regime; they are struggling for their self-identity and their self-expression as Jews. This is the only place that they can come to this self-expression. And what about Jews that are in Arab countries, in Moslem countries? Most of them have come here, hundreds of thousands of them. Those that are left, discriminated against, treated brutally, the only reason that they can go on and not give up is because there is an Israel to which they hope to come eventually.

FORSTER. What will happen in the next 25 years?

MEIR. There's no limit to my dreams because nobody will say to me, ah, 25 years

ago you said this will happen but it didn't. I just won't be here. I hope one thing first—that there will be no problems of security for Israel; that we will live in peace with our neighbors, or, rather, that our neighbors will live in peace with us. Not merely formal peace treaties, but that this will be really a region of cooperation between the countries with great development to which Israel can contribute, and is anxious to contribute. I hope there will be millions of Jews here, with a fine, decent society, a good culture. I hope we will live not only in an area and region of peace, but in a world that knows no more wars.

FORSTER. And then, what will Israel's final destiny be?

MEIR. Millions of Jews participating in all the good things that all decent nations of the world participate in. I'm convinced that 25 years from now wars will be something of the past; there will be more cooperation among peoples of the world. The scientific developments will go on and bring people closer together. There will be more a community of nations, not with anybody foregoing a specific identity, but with people growing closer together. I hope that the disparity between nations in the world, of the haves and have-nots, will disappear, that there will be more equality among not only individuals in each society, but more equality and more cooperation between peoples of the world.

CONVERSATION WITH ABBA EBAN

"The Arab states are the only states in the world which refuse to come into dialogue with their adversary."

FORSTER. Your Excellency, your assignment for almost 25 years nas been to interpret Israel to the world. Are you a frustrated man as a result?

EBAN. No. I'm very much a fulfilled man. I don't believe that any of the predictions or appraisals that I have made have been substantively discredited by history. The value of Israel's 25th anniversary is that it enables us to take a panoramic look at our achievements. I think an Israeli can get a genuine and justified surge of pride. First of all, the feat of survival against the very strong forces raised up against us from the earliest days until now. Beyond survival, there are two greater accomplishments: the degree of our integration into the international family against heavy challenge; the economic, social and cultural growth, which, with all occasional setbacks, is without any precedent. Take our exports then and our exports now, our gross product then, and now, our educational enterprise in those days and in these, the total resources that the nation creates year by year, and, of course, the fantastic growth of population, for which there is no parallel in the history of political institutions—you get a spectacle of vitality and growth, which does not have precedent.

FORSTER. What was your motivation in coming here?

EBAN. I arrived in Israel before it was Israel, in 1941. My motivation was the same as that which has brought millions of Jews—the sense of being a part of Jewish history, the feeling that history has dealt with the Jewish people in a special way and that our main vocation must be to give new life and identity and a new birth of freedom to the Jewish people. This sense of duty and vocation was extremely reinforced by the spiritual and moral experience of the Holocaust.

FORSTER. Must Israel be a Jewish state?

EBAN. It has no meaning otherwise. After all, what was our purpose? We saw a new world society arising at the end of the second world war. The central theme was the self-determination of peoples. Every nation was about to realize its own identity and to develop its culture within the shelter of free institutions, except the one nation that had suffered the most, the absence of a home and a shelter for its body and its spirit. This was a very serious danger in 1945. The greatest victim of history was going to stand as if it were in the corridors and not be given the chance of expressing itself in free social and cultural institutions.

FORSTER. After 25 years of a Jewish state, can you say what the impact of Israel is on anti-Semitism in the non-Jewish world?

EBAN. Anti-Semitism is a disease of the Gentile mind. I, therefore, don't think it's very much affected by what Jews do or do not do. It is an index of the moral health of non-Jews; the virtues or defects of Jews have very little effect upon it. But, it has given Jews, themselves, the power to transcend and to resist anti-Semitism by giving triumphant expression to their own resilience. If anti-Semites were interested in a refutation of their prejudices, which, of course, most of them are not, they would see here an answer to the great questions: Is the Jewish people constructive, can it create? Does it have its own stature? Is it able to make sacrifices? Does it represent deep human values? Does its glorious past represent a memory or does it have effect and influence on the present? All of these are no longer questions to be answered hypothetically, or in terms of abstract argument. Israel is an answer. I think many peoples, especially small, struggling peoples and deprived communities within societies, can draw courage from the saga of Jewish recuperation.

FORSTER. Has Israel changed Jewish attitudes toward Christians?

EBAN. We face the non-Jewish world in a more normal posture, no longer in a constant posture of supplication, no longer nervous about the reaction of others. The central fact of Jewish history, until Israel's establishment, was passivity. Jewish history consisted of what Jews endured, suffered, surmounted, resisted, not of what Jews did and created. Now, and hence forward, within a territory, however small, Jewish decisions move armies, raise taxes, receive kinsmen, reanimate a culture, and compel the reaction of others near and far. Our history has entered a phase of autonomy. Now, in the relationship between Jews and non-Jews there is equality.

FORSTER. Is Israel subject to the will of the great powers?

EBAN. I think we've proved, perhaps more than any other small nation, that the great powers do not dictate the course of historic evolution. At nearly every stage of its destiny, Israel has found one or another of the powers to be in its way, and has always managed to surmount that obstacle. Israel, of course, is not independent of world opinion, we have needed international support. I think we've been more successful than any other nation in obtaining it. But whenever our own security and survival and identity have been at issue, we have not hesitated to take lonely decisions. We were born out of a lonely decision.

FORSTER. How do you evaluate the American role since the creation of Israel?

EBAN. The American-Israel partnership has been unusual and moving. Moving, first of all, because of the enormous disparity between the size of the partners. Despite that disparity, there has been a very strange atmosphere of equality in that relationship. The United States has been the crucial and formative influence at every stage. The period since 1970 has been especially creative and fruitful because of the necessity for an indigenous balance of power in the Middle East. It has enabled Israel to look after itself and defend a common interest without making any claims upon American sacrifice, or even any contingent claim upon American manpower. This independent vitality has been appreciated by the people, the Congress, the President, and has resulted in the strengthening of Israel within the framework of a common policy for maintaining the international equilibrium in the Middle East. Another moving part of the partnership is that it has never been a source of internal discord, either in the United States or in Israel. It has been based upon an American national consensus and the intergovernmental relationship has been enriched on both sides by an active and conscious public opinion.

FORSTER. I take it you would not sum up the United Nations role in the same flattering terms.

EBAN. There was a time when the United Nations' role mattered very much. Now our membership in the United Nations is far more important than any single resolution of the United Nations, because our membership is the identity certificate of a state. The struggle in 1947, 1948 and 9, was between Israel and five Arab states. Israel is still one Israel, but the five Arab states have become 18. The seven or eight Moslem countries have become about 15. The Soviet bloc has come from five to 12. Our starting point is statistically so impossible that we're caught up in a parliamentary deadlock. If we had 19 Israeli states and 12 Jewish states, we would do very well in the U.N. Its resolutions really reflect the power of balance; they don't reflect conscience.

FORSTER. What must the Israelis and the Arabs overcome to achieve peace?

EBAN. What the Arabs have to overcome is their taboo and their complex about negotiation. There isn't peace because there has not been negotiation. Within the last two or three years all other nations have overcome the complexes, the inhibitions, the taboos, which prevented them from having a dialogue with their adversary. The Arab states are the only states in the world which refuse to come into dialogue with their adversary. They are swimming against all the currents in modern international life. They say because we have a conflict with Israel we'll not talk with her. We say because you have a conflict with us, therefore you must talk with us. What Israelis have to overcome is chiefly a scepticism born of 25 years of longing for peace and the danger of believing it might be a hopeless dream.

FORSTER. With President Nasser gone, is there an Arab leader strong enough to take the Arab nations from their present hostilities to peace with Israel?

EBAN. Whether Nasser was strong enough or not, he didn't take the Arab states from hostility to peace with Israel. He didn't have the moral strength to do it, even if he had the objective strength. I think that Arab leaders will have to understand soon that peace is what their people want, and, therefore, it isn't an act of political revolt or political courage to realize it. I think it's an illusion to believe that the Arab peoples want militants and war and hostility—therefore, a leader who keeps his ear to the ground will respond to the militant and hostile elements in Arab life. We have proven this by coming into contact with an Arab community that was regarded as the most hostile and immoderate of all Arab communities, mainly the Palestine Arabs. And we find that the million Arabs living with us west of the Jordan are convinced of the futility of war and understand that they are its constant victims. They have little to do with the alleged Palestinian leaders, the dogmatists in Beirut and European capitals who think in terms of bombs and hand grenades. So I think that Arab leadership will wake up to the idea that the Arab leader who makes peace with Israel will go down in history for his statesmanship and his enlightenment and will not be cursed as a traitor.

FORSTER. What is your concept of a proper Mideast peace?

EBAN. A Middle Eastern peace must proceed from the initiative and the agreement of Middle Eastern peoples. If we write and build peace together, that is a real assurance that it will be kept. There must be substantive alteration of fragile armistice lines in order to prevent future war. After all, those who built the peace and security system in Europe didn't put Danzig in the Polish Corridor and the old Czech frontier where it was before. The way to make peace is not to reconstruct the conditions that led to the war. Nevertheless, we don't envision the annexation of large Arab populations. I believe that there would be a territorial compromise and while the Arab states would not get back everything, they could get back a very great deal. Once the boundaries were determined, my vision is of something that goes beyond peace, into what I have called a Middle Eastern community, something like the European community, combining separate sovereignty with a high degree of social and economic integration. We should have open boundaries. There are precedents in the Moslem world for political separatism in order to express cultural identity and juridical authority. But this does not mean that we must be hermetically sealed off from each other. I think there should be a flow of trade and of human commerce across our boundaries.

FORSTER. Looking back at this time of stocktaking, any regrets?

EBAN. Our central disappointment is the absence of peace, and to this we must address ourselves as we enter the second half of our first jubilee.

ANOTHER OEO COSTLY MISTAKE—WINE FIASCO OFFERS VALUABLE LESSON

HON. WILLIAM L. DICKINSON

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. DICKINSON. Mr. Speaker, one of the less successful OEO programs occurred in Atoka County, Okla. It all began when a naive bureaucrat decided that anyone could produce wine. Therefore, by emphasizing typical bureaucratic methods, OEO spent a total of $62,000 for planning studies, land, salaries, and grapevines and placed six poverty families on the land.

The program did not become very popular because few of the supervisors had ever grown grapes before. The rocky soil, the long hours, and the hard work in the hot sun proved to be insurmountable difficulties. The poor people did not stay around very long. Funds became exhausted and no grapes ever appeared.

According to OEO officials, the program failed because more Government funds were not available.

In truth, however, the program failed because it was ill-conceived, poorly planned, and essentially unworkable, yet very typical of many of OEO's projects.

I include the following editorials from the Perryton Herald and the Tulsa Tribune in the RECORD:

[From the Perryton (Tex.) Herald, Feb. 25, 1973]

SOURED GRAPES

The demise of the Office of Economic Opportunity is deplored loudly in some quarters, primarily by bureaucrats in that agency who are now losing their soft jobs.

But the OEO will not be missed, except with a feeling of relief, by the American taxpayer.

It is a classic example of what President Nixon has described as "throwing money at problems."

In Oklahoma, the OEO had a gradiose scheme to relocate poor people on some rocky hillsides in that state, with the promise that they would become self supporting farmers by planting grapevines and havesting the grapes.

Nobody in the agency checked on grape growing very thoroughly or they would have learned that grapevines grow slowly and that it takes a lot of grapes to make a living once they bear fruit.

The project, designed to lift thousands of people out of poverty by setting them on tiny acreages of hardscrabble land in Atoka county, never did get going. For one thing, the first settlers on the grape orchards quickly tired of the hard manual labor required to set up a vineyard.

Although a lot of people visited the site and took advantage of free transportation and meals while getting started, when the work began in earnest, the settlers left in droves.

When the project finally died, only three families were left.

Yet, with typical bureaucratic arrogance, OEO officials maintain there was nothing wrong with the grape growing project. They merely ran out of money before if got established, they said, and their cure for it was to get more government appropriations.

What we need is the pruning shears applied to more boondoggle projects as well as grapes.

[From the Tulsa Tribune, Feb. 21, 1973]

A DOLLAR A GRAPE

The OEO's aborted Atoka County vineyard program will prove to be a good investment if it gets across to a number of citizens what lousy investments some of these much-heralded government uplift schemes can be.

Robert White, new OEO director for Oklahoma, blames the end of this turkey on President Nixon's abolishment of the OEO. It should never have been hatched.

The scheme, you recall, was to settle poor people on lands deemed suitable for grapes. As a modest starter, the OEO spent $24,000 for salaries of planners and supervisors, $28,000 for land and $10,000 for grapevines. At the peak, six families were at the vineyard site. At the closeout this week there were three left.

Maybe wine grapes will grow in Oklahoma. We have hot summers and cool winters which some vines like. Vines can thrive on very sorry land, and we've got some of that, too. But to plunge people who haven't been able to make the grade at anything else into an agricultural experiment of the highest delicacy was a little fantastic.

The fact that the first year's salaries for supervision nearly equalled the cost of the land and more than doubled the cost of the vines tells a lot about what is wrong with many "poverty programs." The bureaucracy is likely to do a lot better than the poor.

But this dollar-a-grape fiasco (really, there weren't any grapes) might intrigue Oklahomans into some intelligent experimentation. Wine is a red hot item right now, what with college students going ape over it, and if Oklahoma has prospects this is the time to test them.

There is no reason why OSU couldn't retain 10 acres of the Atoka plot for experimentation with a number of varieties of grapes. Five years after the vines begin producing there would be some basis for judging quantity and quality. After that, enterprising people who are willing to do the very tough work of cultivating, pruning and hunting for pickers might have a run at it and we could gradually develop a wine industry.

Arkansas produces wines, most of them, alas, of tank car quality and heavily laced with alcohol for the wino trade. But how do we know the Chateau d'Atoka might not be surprisingly drinkable?

In the meantime, we'll have to look around for some other way to help the poor without requiring them to be instant experts under well-paid supervisors who don't know from nawthin'.

SUPPORT FOR REVISION OF TITLE I, ESEA

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, I am continuing to receive reactions from educators across the United States to my bill H.R. 5163, the Educationally Disadvantaged Children's Act of 1973. The responses to this bill, which would amend and extend title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, have been gratifying. Professionals working in the field have indicated clearly that distributing title I money on the basis of educational need would be of great benefit to the children of our country.

I am again reproducing several statements which I have recently received and which I think will be of interest to all Members:

Gregory R. Anrig, commissioner of education, State of Massachusetts, March 21, 1973:

Your proposed legislation has much to commend it. I certainly agree that it is undesirable to label all poor children as educationally deprived; individual assessment of educational needs is an intelligent approach to remediation; and the involvement of parents is, I believe, vital in establishing meaningful goals.

Dr. A. Edward Blackhurst, director, Regional Special Education Instructional Materials Center, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky., April 5, 1973:

Recently, I have had the opportunity to review H.R. 5163, which you introduced to the House of Representatives on March 5. As a professional special educator, I am vitally interested in legislation that is designed to improve the quality of education for handicapped children. Therefore, I would like to provide you with my reaction to your Bill.

The bill has a number of innovative provisions to commend it. Eligibility requirements are based upon deficits in learning as opposed to deficits in the educational system. This will enable local and state administrators to focus directly on the child and modify the systems to meet the unique needs of each child. Not only will this do much to improve individualization of instruction, it will also provide for greater accountability in terms of child progress (as opposed to simply collecting data on such things as number of children served). In addition, the bill provides for an emphasis on making services available to those who are in greatest need. . . .

You are to be commended for your continued interest and support of legislation for handicapped children. Such efforts are certainly needed and appreciated by all of us who are concerned with improving the quality of education for all children.

Herbert J. Prehm, chairman, Department of Special Education, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oreg., April 10, 1973:

As you note in your address to the Congress, your bill is innovative and contains important changes in practice. I strongly support the use of criterion-referenced testing to determine educational need. As you are well aware, the use of educationally relevant performance data to determine who should receive supplementary educational services would constitute a major breakthrough in education. Your perceptions that your approach would significantly increase the probability that those children who need the service will get it is, I believe, correct. Your approach is much better, in my mind, than the use of outdated census and income data.

I also concur with your intent to involve the parents of children served. In addition to providing the student with extra assistance, this feature should improve school-home understanding and cooperation. The involvement of the schools, parents, and child in the development of an educational plan is important.

Your bill would benefit *all* children who are in need of educational assistance without regard for the reason for the need. This concept, which I believe expresses each child's right to an appropriate education, benefits both normal and handicapped children. Your concept is important, in need of affirmation by Congress, and has my hearty support.

In summary, I support this important piece of legislation. It is, in my opinion, well thought out, logical, documented, and of potentially significant impact. If I can be of any further assistance, do not hesitate to call upon me.

Duane Christensen, director, special education, Bemidji Regional Interdistrict Council, Bemidji, Minn., April 6, 1973:

We are writing you in regard to the introduced bill H.R. 5163, which would amend Title I funding to be given to help the educationally handicapped. We have read your report of March 6, 1973, to the House of Representatives. You gave a fine report which was certainly to the point. There are many things we agree with. We agree there needs to be a change in the distribution of Federal monies. We agree there needs to be a change in the distribution of Federal monies. We agree that we can no longer use low income as an indicator of educational need. We agree that some type of criterion-referenced test would indicate better an educational need and identify those students who need help.

Kathryn M. Brewer, SLBP resource teacher, Gatewood Elementary School, Hopkins, Minn.:

I wholeheartedly support your proposal to distribute Title I funds on the basis of need instead of income.

At the present time, the Special Learning and Behavior Problems program in the Hopkins Public Schools receives Title I, state, and local monies. Only six of our eight elementary schools have qualified for Title I monies on the basis of current regulations. As an SLBP resource teacher in the district, I am aware of the disparity between income and learning disabilities. This funding situation has created an administrative nightmare in our district.

I am also concerned that Title I funds will lose their categorical designation. For me, this presents the possibility that there will be a cutback or termination of SLBP funding.

I have a great personal investment in the program, the children I service, the parents, classroom teachers, and my support team. I cannot give it up.

I appreciate your efforts to see that funding for special education programs becomes more equitable.

Dr. H. A. Goodstein, associate professor of education, assistant director, arithmetic project for the mentally handicapped, the University of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn., April 6, 1973:

I am grateful for the opportunity to review H.R. 5163, the "Educationally Disadvantaged Children's Act of 1973." My general response is that this thoughtful piece of legislation represents an imaginative approach to the marshalling of federal resources toward the improvement of the educational process. I agree with your premise that the allocation of resources on the basis of census and AFDC data is discriminatory. Children who are educationally disadvantaged do not always carry the additional burden of poverty.

Further, I endorse the concept that resources can most profitably be employed to ameliorate deficiencies in the tool subjects of reading (more broadly defined as language arts) and mathematics. These two curriculum areas represent the tools necessary for economic competitiveness in our society. One of the primary responsibilities of our public schools must be to insure its graduates of an opportunity to be productive. Graduates of our schools (or dropouts) who fail to read or do mathematics at least 5th or 6th grade level will find employment opportunity severely restricted. A sixth grade level may appear at first glance to represent an inadequate baseline. I am not, however, referring to a "normative" 6th grade performance, which may not imply that a child can perform on the sixth grade curriculum; but, rather, to a "criterion-referenced performance."

As a special educator, I was especially pleased to see the inclusion of "handicapped" children within the scope of the bill. This is consistent with recent litigation which has resulted in the affirmation of the right of all children to a public education. Many states and districts are moving rapidly to "mainstream" many handicapped children in the elementary school. This bill will provide needed resources to these districts to assist in the educational accommodations necessary to provide for the educational progress of these children.

Cyril B. Busbee, State superintendent of education, State of South Carolina, April 2, 1973:

Your proposal to determine Title I allocations to States and districts on the basis of measured educational deprivation seems to have merit. Seemingly, if it is the intention of Congress to attack a National problem of educational deprivation with the intent of providing financial resources for that purpose, it would be reasonable to assume that a direct measure of educational deprivation should be considered. I am sure you would allow sufficient time for the development of the appropriate measuring devise to establish a point of deprivation.

In order not to dissipate the ultimate financial input, it would seem that criteria would have to be established in order to concentrate the new programs on the most educationally deprived students. Seemingly, an approach to attacking the problem of deprivation at its points of concentration would be necessary in order to be effective.

Robert B. Docking, Governor of Kansas, March 29, 1973:

Thank you for your letter of March 13, 1973, regarding your introduction of H.R. 5163 to amend Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

The material you enclosed in your letter has been reviewed and it is felt that monies should be allocated on an individual basis according to the needs of children instead of the census and AFDC data presently being used. Therefore, the philosophy of your bill, I feel, is good as there are many children, regardless of the income of their parents, who have great need for individualized instruction.

M. L. Brockette, deputy commissioner of education, Texas Education Agency, Austin, Tex., March 26, 1973:

Thank you for the opportunity to review your proposed amendment to Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

The Texas Education Agency began using criterion-referenced mathematics tests in the Fall of 1970 in a pilot test in one region of the State. The results of the pilot testing indicated that this type of test was useful to teachers and other school personnel. Because of the positive evaluation results received from the pilot test, the 1971 statewide assessment of sixth graders in reading and mathematics was based on the use of criterion-referenced tests. . . .

Based on an evaluation of the 1973 assessment, approximately 140,000 sixth grade students took criterion-referenced reading and mathematics tests this year. Because of their usefulness as instructional tools for diagnosing individual educational needs of pupils and developing individual instructional plans, these tests were provided to schools as a part of our guidance program.

Our experience with the reading and mathematics assessment project gives evidence of several advantages of criterion-referenced testing:

1. The use of student performance measures on educational objectives or the determination of eligibility for support under this proposed legislation seems superior to reliance upon such descriptors as poverty and ethnicity.

2. Classroom teachers have been provided specific diagnostic information on the educational objectives obtained by individual students. They have also received reports of the number and percent of students achieving each of the reading and math objectives. This information has proven more effective for planning improved instructional procedures and strategies than the knowledge that a student is performing two years below grade level.

3. Criterion-referenced instruments have focused attention on specific learnings that educators and citizens want accomplished in the public schools. We have had to address the problem of identifying basic or essential objectives from among all those included on each of the instruments.

4. Teachers, counselors, pupils, and parents have been led to review each student's attainment of reading and mathematics objectives instead of looking only at his placement in a statistical population such as a national norm.

5. Criterion-referenced instruments also contribute to program evaluation because each item can be verified as to its sensitivity to instruction. The use of the instruments in a pre/post situation would yield important information about gains made in the achievement of reading and mathematics objectives.

LABOR POLICIES OF ROYAL DUTCH PETROLEUM CO. AND SHELL OIL CO. IN THE UNITED STATES

HON. BOB ECKHARDT

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. ECKHARDT. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to the attention of my colleagues the following perceptive letter of Mr. A.

F. Grospiron raising searching questions about the above topic:

Mr. G. A. WAGNER,
Chairman of the Board, Shell Oil Co., U.S.A. President, Royal Dutch Petroleum Co., The Hague, The Netherlands.

DEAR SIR: I address you both as Chairman of the Board of Shell Oil Company of the United States and as President of Royal Dutch Petroleum Company, one of the parent companies of the United States company.

My purpose is to call your attention to and ask for an explanation of the inconsistency of labor policies of Shell in the United States with labor policies of European affiliates of the Royal Dutch/Shell group of companies.

This union has sought to negotiate with Shell U.S. a health and safety clause in its contracts comparable to such clauses granted by nearly all U.S. oil companies. Your company has failed to agree or even to seriously negotiate toward this end.

But I am informed that in several European countries, subsidiaries of the Royal/Dutch Shell Group of Companies accede to joint labor-management monitoring and enforcement of health and safety conditions:

That in West Germany Shell discusses and decides health and safety matters jointly with the labor union in Hamburg, Essen, Frankfurt and Wassling facilities.

That in The Netherlands recent legislation compels your management to deal with health and safety problems jointly with local unions.

That health and safety matters are subject to joint, participatory decision-making procedures between labor and management in the Goteborg, Sweden, refinery.

That particularly comprehensive joint decision-making prevails in the Vienna, Austria, refinery.

It would appear to me that our union proposals in the United States are very modest compared to these arrangements to which your companies have acceded in Europe.

Statements made by Shell officials in the United States, specifically statements made by Mr. A. C. Hogge, Vice President of employee relations, and letters signed by Mr. W. H. Cothern, manager of consumer relations, have distorted the union proposal. They say that the union seeks to direct capital expenditures of the company.

This is not true.

Perhaps your expereince in Europe has caused you or some other corporate officials to misunderstand the motives of American trade unionists. I understand that in Germany labor representatives make up one-third of the membership of supervisory boards which decide on investment and production; that under a new Swedish arrangement at least two elected union representatives will sit on Shell's board of directors in that country; that as of the forthcoming summer one-third of the supervisory assembly of the Oslo, Norway, refinery will be union representatives; that in the Vienna refinery union-representatives participate extensively in joint decision-making.

I reiterate that the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers International Union does not seek and has no intention of seeking such involvement in management matters. We ask only the establishment of joint labor-management procedures for the protection of life and health of workers while they are on the job.

I request an explanation of the inconsistency by which Shell accedes to extensive union involvement in management affairs in various European countries yet denies the Union an opportunity to concern itself with the life and health of its own members in the United States.

Very truly yours,

A. F. GROSPIRON,
President.

A COMMUNITY'S DREAM: A ROSEVILLE COMMUNITY HOSPITAL

HON. HAROLD T. JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. JOHNSON of California, Mr. Speaker, next Saturday, April 28, I will be privileged to dedicate the recent addition of the Roseville Community Hospital. This dedication ceremony coincides with the 30th anniversary of an idea which grew into a fine community institution. It was 30 years ago, while I was mayor of the city of Roseville, that we first organized an effort to build and operate a community hospital. In fact the first event on this long road to success took place on April 10, 1943, when several of us sponsored a dance to raise the first funds for the hospital. It took us 10 years of long, hard work to get that hospital built, but built it was and the hospital became a reality on November 2, 1952. Since that time we have had four expansions, including that which we will dedicate on Saturday. This addition of 99 beds raises to 255 beds the total capacity of the hospital. Twenty-one of these new beds are in the new intensive care and coronary care unit, which will be the finest in northern California.

For those of my colleagues who may be undertaking a new hospital project I would like to retrace some of the history of this event, taking it step by step. It is a difficult project—one which involved a lot of time, effort and money—but, as one who walked this road, it was one which I can say with great confidence and pride, is worth every nickel and every minute we have invested in it.

On December 7, 1941, when the great naval base at Pearl Harbor was attacked, our Nation was plunged into a world-wide conflict which affected every American. Citizens of the Western States feared that an invasion could be imminent. The California National Guard was federalized and a unit was formed in Roseville. As mayor of the city of Roseville, I organized and chaired a Roseville Civilian Defense Council. The Roseville Joint Union High School board of trustees cancelled physical education programs in the high school's gymnasium and the gym was transformed into an emergency hospital, under the supervision of Hattie Broyer, a registered nurse. The citizens were determined, in a unity of purpose, to be prepared to meet any crisis.

It was in this setting that the community came to the conclusion that a city of some 8,000 people should have a community hospital and under the aegis of the Civilian Defense Council a series of fund-raising events for such a hospital was held. The first of these events occurred on April 10, 1943. The benefit for the emergency hospital fund was held in two dance halls, the Eagles Hall and the Masonic Hall. Over $1,100 was raised by the affair. The general chairman of the benefit committee was Irvin D. Elliott. His committee members were:

R. F. "Rube" Nelson, T. A. "Tony" Mealia, Charles C. Lee, G. J. Geron Wilson, J. B. "Brick" Paolini, Wm. Emerson, Dr. Lucas Empey, Dr. James F. McAnally, Tom J. Pugh, Chas. W. Lauppe, Mrs. Hattie Broyer.

Roy Carr, Catherine Wamsley, Mrs. J. M. Blair, Mrs. L. E. Etzel, Mrs. Fred Pannell, Joe Giannoni, Uno J. Hebuck, James "Jimmie" Giles, L. DeWitt Spark, Elwin H. Gregory, Dr. L. E. Jones.

Dr. R. H. Eveleth, Dr. W. E. Weddle, Dorse Hite, Mrs. Anne E. Bailey, Elsie Dunn, Mrs. W. V. Schultz, Mrs. L. E. Lonergan, Mrs. Floyd Stanley, Mrs. E. B. Huskinson, Mrs. J. G. Kenerelly, Mrs. Alta Graham.

Mrs. Vernon Finacom, Henry B. Berry, S. J. Briggs, W. R. Stephens, Pete Wamsley, Clifford Geach, Phillip Leak, J. E. Riley, P. C. Hughes, J. B. Erickson, Clyde Herlitz.

Leo Maxey, J. H. Fleming, Dave Fredrickson, Walter Hanish, John Macario, Mrs. W. R. Calvin, Mrs. Edith Spanger, Mrs. Edgar O'Brien, Col. D. White, J. M. Thornhill, Jerry Cudly.

A. W. Nelson, Wendell Keen, Eugene E. Watson, W. C. Keehner, J. L. Seawell, R. M. Allen, H. A. Richardson, E. M. Gates, Ben Abell, Louise Butler, Fred Garbolino, Lou Mohan.

In September 1943, we organized a Victory Garden Fair and Harvest Festival, sponsored by the Civilian Defense Council. Over 3,000 people rallied to support this project on Labor Day, September 5, 1943. Net proceeds were deposited in the hospital fund. On August 13, 1944, the Second Harvest Festival was held in Royer Park with 4,000 persons attending. Willard Dietrich, superintendent of city parks, was general chairman of the event which had a dual purpose of providing an opportunity for community recreation, and swelling the coffers of the Roseville Hospital Fund.

In early 1945, our Civilian Defense Council organized a second multihall dance for the benefit of the Hospital. Once again, the Masonic, Eagles, and Odd Fellows halls were used for the Washington's Birthday event. Virginia Arp wrote in the Roseville Press Tribune on Friday, February 23, 1945, "Roseville's big effort was a huge success."

The final fund-raising activity during the year of 1945 was another festival which occurred just prior to the termination of the war with Japan. The Roseville Press Tribune of Wednesday, August 15, 1945, carried two headlines. The largest said, "War Is Over" and under that in smaller type "Harvest Festival Crowd Largest One to Date." Between 4,000 and 5,000 people attended.

In addition to raising some $15,000, these events generated an enthusiasm on the part of the citizens of Roseville to see to it that a community hospital was obtained for the city of Roseville and the surrounding community. The hospital project caught on quickly and the hospital fund quickly reached $15,000. Near the end of 1946, Father Vito Mastretta, pastor of St. Rose of Lima Catholic Church, became active in the effort and indicated that a site for the hospital had been guaranteed without cost by a local resident. While no positive action was

taken to construct a hospital by the sisters, several important contributions were made by Father Mastretta. The cost of such a hospital, operated by the sisters, was put at $200,000 to $250,000.

By the end of 1947, I was able to report to the city council the results of personal investigations into the hospital proposal and said that it might be possible that State and Federal funds could be made available to the local project, providing the city was prepared to donate its share. On Friday, February 20, 1948, we called for some 700 voters to sign petitions to place a $250,000 bond issue on the municipal ballot scheduled for April 13, 1948. The municipal ballot of April 13, 1948, carried two propositions concerning a municipal hospital. The first proposition that a hospital be built carried by a vote of 2,089 for and 242 against. The second proposition authorizing a $250,000 bond issue carried by a vote of 2,008 for and 357 against. During the months of February and March 1948, hospitals and hospital programs were investigated thoroughly by Mayor Johnson, members of the city council, and staff of the city of Roseville. On June 17, 1948, city councilmen Ernest Amick and Milt Roberts; Dr. K. R. Monson; Dr. A. E. Hirschler; Dr. Berry Boston; and Dr. Leo Barusch; also Joseph Barbieri, Carl Laughridge, Eugene Watson, Robert Bates, John Piches, Raymond Long, C. C. Cuff, L. DeWitt Spark, Milton P. Kjer and myself as mayor, met with Dr. P. K. Gilman, chief of the Bureau of Hospitals, California Department of Health and John R. Derry, planning engineer for the Bureau of Hospitals. The two officials explained how the priority system and the theory of matching funds worked. Mr. Derry stated that the cost of hospitals throughout the State varied from $11,000 to $23,500 per bed and that upkeep costs averaged about $8.00 per day per patient. He felt that the cost of a one-story hospital would approximate $15,000 per bed. The balance of the year 1948 passed with the city of Roseville trying to become eligible for State and Federal matching funds to no avail. On December 15, 1948, the city council authorized working drawing prepared for a 50-bed hospital with the capability of later expansion to 100 beds. On December 21, 1948, tentative approval was given to a portion of the Adamson tract, formerly the Jerry Shelley ranch, as the site for Roseville's proposed hospital. On January 11, 1949, the city of Roseville accepted a gift of eight and one-half acres of land from Mrs. Frances Adamson as the site for the proposed community hospital and the location was approved by the State Department of Health. L. DeWitt Spark, city attorney, worked out the details leading to the annexation of the site to the city.

In March 1949, Dr. Edwin Hal Kelley, project committee chairman, gave the status of the project as follows:

First. The city has acquired 8½ acres as the site;

Second. The building will be 50-bed capacity at first, with facilities to extend the capacity to 150 beds when needed;

Third. Expected cost of the building is $600,000, of which $262,000 is now available; and

Fourth. The hospital will serve approximately 30,000 persons in a 15-square mile area.

On January 30, 1950, Dr. H. P. Carey, chief of the medical staff at the Gridley Hospital, spoke to some 32 local doctors and city officials about the Gridley Hospital. He explained that a 25-bed hospital was financed entirely by funds raised through public subscription and after seven months of operation the hospital was "running in the black." Dr. Carey pointed out that the Gridley Hospital was run on a nonprofit basis under a board of directors appointed by members of the hospital corporation. He explained that a business manager handled the business of the hospital and a physician was in charge of the staff. He told the group that the hospital cost $264,000 to construct and about $100,000 to equip. This particular meeting laid the groundwork for the administration and operation of the Roseville Community Hospital and started the leaders of the hospital movement to shift away from the idea that it was absolutely necessary to wait for State and Federal participation in order to obtain a hospital for the community. A mass meeting involving all interested citizens of Roseville was called March 16, 1950, as the first phase of concrete organization for the hospital. Practically every organization, labor unions, fraternal lodges, business associations, and professional clubs, had representatives present in order to learn of the hospital plan and then set up the machinery to make it function. The mayor noted that the plan had been endorsed by the doctors and the city council, and outlined the proposed procedures. First, a nonprofit corporation would be established for the purpose of administering a fund-raising campaign to collect $150,000, which when added to the $250,000 bonds voted by the people, should be sufficient to build and equip a 25-bed hospital.

On March 22, 1950, the city attorney drew up incorporation papers with 10 local residents as the initial members. Each of the 10 members pledged the sum of $100 toward the coming fundraising campaign. They were Mrs. J. A. Trollop, C. Doulton Burner, Rev. E. N. Dabritz, Everett F. Bush, C. C. Smith, Carl G. Laughridge, W. J. McNeil, William Nixon, Clark Turner, and myself. By April of 1950, architect plans for a 25-bed hospital were given tentative approval. The design had five wings fanning out from a central nurses' station so that a nurse would have to walk a maximum of 60 feet from her station to any point in the hospital and it would be possible for her to view all hospital corridors from the central location. Roseville doctors, including Carl Angella, Newton Craig, Arthur Hirschler, Louis Jones, Edwin Hal Kelley, James McAnally, and Kenneth Monson generally approved the preliminary plans.

Clark Turner became president of the expanded corporation and on April 28, 1950, he called a meeting of doctors, city councilmen, and all members of the fundraising corporation. Unified support for the hospital was pledged by all those in attendance, with the firm understanding it be "divorced" completely from politics. Only the council's approval to draft plans for the structure was needed when a difference of opinion arose as to whether construction of the building or the fundraising campaign should be started first. The Roseville Press Tribune carried a front page editorial on June 2, 1950, telling that "a serious rift between Roseville community leaders is threatening the realization of something of prime importance—a hospital for this area." The editorial ended with the plea, "Let's get together, Let's have the hospital."

The future of the Roseville Community Hospital, at this point, was questionable. As the country became more deeply involved in the Korean war, material prices and wages continued to climb. The result was that the financial capability of the city to build a hospital diminished. On October 18, 1950, the city council approved final plans for a hospital at a cost of $220,000 by a 3-to-2 vote. On November 8, 1950, the city council hired Walter Mezger of Modesto as consultant on Roseville's proposed hospital project. Mezger felt the general plan was very satisfactory, well above standard, and so reported to the city council. The plan called for 25 to 27 beds with approximately 560 square feet of floor space per bed.

In January 1951 the timetable had been set back a month or so and it was announced that the $250,000 project would be advertised for bid on February 22, and bids opened on March 22. Construction would begin on April 2 and the completion date was set at October 15. The cost of the building was estimated at $212,500 for construction costs, $17,000 for architect fees, $300 for consultant fees, $63,000 for equipment and the remainder for land development and incidentals. On June 20, 1951, the city council was informed that State and Federal funds were still far out of reach and it was decided to revise the architects' plans and build a less elaborate structure with what money was available. Bids were advertised July 25, 1951. On September 12, 1951, the bids were opened and all six bids exceeded $250,000. As September came to an end and progress seemed at a standstill, Mayor Bill Finger, Jr., investigated the possibility of building the hospital without an architect. The council reviewed all prior considerations for construction of a hospital and on October 26, 1951, Councilman Paul Lunardi announced he would have Erling Olauson, an architect from Sacramento, attend the council meeting on the following Wednesday to present his plan to save $100,000. Mr. Olauson reported to the council that he could build and equip a 25-bed hospital in Roseville for $250,000 or less. Specifically, the hospital would have 25 beds with potential expansion to 49 beds; an area of 10,500 square feet, or 400 square feet per bed, at a cost of $15 per square foot; a concrete block and frame construction with 4-hour firewall and air conditioning and heating throughout; group I equipment and possibly certain X-ray equipment and drapes; and finally, guaranteed approval by the State health department and fire marshal, as well as the division of hospital architecture. The council de-

cided to ask the doctors to review Olauson's plans and report back to them. With great patience and understanding, the doctors reviewed both plans, but were mainly concerned with getting a hospital built as soon as possible. On December 12, 1951, the city council voted to hire Mr. Olauson.

On February 11, 1952, the Roseville city council accepted bids for the hospital. The low bid of $158,765 was submitted by Carter Construction Co. of Sacramento. The bids included construction and group I equipment.

The brief ground-breaking ceremony was held at 11 a.m., Monday, March 24, 1952, with some 150 persons, representing various local organizations and interested citizens, present to hear Mayor Bill Finger, Jr., proclaim the start of construction.

In June, Lewis S. Porter was hired as consultant-administrator to begin his work on June 23, 1952. Clark Turner, head of the hospital association announced that Porter was the unanimous selection of the association members and stated he would act as consultant until the association assumed control. He would then take over duties as full-time administrator.

On August 6, 1952, the following officers of the medical staff were elected: Dr. Louis E. Jones, chief of staff; Dr. James F. McAnally, assistant chief of staff; and Dr. Edwin Hal Kelley, secretary. On October 3, the contractor announced that except for a few odds and ends, the building was complete.

Roseville's great dream became reality at an open house on Sunday, November 2, 1952. Opening day ceremonies were held in front of the hospital. Presiding as moderator was Charles Lauppe, civic leader. Words of welcome were delivered by State Senator Harold T. Johnson; Mayor Hal Wentworth; J. B. "Brick" Paolini, chairman of Placer County Board of Supervisors; John R. Derry, assistant chief of State Bureau of Hospitals; George Erb, president of Roseville Area Chamber of Commerce; Dr. Louis E. Jones, medical chief of staff; Clark Turner, president of the hospital association; and administrator Porter.

The first patient, Bobby James, 12, of 126 Riverside Avenue, christened the hospital by having his tonsils and adenoids removed. His doctor was Dr. Colin Greenlaw, who replaced Dr. Newton Craig in Roseville.

Community interest in the hospital continued to grow as the neeed for additional facilities quickly became apparent. In less than 3 years, the hospital opened its first addition. Dedication ceremonies were held on May 8, 1955, for a new facility which added 16 new beds, bringing the total to 42. The new beds provided services for medical, surgical, and pediatric patients.

By the turn of the decade the hospital facilities were again being fully taxed and thought was given to further expansion. By June of 1962, a 57-bed addition was completed and open for use. The additional space made room for additional general hospital beds and expanded pediatric services.

Prior to the opening of the second addition, plans were laid for still another expansion. In March 1962 the hospital applied to the Federal Government for Hill-Burton construction funds. On February 20, 1963, Roseville Community Hospital received $786,194 in Hill-Burton funds. One month later Cox-Liske, architects, was awarded a contract for a 52-bed addition. Ground-breaking ceremonies were held on July 1, 1964. By April 1966 the third addition was ready for occupancy. It provided a new medical floor and a complete pediatric unit. By now the hospital had 156 beds.

A contract was signed with Mansell Dexter, architect, in December 1969 for construction on a fourth addition which would add 99 new beds. The C. S. Plumb Co. received the general contract for erection of the $6.5 million project, on June 1, 1971. Ground was broken for this addition on the last day of June in 1971. The latest addition contains 21 beds in new intensive care and coronary care units. These two facilities are among the finest in the State of California, and are the most up-to-date in northern California. Open house and dedication ceremonies are being held on April 28, 1973.

The newest addition includes an emergency room seven times larger than the previous room. It encompasses a new minor surgery room, an emergency monitoring room, and several special procedure rooms. The expansion project also provides a new maternity unit with five labor rooms, a recovery room, two general nurseries, an infant intensive care unit, and two new delivery rooms.

The $5.5 million addition adds 53,000 square feet of space and houses a new laboratory, a nuclear medicine department, a physical therapy department, a pathology department, and the emergency room.

It is with pride that I will be able to join George Coley, president of the hospital board of directors, John T. Major, president of the Hospital Addition Corp., and Rev. Roy W. Herndon at the dedication ceremonies.

Most recently, Roseville Community Hospital has participated in a pilot project in conjunction with the school of medicine at the University of California, Davis, under the sponsorship of the regional medical program of the Federal Government. The primary objective of the project was to develop a quality continuing medical education program designed for a medium sized hospital and its community, and to develop an in-service training program in intensive coronary care and cardiopulmonary resuscitation for nurses and allied health personnel in the area.

A screening program was developed to inform citizens of the community about ways to detect and prevent chronic diseases, encouraging them to seek medical advice early, and increasing their knowledge about heart disease, cancer, and stroke.

In its 3 years of existence, the Roseville project presented 87 programs accounting for over 1,400 hours of instruction and active participation in classes on heart disease, cancer, stroke, renal diseases, and other related diseases. Two hundred and thirty-six nurses received a combined total of 15,600 hours of training in intensive coronary care. One thousand and thirty-six community residents participated in the screening program. This screening produced significant changes in the levels of knowledge and awareness about the importance of early detection of diseases, and the attitudes about seeking early medical advice. Nearly 75 percent of the participants returned to their personal physicians for further consultations. In final analysis, 90 percent of the "true" project costs were expended for the direct benefit of the community.

It is easy to see that the Roseville Community Hospital has been in the center of community development for over 30 years. This constantly expanding institution has brought continually improved health care to the citizens of Roseville and surrounding towns through its diligent efforts to keep pace with the latest developments in the field of medical care. Although the facilities tell a fascinating story, it is the people who serve the hospital in many capacities that are the impetus for its rapid growth and outstanding reputation. The city of Roseville can be proud of its hospital and of the people who share in its operation.

IN MINNEAPOLIS: HEARINGS ON THE FEDERAL BUDGET

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, on March 19, Senator MONDALE, Senator HUMPHREY, and myself sponsored hearings in Minneapolis on the impact of the fiscal 1974 Federal budget on Minnesota's Fifth Congressional District.

Forty witnesses representing a wide range of community groups and Government agencies testified at the day-long hearings.

The witness list is as follows:

WITNESS LIST

MORNING SESSION

Duane Scribner, Staff Assistant to Governor Anderson.

Vera Likens, State Commisisoner of Public Welfare.

State Representative Martin Sabo.

State Senator Nicholas Coleman.

Thomas Olson, Chairman, Hennepin County Board of Commissioners.

Bernard Steffan, Anoka County Administrator.

Virgil Moline, President, Mpls. Central Labor Union Council.

Thomas Ogdahl, Executive Secretary to Mayor Charles Stenvig.

Mayor Duane Miedtke, St. Anthony.

Dr. John Davis, Superintendent, Minneapolis Board of Education.

Duane Lundgren, Director, Special Services, Fridley Public Schools.

Dr. Chris Huber, Ass't Superintendent, Columbia Heights Schools.

Alderman Richard Erdahl and Alderman John Derus, Minneapolis City Council.

President Malcolm Moos, Vice President Stanley Wenberg, University of Minnesota.

AFTERNOON SESSION

David Roe, President, Minnesota Federation of Labor.

Ervin Gaines, Director, Minneapolis Public Library.

Roger Mahachek, Carl Lindquist (daytime activity for retarded).
Mary Lottarman (day care).
Irene Gallagher, Higher Education for Low Income People (HELP).
Earl Craig.
Gary Levin (public employment).
Diana Baker (higher education for AFDC recipients-Metro Jr. College).
David Brown (health research).
Leola Jackson, Pilot City Regional Center.
Dan Kain, Eden House.
Blanche MacIntosh (Medicare costs).
Joanne Gorecki, Neighborhood Youth Corps.
Ann Salas, Adult Basic Education.
Melba Sharp (compensatory education, ESEA Title I).
Van White (housing rehabilitation loans).
Leslie Gilbert (federally subsidized housing).
Sanda Jones (housing construction).
Fred Hempel (alcohol treatment).
Agnes Johnson, Senior Citizens Centers.
Leland Carrienger (methadone treatment).
Robert Walther, United Way.
Mrs. Lorraie Evenson (student loans).
Dr. MacBain Smith, Veterans Hospital, Neighborhood Youth Corps.
Gleason Glover, Minneapolis Urban League.
Normandy D. Eckert.

IMPACT ON MINNESOTA

Mr. Speaker, the State planning agency has assessed the impact of program funding changes on those areas which face the most dramatic cutbacks. In the social services, if the State is to maintain the current level of assistance without Federal money, an additional $22 million must be appropriated by the State and counties. Vera Likens, the State commissioner of public welfare, testified that the problems caused by funding shortage are aggravated by new Federal regulations for eligibility for social services which greatly reduce the number of people who may be helped. One example is the impact of new rules on child-care programs. These centers allow mothers to work by providing adequate care for their children. Proposed regulations cut the number of children in free day-care facilities by half from 4,000 to 2,000. Because of this 900 new families will be forced from their jobs onto the welfare rolls, at a cost to the taxpayers of $2,670,000.

In the mental health field, social service contractions will allow only 40 percent of those now helped to continue to be served. Vocational rehabilitation, delinquency prevention, home delivered meals for senior and handicapped citizens will also be cut. Programs in the fields of alcoholism, drug abuse, legal services, and family counseling are also scheduled for elimination. At the present 112,570 Minnesotans are receiving social services; if the proposed regulations are enacted, that number will fall to 72,900.

With the restriction on programs and eligibility, our State will not be able to use much of its $46.7 million allocation of revenue sharing for social services. Many people will be forced back into dependency, after participating in programs that were designed to foster self-sufficiency in our citizens.

Other important programs that are affected by the budget changes are a cutback in medical research and training at the University of Minnesota, discontinuance of community action programs, and the loss of 3,000 housing units covered under present Federal programs. In the area of ecology, water quality will be funded at about half the level authorized by Congress and the land and water conservation fund will lose about 75 percent of its fiscal 1973 moneys. Young people are affected by the loss of 10,000 summer jobs provided by the Neighborhood Youth Corps and by cutbacks in Federal aid to education. Public service employment is to be discontinued with a resulting loss of 2,500 jobs.

Duane Scribner, special assistant to Gov. Wendell Anderson, described the problems facing the State government, because of the uncertainty and timing of the cutbacks in Federal program. Minnesota uses a biennium period of budgeting, and the proposals for the biennium ending July 1, 1975, had to be made while the plans for the Federal budget for fiscal year 1974 were only rumors. The unfortunate result is that the State has no opportunity for thoughtful planning, hence it cannot respond responsibly to the changes on the Federal level. Essential in the concept of revenue sharing has been increased responsibility for State and local jurisdictions. There is no opportunity for State and local responsibility in the budget proposed by President Nixon.

IMPACT ON MINNEAPOLIS AND HENNIPIN COUNTY

The chairman of the Hennepin County Board of Commissioners termed the impact of the Federal budget for fiscal 1974 "a tragedy of monumental proportions" affecting some 100,000 persons in Hennepin County. The termination of categorical grants seems to have been made without regard to the viability of the programs. In this county 64 programs have been notified of their terminations. This will force many people to go on public assistance. The closing of one day-care center alone will cost the taxpayers $114,000. Of this, $90,000 represents new welfare recipients who were previously employed and supporting their families while the children were cared for in day-care facilities. The remaining $24,000 is lost income tax revenue from the staff members who have been fired. This monetary loss does not measure the social loss that is incurred by the return to dependency of those who had been employed.

In Minneapolis, the phasing out of social services is particularly harmful to the elderly, the poor, and minorities. Those programs which are scheduled for radical budget surgery are model cities, Minneapolis Age and Opportunity Center, Inc.—MAO, urban renewal, neighborhood development program—NDP, HUD 235 and 236 housing subsidies, and open space programs. Manpower programs are also reduced to a skeleton. Emergency Employment Act cuts will allow only 20 or 30 jobs to be funded instead of the current 180. There is no money available locally to provide for the continuation of these programs.

EDUCATION

In the Minneapolis school system, only the carefully budgeted surplus at the end of the current school year will permit the same level of service to be provided next year. In the following year, however, a deficit of between $4 to $8 million is forecast. Dr. John Davis, superintendent of the board of education, testified that the uncertainty of the Federal role in education makes planning impossible. Elementary and Secondary Education Act—ESEA—funds for Minneapolis are projected to drop from $6.7 to $4.2 million with the new budget.

The majority of title I funds have been used to teach children basic skills through the development of new teaching materials and a standardization of curriculum for title I schools, since disadvantaged students have high mobility and change schools frequently. Evaluations have reported growth in the pupils' performance in the vital areas of reading and math. In order to acquaint the teachers with new teaching methods utilizing materials developed with title I funds, a corps of experienced teachers assist those in the classroom to determine how to most effectively employ the new programs. To help older children learn to read, two basic skills centers have been set up, funded by local money and title I funds.

Options have been developed for those pupils who are unable to succeed in a traditional learning setting. These are used for children in the traditionally difficult years of junior high school. Here each student is given a chance to succeed by setting short-term goals which are possible to attain. Not only is growth in academic achievement realized, but, more importantly, self-control and self-confidence are gained.

These are just some of the many innovative programs which have been developed with the help of title I funds to solve problems which had not previously been tackled. Success has been demonstrated. Yet the funds for ESEA are being drastically cut. State and local governments have already taken over some support of programs which were initially funded by Federal money. Categorical grants cannot be made up entirely by our State and local funds. We must depend on the Federal Government to help schools to serve the children with the greatest needs.

Another cutback that concerns schools is the termination of the Neighborhood Youth Corps—NYC—which is funded by the Office of Economic Opportunity whose future is tenuous: Last summer in Hennepin County, NYC provided jobs for over 3,100 youths, who earned $776,000 and made important contributions in the community through their work. During the current school year 913 students are in the NYC to earn money to stay in school. Only 25 NYC participants have dropped out of school this year. In a letter from the National Alliance of Businessmen to support the reinstatement of this program, they admitted that even with an expanded economy, the private sector could not have provided these jobs for young people, particularly during the school year.

Testimony of the impact of the Federal budget on higher education was provided by President Malcolm Moos of the University of Minnesota and Vice President Stanley Wenberg. Moos called

the outlook for the State-Federal partnership in education discouraging. In his words the impact of the Federal budget for fiscal 1974 is "the most severe cutback of Federal support in the history of this institution." The immediate impact is a loss of $11 million in Federal support with such a decrease continuing over several years as programs are eliminated.

The budget cutbacks at the university are interdisciplinary with no apparent pattern. One area where these reductions are most puzzling is in the health field. Program cuts are scheduled in the medical school, the school of nursing, and the College of Veterinary Medicine, where enrollment was enlarged with Federal encouragement. These fields all have severe manpower shortages which affect the national health and the cost of medical care. Altogether one-third of the Federal training support may be lost. NIH grants alone may be reduced by $8 million in the next 2 years. The State of Minnesota does not have the resources to make this up.

Another area of hard felt impact is student aid. Although the concept of basic opportunity grants is promising, the immediate availability for student aid is limited. Formerly these students were served under the national direct student loan program through their schools. The banking community has not yet been able to implement the BOG loans. Currently there is widespread confusion as to where a student may obtain funds to continue his education.

LIBRARIES

An important source of self-help and improvement has been available to our citizens through the public library programs. This program has been affected by proposed cutbacks. In fiscal year 1972, Minnesota received $1.1 million from the Library Services and Construction Act. This program is in danger due to lack of funds. If these services are not available to people without ties to educational institutions, in both rural and urban areas, in all economic groups, learning will be controlled by the elite. In the Federal budget $80 million is proposed for public information abroad through Voice of America and other organizations; nothing is allocated for U.S. citizens through aid to libraries.

DAY CARE

In Hennepin County, there are 90,000 children who are potential users of day-care facilities; 59,600 of these are youngsters whose mother would work if adequate care were available for the youngsters. At the present there are 1,991 spaces in licensed day-care centers in the county. Letters were presented from staff members of centers around Minneapolis begging for continued support for this vital need. They spoke eloquently of the community support for these centers.

One of the key problems for the facilities is the new restrictions which HEW has placed on eligibility. In one center where 100 children are currently served by day care and latch key programs, the new regulations would make only 35 eligible. The only alternative for the mothers of the 65 ineligible children is to stop working and go on welfare. Calculations of the Greater Minneapolis Day-Care Association show that the new regulations will cost taxpayers $51,363 per month in added welfare payments, minus the cost of closing or limiting the centers.

HOUSING AND URBAN RENEWAL

In this area the budget cuts and program freezes will have a dramatic impact on plans to revitalize the cities. Model cities will receive some money to carry it through the next fiscal year, but the $3 million it obtains is a decrease of almost 50 percent. The 235 and 236 housing subsidy programs have been frozen. In Minneapolis alone, 40 to 50 percent of the 1,400 new housing units constructed last year were financed by funds that are now frozen. This will cause a $10 million loss in construction money. Approximately 700 to 750 families are to be relocated, because of development plans. Of these, 75 percent would have been eligible to receive the housing subsidies which are now impounded.

Urban renewal will be further slowed by the decimation of the neighborhood development program funds. A loss of 312 rehabilitation loans will produce a loss of at least $1 million in funds per year. Taken one by one, these programs represent only a tiny fraction of the Federal budget. To the Minneapolis area, however, they represent huge sums of money which cannot be replaced by revenue-sharing funds.

SENIOR CITIZENS

Cutbacks in programs for senior citizens will have the inevitable effect of further lessening their independence and forcing many of them into institutions. Virgil Moline, president of the AFL–CIO Central Labor Council, estimated that 6,000 elderly who live in public housing will be affected by proposed regulation changes. The support which they receive to maintain their self-sufficiency will be taken away. Another area where the proposed funding decrease will cause problems is in the "senior aides" program. This program keeps the 80 senior aides off old age assistance by enabling them to support themselves by working 20 hours per week in community service jobs. Other services provided by Minneapolis Age and Opportunity Center, Inc., provide just the margin of help necessary to keep many elderly citizens in their own homes with dignity instead of being institutionalized.

Low-income housing for the elderly is also being cut back. One project was notified in December of a $1.6 million grant for such a program, only to have it terminated 4 months later. Medicare payments for medical care are slated to be decreased with the elderly paying a greater share. In Minnesota, medicare recipients will have an additional $22 million in health care costs which are not reimbursed by the Federal program.

Testimony was received from representatives of other programs which allow people with some problem to be productive members of society with treatment or after institutional care. Letters from parents of retarded children and adults pleaded for the continuation of funds for those projects which train and teach these people to be useful and productive citizens. Similarly funds to teach physically handicapped children and adults have received notice of Federal cutbacks. Despite the concern over returning veterans from Vietnam, the VA hospital is losing money for research which amounts to at least 16 percent of the current research budget. How can the small amount of money which the Government saves with these economies be more important than the services which allow these citizens to become dignified, productive members of our society?

The impact of the budget on poor people has been most severe. Dismemberment of OEO is just the beginning; with it goes the Community Action program whose goal is help for the poor. In Anoka County, the Community Action Agency paid the salaries of $114,907 to people who would otherwise be on welfare. The total economic impact of the agency through spending and respending in the community is estimated to be $1 million. This source of imaginative programs which have given help and dignity to the disadvantaged has been terminated.

Although no testimony was presented specifically on the topic of revenue sharing, the subject was a key factor in much of the presentation. The concept of a return of money to the State and local jurisdictions for their use in those programs especially important to their constituents with fewer levels of redtape was welcomed by most people. Testimony from representatives of those agencies and departments which face cutbacks or termination of Federal aid indicate some problems with the implementation of this program.

Vera Likens, State commissioner of public welfare, summarized some of the problems her department faces with revenue sharing. Not unexpectedly, the first difficulty is the amount that will be received by Minnesota. Of the $2.5 billion authorized by Congress for social services, our State was to receive $46.7 million. Although this is substantially less than the department's estimates of the funds needed to adequately meet the needs of low-income citizens, the amount was sufficient to maintain the programs at current levels with no expansion. However, the new rules proposed by HEW for social services would preclude Minnesota from spending about one-quarter of that $46.7 million. These regulations will severely limit those programs necessary for some of our citizens to become or continue to be self-supporting individuals.

The effect of these regulations will be to place greater costs on the taxpayers and to increase the number of social problems. Among the programs affected by these proposed regulations, in addition to the child-care limitations discussed above, are help for the elderly, drug abuse and alcoholism programs, treatment and rehabilitation for the mentally ill and handicapped.

In the discussion about revenue sharing, one of its most attractive features was the responsibility to be shared between the Federal Government and the State and local levels. The funds brought

by revenue sharing were to be "new" money. State and local governments were to have autonomy to build programs relevant to their own pressing problems. Yet the President's budget proposals note that revenue-sharing funds can be used to fund those expenditures which have been eliminated by the Federal Government. Flexibility and freedom brought by the general revenue sharing cannot be achieved if moneys are used to pick up abandoned Federal support. Martin Sabo, speaker of the Minnesota House of Representatives, has called the special revenue sharing self-defeating. With the present uncertainties and unanswered questions, this is an apt description.

HELP DECIDE!

HON. RICHARD H. FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, a new citizen's organization to seek out and publish grass-roots public opinion on a nonpartisan basis was formed recently in Tennessee's Fifth Congressional District.

The group is known as Help Decide! Though formally operating since only March 5 the group has come up with some very interesting and significant public opinion findings on the matter of cutbacks in Federal support for social service and other human need programs as well as how State and local governments should spend their general revenue sharing dollars.

Mr. Speaker, the president of Church Women United in Nashville, Mrs. Carleen Waller, who is also a member of the compilation committee of Help Decide! has been good enough to forward me the results of the organization's findings and I include it in the RECORD at this point commending it to the attention of our colleagues:

HELP DECIDE!

Nashville, Tenn.

Memo to: Mayor Beverly Briley and Members of Metropolitan Nashville Council; Other Public Officials, Metropolitan Nashville; Governor Winfield Dunn and Members of Davidson County Delegation to the 88th Tennessee General Assembly and Members of Appropriate Committees, General Assembly; Senators Howard Baker and William Brock; Congressman Richard Fulton; and Other Public Officials.

On March 5th, Post Office Box 1669 was opened under the name of Help Decide! by a group of Nashville citizens, and members of the Nashville community were invited to express their opinions by mail on the effects of federal cutbacks on their families and neighborhoods, on their priorities for the spending of federal general revenue sharing funds, and on their concern for a citizens' group to help set priorities in future decisions.

By March 17th, some 650 letters had been received and tabulated.

We are submitting the results of this tabulation for your information and consideration, along with some sample comments from the letters.

Several general observations should be made about the letters:

1. The overwhelming interest in the continuation of day care and services for children and youth. This was coupled with fears of parents who might have to be returned to welfare rolls, who would lose jobs because of no child care, or who had children receiving services for the retarded who would have no help or might have to be institutionalized.

2. The broad scope of the cutbacks began to be evident, showing that the problem is much greater than just the cutbacks in social services, ineligibility tightening, and private matching funding. Some forty different cutbacks were mentioned, affecting people in every part of the county. A list of more than fifty programs that will be curtailed or dismantled has been assembled.

Those writing the letters expressed fears of just how many programs will be discontinued, with such expressions as fear of pension losses, fear of lack of medical help, fear of hunger and the like also being brought on by the known problems.

3. The entire community seems to be concerned that the elderly, the handicapped, the disadvantaged, the retarded and all of those needing special help receive priority in funding decisions.

4. Interest in water-sewer services was secondary whenever it was mentioned (in less than 7% of the letters). It usually was coupled with phrasing such as "they're important, but our first interest must be people." This was true also of streets, fire protection, and other such specific programs.

5. There is much frustration that no government agency or official will release a total list of cutbacks in federal funds in Metropolitan Nashville and Tennessee, including medical programs, OEO programs, and the like. There is general fear that it is much worse than "they" want us to know. "How much money will we lose?" continues to be asked.

6. There is real outrage in the letters that the group that is being hurt the most, next to children, aged, etc., is the "working man" who is just managing to get by and will see many of the services needed by his family snatched away.

7. The second greatest concern of all the letters received so far has been for some group to be formed that will speak out on behalf of the people of the community in such a crisis, an independent group that will "not play politics with people."

The cries for someone or some group "to fight for us" are moving, and there is a real sense of panic and outrage that somehow "government" cannot hear.

8. Taxes, tax rates, water rates, buildings, capital improvements—all of these received practically no expressions of concern in the letters. There were numerous requests as to "what can we spend revenue sharing money for legally?" and "Why aren't other plans being suggested?"

The letters are all thoughtful, and represent a great outpouring of concern for human needs and the future of the community.

Help Decide! will continue to serve as a channel for such responses and urges the proper government agencies and officials to seriously consider the need for regular citizen participation in the kinds of hard decisions that must be made in the months ahead about programs, services, revenue sharing funds, jobs, taxes, and most important, human needs.

Signed: Compilation Committee:

Carleen Walter, President, Church Women United in Nashville; Mary M. Wade, President, League of Women Voters of Nashville; Helen Clark, Citizen Action, Church Women United in Nashville; Barbara Mann, Vice-President, League of Women Voters of Nashville; Eleanor Willis, Director, Heads-Up Day Care Center; Earline Kendall, Tennessee Association on Children Under Six; Betsy Edwards, Vice-President, Church Women United in Nashville; Dorothy Luton, Chairman, Christian Social Relations, Tennessee United Methodist Women; and Pat Kalmans, Advocate, Family and Children's Service.

Dated: March 19, 1973.

For Further Information: Call 269-6475 (Carleen Waller): 297-8658 (Mary M. Wade).

COMPILATION OF REPLIES RECEIVED MARCH 5–17 1973, EXPRESSING PRIORITIES FOR THE SPENDING OF REVENUE SHARING FUNDS

(Percentages are based on 600 replies)

Programs For Children—84 percent mentioned programs for children; 30 percent specified day care; 8 percent mentioned youth programs; 12 percent mentioned special education services; 12 percent mentioned schools, regular and special; 14 percent mentioned handicapped children; 15 percent mentioned retarded children.

Social Services For Low Income Families, Needy—64 percent, with many naming a specific service, many mentioning "the poor".

Sewer—Water Services—7 percent. "While they are important, our first priority should be. . . ." "We must have them, but they should be funded with regular tax monies and monthly rates. . . ."

Pay Raises—1.6 percent.

Replace Federal Fund Cutbacks—29 percent.

Health Services (Including mental health, hospitals, etc.)—12 percent.

Transportation—6 percent.

Housing Programs—5 percent.

Human Needs, People Needs (General Mention)—41 percent.

Jobs—5 percent.

Citizens' Lobby—83 percent; only 4 No votes.

Streets, 2 votes; *Taxes lowered*, 5 votes; *Drug Programs*, 6 votes; *One of Present Revenue Sharing Plans*, 3 votes; *Parks*, 4 votes; *Planned Parenthood*, 6 votes; *Environment*, 3 votes; *Fire Protection*, 12 votes.

Sample Answers—How do you think Revenue Sharing Funds should be spent?

Human beings pay better dividends than sewers!

Not for improving golf courses!

Human needs first and capital needs next!

Not for big salaries or regular government utility functions.

Let's not have a political patronage bonanza.

Now that the war on poverty is over, the war of survival begins.

The top priority should be those who cannot help themselves—the poor, children, the aged, disabled, and mentally ill.

People Services.

Stop trying to weed out the weakest and most needy.

A large amount should be spent to help people help themselves.

For those who have to depend on others for help!

Should not be left in the hands of politicians.

Lower water bills would be a help!

However it is divided, it will not be adequate.

Help the parents who are trying to work and keep their families together.

Human beings in need, not buildings and big jobs.

We have already obligated ourselves to the retarded, the disadvantaged, the physically handicapped. We can't let them down.

Surely our lawmakers can devise a better plan than the two that they have shown us so far.

Salvage the needed programs that are being cut out before we plan for new needs.

Children! Children!

Spend it to help those who have no political muscle.

Why won't anybody come out and say just what things it could be spent on? Is it a secret?

Anything that affects our children.

Don't take away the jobs of people willing to work.

People first!

The need for sewers is great, and pay raises for policemen and firemen also, but I strongly feel the Metro Council must at the same time look seriously at the needs of the poor and aged in this community and should have before them a proposal that meets the needs of this group. I do not believe we can ignore this situation now with the excuse that special funds will be available later.

If priorities were established, the taxpayer would feel his tax dollar was being spent in the best way possible to meet the needs of the community. Don't do away with the progress we have made in meeting human needs!

Charity begins at home, and it's past time to begin here at home in Nashville.

It's time to change our priorities from destruction to investing in human beings.

Use our dollars to save our children. Tomorrow may be too late. Don't wait for another generation to be spoiled.

We need to hold local government to its responsibilities—don't let them cop out on any of the needs.

Why won't they print a list of all of the things that are being cut out, so that Metropolitan Council can make the right kind of decision about what should come first? Don't spend the revenue sharing money until we know just how bad it is, and what we've got ahead in this community.

We cannot allow any child to be deprived.

Sample Answers—How are federal funding cutbacks affecting you, your family or your neighborhood?

I am the sole support of my children without anything but my check from my job. My children's care would take one-third of my pay check. I surely pray that my children will be able to remain in the day care. It would be more of a burden that I can bear.

I am the head of my house with four children to support, and without a job it will be very hard to live.

How can you tell a child that is 5 years old you cannot go back because I can't afford to send you and the federal funds are cut.

I am the mother of 5 children 13, 9, 4, 3, 2. The center has helped me to hold my family together since I have had four operations in the past, and the last one left me 100% disabled.

I am desperate. I don't know I'll be able to survive. I have five children and there is just me to support them.

How can they play politics with my children?

I will either have to quit work or try to struggle by myself. I was on Aid for Dependent Children. I would not have respect for myself if I quit work. Please—help, help, help!

I have a retarded child, and I cannot stand by and see him not have the opportunity to live a happy life.

I could not work if they didn't have the program for old people that keeps my 84-year-old mother all day. What would happen to us?

I am a disabled widow. The center is a great source of help to me.

My community will be without recreation or day care.

No family and no community should have to decide between adequate child care and a safe sewage disposal system.

I can't tell you what's in my heart except my love for my children. Mothers like me have to work to support our kids. You help the kids overseas and I think that's wonderful, but I want some of that help too. Try to help us too.

My retarded child may end up in an institution if you take away the help she's getting now.

Sample Answers—Does Nashville need an independent Citizens' Lobby?

Citizens need their own special interest groups.

It is past time for it.

Yes, and it needs to be lobbying right now.

We need some help for those of us who have no political clout to protect ourselves.

The people should have the final say on sewer-water services, taxes, pay raises.

If we had such a lobby, we wouldn't be in the fix we're in today!

The ordinary citizen should be heard.

Yes, even if it's lost on deaf ears, we need to go all out to protest and speak our minds. That would be a step in the right direction.

A citizens' group is desperately needed. Taxpayers just don't have any voice.

Definitely. The citizens' groups would be in a position to know what is most needed more than the politicians are!

Yes, and Help Decide is a fine beginning.

Register my vote for a citizen's lobby.

We need a forum for public opinion.

There needs to be a lobby for the benefit of all young children.

Yes, everyone else has a lobby, why not us?

Thank you for giving the people of Nashville a chance to express themselves.

Count me in!

I need *somebody* to fight for me and my family.

Government and big business don't seem to hear anybody else.

Somebody needs to get all this information together and tell us what's really going on and help us to do something about it. It's situations like the one we're in now that show just how little Nashville citizens have to say about what goes on.

You must be crazy! No one has helped decide anything in this town for 40 years. Just relax. Big Daddy will let you know what "they decide."

PAN AMERICAN DAY

Hon. PETER H. B. FRELINGHUYSEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, Pan American Day is an appropriate time to reflect on the meaning of recent developments in the inter-American system. The winds of change which are blowing through the Organization of American States are in many ways similar to those so apparent at the United Nations. Small states in the OAS, as in the U.N., are clamoring for a larger role in organizational policies. The leadership of the United States in both organizations is under challenge.

In our bilateral relationships with Latin America changes are also in evidence. We are in dispute with Peru and Ecuador over fishing limits. Relations with the Allende government in Chile are strained. The most recent dispute arose during the stormy U.N. Security Council session held in Panama. The changes are not all for the worse, however. In January, we signed an antihijacking accord with the Cuban Government—which may lead to more normalized relations with the Castro regime. Our response to the victims of the devastating earthquake in Nicaragua was immediate and invaluable.

One lesson to be learned from these developments is that the United States must recognize the desire on the part of the Latin Americans to stand apart from the American embrace. We must adapt to the changing attitudes of our Latin American neighbors and constructively respond to their new self-awareness. In that way we can help to channel their energies into new and constructive inter-American relationships.

MILITARY BASE CLOSINGS

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, on April 17, 1973, Secretary Richardson announced that the Defense Department would close 274 bases throughout the Nation, including the Boston Naval Shipyard, Westover Air Force Base, and the Newport Naval Facility. The reasoning used by the administration is that the closings will save over $3 billion without in any way diminishing our national security. As a long-time critic of excessive defense spending, I now find myself in the anomalous position of supporting a Defense Department directive which causes tremendous economic hardship to my own area.

That being the case, I could reverse my position and in the course open myself to valid charges of inconsistency and hypocrisy, or I can make some attempt to deal with the situation and offer some suggestions for its possible solution. I make no claim to expertise, but it seems to me that the most effective approach would be a strong coalition of those on the Federal and State levels and those in the business community to find the jobs and attract the new business we need to the area.

Over 25 percent of the jobs that will be eliminated are in two New England States—Massachusetts and Rhode Island—where some 34,000 jobs will be lost. The Boston Naval Shipyard, Westover Field, and other military facilities in Massachusetts will be closed. The Newport Naval Complex in Rhode Island will also close.

The economic impact of the base closings is my primary concern. The net loss of 34,000 jobs in our area is a crushing blow we cannot absorb alone at a time when the unemployment rates in Massachusetts and Rhode Island stand at 7.2 and 6.4 percent respectively. Unemployment in Massachusetts will rise from 7.2 to 7.6 percent if these men and women are laid off and not given jobs. The tax base will deteriorate, State welfare and unemployment compensation expenses will rise, retail sales will fall, and stagnation will continue. I understand that little consideration was given by the Defense Department to the economic effects of the base closings. I wish such considerations had been taken into account and that the Defense Department had a thorough, effective program ready

to put in place. They have no such plan. The challenge to us now is to join together and formulate and implement a program that will help avert the economic crisis we face.

We must have a full range of financial assistance from Federal dollars to private capital to combat the effects of these cuts in our area. Pulling installations out without provision for this kind of assistance would be another example of a thoughtless and fragmented approach to the problems of our economy.

In short, we need economic conversion. That is a grand phrase we heard frequently as we withdrew from Vietnam, but it has never meant anything and it has never been a practical reality. The concept is just too big. But here we have a concrete situation of manageable dimensions. Here we have a problem with which we can deal. We have been presented with a rare challenge. If we live up to that challenge, we can provide a model for others to follow.

Such a transition will require action on the part of the Department of Defense and the executive branch of the Federal Government. It will require congressional involvement and the involvement of the congressional delegations from the States affected. It will require, most of all, the active participation of the business community and the cooperation of labor unions. But it can work, and we can make economic conversion a positive reality, rather than a negative code word.

I have four suggestions to offer today:

First, the Defense Department should use the resources at its disposal to assist States and local communities in the adjustment process. When many bases were closed in 1964, then-Defense Secretary Robert McNamara established the Office of Economic Adjustment to deal with the same problems facing us today. President Nixon, also recognizing the problem, established a Cabinet-level committee in 1970, the Interagency Economic Adjustment Assistance Committee, to coordinate the Federal programs providing local development assistance.

I have worked with the Office and the committee, and they do not fully measure up to performance standards we would ideally seek.

I suggest that we take a hard look at the budget of the Office of Economic Adjustment and consider doubling its funding and personnel to help them better meet the needs of the communities affected.

I also suggest that we consider moving the Office out of the Defense Department and vesting its authority in the Department of Commerce or some other appropriate domestic agency because this is essentially a domestic issue.

Second, we should offer adequate adjustment assistance to workers laid off by base closings. Congress has enacted adjustment assistance in the form of retraining allowances, relocation allowances, and a salary stipend for a year for workers displaced by international trade. I intend to introduce similar legislation to assist workers displaced by the closing of military installations. I hope that it can be passed promptly by the Congress and signed into law by the President.

Third, the land in New England that will be abandoned is prime industrial land. It should not be used for different defense purposes that would not create the new jobs that are needed. It should not be used for recreational purposes alone. It should instead be used in such a way that new industry will move in and create the jobs necessary to put the displaced workers back to work.

The congressional delegations from the affected states should work closely with the Defense Department, the General Services Administration—which disposes of excess property—and the Federal Property Review Board, to make sure that by December 31, 1973, when the Boston Naval Shipyard will close, plans are well underway for the appropriate disposal of the land.

Fourth, we should provide additional retirement and severance benefits to those who are laid off. Ordinary retirement and severance benefits are insufficient for men and women who, for no fault of their own, will have their lives disrupted. The portability of pensions and all other pension rights must be protected. We should consider increasing retirement benefits for civilian employees along the same lines as the increased benefits that went to postal workers when the Postal Corporation was formed. We should also consider plans to authorize and appropriate some period's pay—such as 1 month—for every year worked at the military bases for the civilians whose jobs have been eliminated. This would apply only to those ineligible for adjustment assistance.

The Department of Defense can provide the severance pay by an administrative action. Adjustment assistance takes legislative authority and will therefore take far longer to implement. Therefore, the Department of Defense should provide such severance benefits now while the Congress begins action on legislation authorizing adjustment assistance.

These are but a few initial suggestions. I would welcome any recommendations from any Member of Congress, official of the Federal Government, businessman, labor leader or interested citizen. What we really need now is the energy to persevere, ideas with which to work, and the imagination to put those ideas to practical use. I would call on business leaders in particular to come forth and give us the ideas with which we can put our economy back together and achieve real, stable prosperity.

STATEMENT CONCERNING SECRETARY ROGERS' ANNUAL REPORT TO THE CONGRESS

HON. WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, Secretary Rogers' report to the Congress on U.S. foreign policy in 1972, which was issued today, covers one of the most significant years in this Nation's foreign relations. The President's journeys to Peking and Moscow represented an historic turning point. But progress was made on other fronts as well. Many of our diplomatic efforts never make the headlines, and Secretary Rogers' report serves to remind us that the tasks of diplomacy are intricate, complex, and wide ranging. They encompass not only relationships among the superpowers but also the very human relationships involved in efforts to advance the well-being of peoples throughout the world. We should all be grateful to Secretary Rogers for providing us with a comprehensive and illuminating review of the events of 1972 and for identifying problems and opportunities which lie ahead.

SOCIAL SERVICES—THE REAL STORY

HON. ROBERT J. HUBER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Speaker, I think it is time to set the record straight with regard to the proposed new regulations governing federally supported social services.

There has been a great outcry to the general effect that the new regulations proposed by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare "will cripple thousands of vital human service programs"; that they will "gut existing programs which provide many families with the help they need to get off the welfare rolls and become self-supporting"; that they will have a "severe and tragic impact" on individuals "currently benefitting from day care programs"; that they are "so restrictive—they would eliminate completely existing programs which provide child protective services, emergency care, day care" and other services; that they reflect a "callous, indifferent attitude—toward the needy people of America"; that they will "not only halt the growth of day-care centers—they may well doom existing ones." The catalog of projected "terrors" goes on and on.

Perhaps some of the taxpayers in this country would be interested in the real facts, so contrasted with the kind of hand-wringing hysteria we are being treated to in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and in the press.

First of all, to put the picture in perspective, it should be pointed out that the new regulations were necessitated by an act of Congress. Last year faced with the fact that the federally supported social services program had become a flagrantly abused and financially skyrocketing boondoggle, Congress clamped a $2.5 billion ceiling on it. Had no such action been taken, the fiscal year 1973 cost of the program would have reached at least $4.65 billion or nearly twice the maximum mandated by Congress. Almost to a man, Members of Congress who now flail the HEW regulations voted for the ceiling. But, as so often happens in the Congress these days, some Mem-

bers would like to have their cake and eat it, too. They seem not to realize that a vote to curb spending also means curbing the scope of the programs on which the money was being spent.

Significantly, however, the new regulations will actually channel more money to the truly needy than they have thus far been receiving under these programs. This will happen, because the new regulations force spending to be focused on those in greatest need and because administration is tightened up to reduce waste and duplication of effort.

Today, I would like to discuss specifically the effect of the new regulations on child care. In the future I hope to discuss other aspects of the rules changes.

Critics of the new regulations complain that they will "play havoc with those who are in greatest need." That simply is not true. The curtailment is in fact meant to eliminate services to those who need them least and to concentrate most of the Federal dollars available for child care on those who have the greatest need—those families and individuals who receive cash assistance, because of their very low income.

Critics of the new regulations complain that "day care will no longer be available to parents in job training or full time jobs." Once again the charge simply is not true.

In order to target aid to those who need it most, the Department has made two major changes in the day-care regulation:

First. The scope of support for day care would be restricted to the purpose of enabling caretaker relative to participate in employment, training or receipt of needed services.

Second. The member of former and potential welfare recipients who are eligible for day-care support has been reduced. This targets available moneys on those most in need; namely, those whose incomes are so low that they must have cash assistance to survive. This reduction is accomplished by means of two changes in the regulations:

First. The income level for eligibility for services as potential welfare recipients would be estimated at 133⅓ percent of the State's welfare assistance payment level, whereas formerly States could set any reasonable level. Some States permitted a family of four with an income of $8,000 to $9,000 to qualify. That is several times the income permitted for a family to qualify for welfare assistance payments.

Second. Group eligibility as potential recipients is eliminated. People formerly could qualify for services simply because they lived in a public housing project, model cities area, Indian reservation, low-income census tract, et cetera, regardless of the real need for the services.

Another change in the regulations reduced from 2 years to 3 months the time period during which "former" welfare recipients are eligible for services, including day care, and reduced from 5 years to 6 months the period during which "potential" welfare recipients are eligible for services.

Critics have charged that this will "undercut * * * efforts to help individuals move from reliance on welfare benefits to a position of financial independence." They overlook two very significant factors however, in making such a charge:

First, the longer periods permitted many people to qualify for services long after they had achieved "a position of financial independence."

Second, the shorter periods proposed are only initial limitations. If, for example, a family has been off from welfare for 3 months, but a review of their situation at the end of 3 months indicates they might be forced to return to welfare if day-care services are denied, it is possible for that family to continue eligible for services under the "potential" category. Further, the 6-months limitation for potential recipients does not preclude receipt of services for a longer period of time; it merely requires that the State certify, at the end of each 6-month period, that the family is still in immediate danger of welfare dependency if services, including day care, are not provided.

What these criticisms amount to, then, is primarily an attempt to obscure the real issue—the need to curtail a ballooning and badly abused program—behind a cloud of rhetoric about "gutting programs for the poor," "callousness," "indifference," "crippling vital services," "eliminating child care," and other fallacious, but emotional verbiage.

When it is all boiled down to its essence, what the critics really want to save is jobs for a lot of professional "servants of the poor" and child-care programs for a lot of mothers who would rather work than stay home and raise their own children.

In witness of this latter fact I include in the RECORD at the close of my remarks an article by Barbara Garson, the author of the bitterly satirical play "MacBird," which appeared in the New York Times on Thursday, March 15, 1973. Miss Garson views her article as a defense of the current program. I view it as ample evidence that the current program is being abused and should be curtailed as required by congressional action and the proposed HEW regulations.

Why, for example, do the taxpayers owe Miss Garson a right to write? If she took a real job instead of indulging herself in a professoinal luxury all of us might enjoy but most cannot afford, she could pay for professional child care.

Or consider her own attitude toward child raising:

> If working eight hours a day is a hard way to be a mother, staying home alone in a room all day with your kids is even worse.

It may be each woman's right within her capabilities, to decide whether she will raise her own family or let someone else do it. But why should the taxpayers be called upon to subsidize her "liberation."

Miss Garson concludes her column by suggesting that rather than entrust her child to "some woman with two kids of her own who takes in three children at $25 a week and sits them in front of the television all day" she would rather "do the responsible thing for my child, stop working, and go on welfare." I suggest that if she really wants to do the responsible thing, maybe she should go back to her husband.

The article follows:

THEN ON THE OTHER

(By Barbara Garson)

When my daughter was 3 years old, I wanted to start writing again. I didn't have the money for professional child care so I got involved in a string of collapsing parent-controlled co-ops. After a few months Juliet was getting ragged around the edges. So I decided to put off my literary comeback.

Then I was lucky enough to get into Greenwich House, a first-rate day care center with a long, long waiting list. Greenwich House is 75 per cent Federally supported. We parents pay zero to $25.25 a week, depending on income. Greenwich House is professional, loving, unexperimental and above all, stable.

Now I could start writing full time with a clear conscience and a good hope of supporting myself. As a matter of fact, I've finished another play which I have dedicated to my school.

Among the mothers of Greenwich House are nurses, receptionists, messengers, and a couple of welfare women going to school. Most of them are divorced, or separated like me.

Many of us single parents have somewhat unstable lives. It must be the times. We always seem to be losing a job or an apartment or a husband. That makes childhood a little different for my daughter than it was for me.

My parents have been married for 34 years. They still live in our old home with the same good neighbors on the block. When I visit my folks I feel like I'm on an anthropological field trip. "Look Juliet," I say. "This is a home. This is how people once lived."

Greenwich House helps me give my child a little of that world I grew up in.

After nursery school Greenwich House sees our children through the years with the after-school program, summer camp and even music lessons.

Many of the day-care mothers have worked out exchanges so that Billy's mother picks up Jerry after school and Jerry's mother takes them both to the movies on Saturday. These are more than free baby-sitting arrangements. This is how our children can make friends that don't disappear. Making friends in the neighborhood seems so simple and ordinary. Yet without Greenwich House it would be difficult for us modern Manhattan working mothers to arrange.

The Department of Health, Education and Welfare has decided that the Federal Government will no longer subsidize child care for working mothers. The new H.E.W. regulations don't close the centers. They simply transfer the subsidy from working mothers to welfare mothers. Now surely welfare mothers need a Greenwich House, too. If working eight hours a day is a hard way to be a mother, staying home alone in a room all day with your kids is even worse. A welfare child needs the continuity of day care at least as much as my child does.

But this is not what the new regulations provide. Under the proposed rules the Federal Government subsidizes day care only to make welfare mothers find jobs (or work off their checks for below the minimum wage on the work-fare programs). After three months it is assumed they have "stabilized" their incomes. Then they too are kicked out. From a school Greenwich House becomes a temporary holding hall for little kids, while their mothers seek work. Then those mothers, like me, must find some other makeshift arrangement.

What can those politicians, those motherhood lovers have in mind? I guess they figure

they'll use day care to clear the welfare rolls. The mothers will manage somehow. And the kids—oh, they'll turn out all right. After all, didn't Mr. Nixon group up in adversity?

Private day care costs at least $45 a week per child. For most of us at Greenwich House that's about one-half of our salaries. Under the new regulations our only real options are to go on welfare, or to find some woman who takes in three children at $25 a week and sits them in front of the television all day. That's the kind of arrangements most low-paid working mothers make right now. Frankly I'm too middle class for that. I'd rather do the responsible thing for my child, stop working and go on welfare.

JAMES J. KILPATRICK ON THE GREAT SOCIETY

HON. BILL ARCHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, a recent report by the Government Accounting Office which was released on February 20, 1973, concerns a study on the Neighborhood Youth Corps. The figures which the report presents illustrates that the program has been a failure.

Similar to many of the Great Society programs which are now or have been administered by OEO, the Neighborhood Youth Corps was built on an idealistic base which simply has not worked.

James J. Kilpatrick, the noted writer and commentator, recently wrote an article on this subject and I include it to be printed in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Albuquerque, N. Mex., Journal, Mar. 5, 1973]

(By James J. Kilpatrick)

RESPONSE TO MALARKEY

WASHINGTON.—Several thousand poverty workers descended recently on Capitol Hill, there to lobby for their jobs and to publicize their cause. They had learned their catechism well.

What is Richard Nixon? Richard Nixon is an oppressor. Whom does Richard Nixon oppress? Richard Nixon oppresses the poor. Why does he oppress the poor? He oppresses the poor because he lacks compassion. What else does he lack? He lacks sensitivity also. How does he oppress the poor? He oppresses the poor by demanding that certain anti-poverty programs be dismantled. What do we call these demands? We call them brutal and savage.

Nixon replied to this malarkey in a speech that crackled with common sense. A great many fed-up Americans, listening on their car radios, must have wanted to honk their horns in approbation. He took deadly aim on the "almost Utopian commitments" of the Great Society that "in case after case amounted to dismal failure."

"Those who make a profession out of poverty got fat," he said. "The taxpayers got stuck, and the disadvantaged themselves got little but broken promises."

For a telling example of what Nixon was talking about, consider the Neighborhood Youth Corps. This well-intentioned boondoggle was created under the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. It is administered by the Department of Labor. One of its purposes is to provide meaningful employment and remedial education for potential dropouts, in order to keep them in school.

On Feb. 20 the General Accounting Office released a report on the Neighborhood Youth Corps' operation in 1970–71 in Houston, Norfolk, and Washington, D.C. The report made dismal reading.

During the 1971 fiscal year, the Corps had a budget of $59 million for its in-school program. Nationwide, an estimated one million youths were eligible. Of these, only 95,000 got a taste of the gravy. In the three cities studied by the GAO, 2367 youths shared in a program that cost $1,575,000.

The Labor Department had set up criteria for determining potential dropouts. These criteria, it appears, were widely ignored. Examination of a sample group indicated that probably 35 per cent of the youths were ineligible. They never had thought of dropping out.

Did the program operate effectively for the other two-thirds? No, indeed. In Washington, for example, the GAO auditors compared Corps enrollees who had "identified dropout potential" with a similar group of non-enrolled youths. The actual dropout rate was 18.7 per cent for those who were enrolled. It was 11.8 for those who were not.

The program was intended to provide remedial education for poor students. Only 17 per cent of them got it.

The program also was to provide "meaningful" job opportunities. On the average, enrollees worked about 10 hours a week and earned some $600 during the school year. Most of the participating girls were assigned to clerical work, and these benefited from the program.

It appeared, however, that some 54 per cent of the boys were shuffled off to jobs as assistant janitors. In Washington, 40 per cent of the boys in the sample group were assigned to a "courtesy patrol." Their duties were "to patrol neighborhoods and help residents carry groceries, help elderly people off buses, help remove litter, and maintain general surveillance over neighborhood streets."

The GAO auditors visited a courtesy patrol work station. In their observation, more than half the sampled youths were simply lounging around. "All the courtesy patrol members were assembled in the same room with no apparent work to perform. During the entire length of our visit, not one left the room to patrol the streets or serve residents."

To borrow from Nixon's speech, this doubtless was "compassion that meant well." If this kind of thing can be replaced by "compassion that works," Nixon and the Congress will have applause coming; and the catechism will be exposed as a lie.

SUPPORT FOR NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES

HON. HERMAN BADILLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, perhaps the most difficult and complex task facing the 93d Congress is the setting of national budget priorities. Particularly at a time of soaring inflation and nagging unemployment, the disposition of Federal funds deserves the most careful consideration.

At this time, I want to urge the support of my colleagues for legislation that would extend the life of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities for another 3 years, with authorizations of $450 million for each of the two endowments. This legislation has been introduced and subjected to hearings in both the House and the Senate, and I am hopeful that early and affirmative action will be taken.

Since the legislation establishing the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities was enacted by the 89th Congress, there has been a growing appreciation, both within the Congress and among the general public that the cultural resources of this Nation are as vital and in need of preservation as are our natural resources. The Federal Government has an important role to play in this effort, and this has been recognized in the funding increases for the arts and humanities over the past 2 years. The Federal-State partnership established under the arts and humanities legislation deserves even greater support and encouragement, for every dollar invested by the Federal Government is matched by the State, and that $2 is in turn matched by the ultimate recipient, with the result that a single Federal dollar becomes a $4 expenditure on the arts.

I urge my colleagues to keep this in mind as the authorizations and appropriations for the arts and humanities are considered.

FEDERAL EXPENDITURES SHOULD NOT EXCEED REVENUES

HON. WILLIAM H. HUDNUT III

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. HUDNUT. Mr. Speaker, our national debt has now reached the astronomical figure of $460 billion. Few people can visualize the vastness of this amount, but it can be graphically illustrated if we picture it as converted into $1 bills. It is said if we place 1 billion $1 bills end to end, they would extend four times around the world. If we carried this a step further and converted our entire national debt into $1 bills, they would form stacks end to end, 1,840 bills deep, stretched around the entire world.

Since 1930 there have been only 6 fiscal years when we had a balanced budget. Three of these years were in the Truman administraton—1947, 1948, and 1951, and three were in the Eisenhower administration—1956, 1957, and 1960. For the most part, these deficits have been due to extenuating circumstances such as economic recessions or wars. However, there were years—such as during the Kennedy administration when we saw "planned deficits" as a matter of economic policy.

Historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., in his book "A Thousand Days," described this as "a revolution in fiscal policy" which committed itself "to a radical principle: The deliberate creation of budgetary deficits at a time when there was no economic emergency." At that time former President Eisenhower warned "the deficit road through history has lured nations to financial misery and disaster." President Eisenhower denounced the Kennedy administration's "vast, reckless plan." Schlesinger writes that "neither the passion for a balanced budget or the fear of inflation"

was allowed to abort the fiscal revolution. The Kennedy administration dismissed Eisenhower's plea and warning as a "right-winger's mythology."

Today, we see the results of these years of Federal deficits in the high prices for meats and other products, in increased rents and interest costs, as well as the devaluation of our dollar in foreign trade. Seemingly, the entire economy of the United States is on very shaky grounds.

If ever there were a time ripe for corrective action, surely it is now. And that action can only come from one source, the body invested by the Constitution of the United States with the responsibility for action in fiscal matters of this country, the Congress. I personally feel the time has now come when we must get our house in order. In an attempt to remedy this situation, I am introducing a bill to provide that Federal expenditures shall not exceed Federal revenues, except in time of war or grave national emergency declared by the Congress by a concurrent resolution which has passed each House by at least two-thirds of the authorized Members of that House. Also, there is a provision for a systematic reduction of the public debt beginning with 2 percent the first year and gradually reaching 5 percent each year.

In discussions with my constituents, I find the vast majority do not want any more deficit spending. I believe they represent the views of most Americans who are fed up with high taxes and inflation and feel that Congress should begin to handle the Nation's budget as they do their own family budget—living within their means.

The Joint Study Committee on the Budget has already made a good start in their recommendations for better budget control and I hope this proposal I am sponsoring will receive very serious consideration.

W. D. P. CAREY

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, one of this Nation's distinguished business leaders and an active civic leader of Hutchinson, Kans., Mr. W. D. P. Carey, passed away on April 7, 1973. Mr. Carey had achieved success as a businessman, attorney, and community leader.

Many of the progressive developments in the Hutchinson community were stimulated by the leadership of Mr. Carey. Whether it was a sports arena for the city, a hotel, flood control, a hospital, or the United Fund, he was in the forefront hard at work.

Mr. Carey was a director "emeritus" of Tenneco and had served as president of the Packaging Corp. of America.

The Carey family long has been synonymous with Hutchinson. In recent months, however, the family has experienced the loss of Howard J. Carey, Sr., a brother, and Howard's widow, Mrs. Louise Carey.

Mrs. Shriver joins with me in conveying our deepest sympathies to Mrs. W. D. P. Carey; her daughter, Mrs. Gwen Everett; and a son, W. D. P. Carey, Jr. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Hutchinson, Kans., News which eloquently eulogizes this outstanding citizen—W. D. P. Carey:

W. D. P. CAREY

William Carey was a Renaissance man.

That is defined as a "present-day man with many broad interests who has opportunity to indulge himself in them so as to acquire a knowledge of each that is more than superficial."

He went beyond that definition, from the arena of knowledge into the field of action. Devoted as he was to education and the arts, he did not accumulate knowledge and understanding for their own sakes but as tools with which man serves himself and others.

Simply to run an inventory of those interests is to invite both the error of omission and disbelief. They included the law, which to him was the frame on which to build both a civilized society and a personal life. Along with that passion came business. He approached that with the zeal of a talented football player—which he also was—marshaling his strategy and resources to fashion a win. But business was a bit more than a game to be played superbly, as he did. It also was a skeleton to be fleshed with people, inspired with imagination, and imbued with moral fiber.

And then what? Golf, of course. Community duty, of course. Service to country, to his schools, to his business associates. Art was there, and a smattering of music; deep interest in history; some politics; man's social needs, as they can be met with better hospitals, better parks and recreation, better housing, better jobs.

Above all stood his sense of devotion. First, to his family. Then, to his home community. How well he met those self-imposed obligations is clear in the long record of duty which was noted in the Sunday report of his death.

Suffice it to say that if we had such a title as Citizen Of The Century, this century's honor would go to William Carey.

It has been an unhappy season for the Carey family, and for their friends throughout the land. Though deaths came cruelly fast, the losses served as testimony to the abundance and fullness which the lives of this remarkable family have given to all of us.

DIPLOMATIC DOUBLE STANDARDS OR JET AIRCRAFT

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, undoubtedly, the sale of three used jet airliners to Rhodesia will bring cries of anguish from the same crowd that engineered the economic sanctions the U.N. imposed against that country several years ago. The airplanes represent the first jet aircraft acquired by the Rhodesian airline.

This still leaves Rhodesia lagging behind Communist China in jet transportation. The Chinese, you will recall, purchased ten 707 jet airliners from an American firm last fall for a reported $125 million. But the Red Chinese got a better deal still—free training for Chinese pilots was thrown in for boot.

It is interesting to note that within a few days after the Chinese made their deal with the American businessmen to buy commercial airliners—for peacetime purposes only—the Nation's news reported:

About one dozen MIG 19 jet fighter planes were delivered by China to North Vietnam. . . . At the time Hanoi was down to fewer than two dozen jet fighters and was losing them in dogfights with American attacking aircraft at such a rate that they would have been out within two weeks.

Here is another example of the double standard in U.S. diplomatic relations. While UN imposed economic sanctions against non-Communist Rhodesia continue to be respected by the United States, we allow U.S. made planes to be sent to the same Communist who supplied the war material to prolong the killing of our fighting men in Vietnam.

Related newsclippings follow:

[From the Star and News, April 17, 1973]

FIRM EXPLAINS SALES OF THREE JETS TO RHODESIANS

GENEVA.—Three Boeing jet airliners delivered to Rhodesia in violation of the economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations were owned by a bankrupt West German charter company, according to a spokesman for Jet Aviation, an aircraft maintenance company in Basel said.

The spokesman said yesterday the four-engine aircraft left the Basel airport on Thursday and Friday for Lisbon. The Boeings are said to be the first jet aircraft acquired by the Rhodesian airline, Air Rhodesia.

Jet Aviation, according to the spokesman, prepared the planes for the flight to Lisbon without knowing their ultimate destination. They arrived in Salisbury, the Rhodesian capital, on Saturday.

The spokesman said that the three planes belonged to a Munich charter company, Calair, which went bankrupt last year.

[From the Washington Evening Star, Sept. 18, 1972]

OTHERS WOULD FOLLOW BOEING CHINA DEAL

(By Stephen M. Aug)

Months of patient effort and weeks of hard negotiating have won the Boeing Co. not only an unusual cash purchase for $125 million worth of its planes, but a stretch-out of its 707 production, continued employment for hundreds of workers and more than a foot in the door to greater trade with the Peoples Republic of China.

The deal, completed Saturday, is the largest transaction to date since trade barriers have been eased between the United States and mainland China.

An examination of records at the Commerce Department, however, indicates that a number of other companies—some of them unidentified—are looking toward further deals with the Chinese.

Among them:

Pratt & Whitney Division of United Aircraft Corp. received last Thursday a Commerce Department license to export $12,112,000 worth of aircraft engines and parts for installation on U.S. planes. These would be replacements for the engines to be placed on the 10 Boeing 707s the Chinese have ordered. A Pratt & Whitney spokesman said a company delegation leaves for China today to negotiate the deal.

An export license was issued Aug. 2 to an unidentified company to demonstrate and resell $6,713 worth of outboard motors.

On July 25 the department issued a temporary license for a demonstration of $6,000 worth of data processing equipment. This, however, is not to be sold, but is to be re-

turned to the United States. The department did not identify who received the license.

The department's quarterly report for the three months ended June 30 says export licenses for sales of more than $150 million were approved for the Peoples Republic of China. Commercial aircraft for civil airline operations accounted for all but a few thousand dollars.

Virtually all of this was accounted for by the Boeing license which was granted June 30. In mid-July, the government granted McDonnell-Douglas Corp. a $21 million temporary license authorizing a demonstration flight of an airplane to China.

But Douglas officials never went to China, nor did their plane. They weren't invited, and business with the Chinese at this point is by invitation only.

LOCKHEED LESSON

Sometimes, of course, even invitations haven't resulted in sales, as Lockheed Aircraft Corp. learned.

A five-member team headed by Lockheed international vice president Robert I. Mitchell visited China from May 28 to June 14 in an effort to sell airplanes—the jumbo L1011 Tristar, L100 Hercules and the Jetstar, an executive jet plane. Although there has been a continuing exchange of correspondence since the visit, no sales have resulted.

Commerce Department records indicate a number of sales to the Chinese of photographic film—some direct, and some of it U.S. products re-shipped from Hong Kong.

The only significant export to China since the trade barriers began coming down last year—and prior to Boeing—was the sale of about $6.6 million worth of communications satellite equipment by RCA Corp. The company's first sale was made in connection with President Nixon's February visit to China.

STEADY IMPORT FLOW

There continues, however, to be a steady flow of imports from China. During the first seven months of this year, $16.8 million worth of Chinese goods have been imported.

George Driscoll of the China desk at the Commerce Department, said the first direct transactions between U.S. and Chinese firms after the RCA deal were made in connection with the Chinese Export Commodities Fair at Kwangchow from April 15 to May 15. After $6 million worth of business was transacted—although none of it was export business from American firms.

Among the importers is Seabrook Foods Inc. of Great Neck, N.Y. Murray P. Berger, president, was among those who attended the fair. His company has ordered about $200,000 worth of frozen vegetables—including some 9-inch green beans—and frozen shrimp. Compared with the $75 million in sales Seabrook Corp., Leviant International, Boeing, RCA, May Lee Import-Export Corp., Bloomingdale's, Sobin Chemicals, Envirotech Corp., and Alexander's Department Store. Trade associations also appeared from Minneapolis, Chicago, San Francisco and Hawaii. The China Trade Association of Washington also was represented.

The Chinese, these businessmen must have found out, are tough negotiators. Boeing's chief negotiator on the 707 transaction, Byron H. Miller, international sales director, said his sales team had "a quite arduous time . . . It was by far the most rigorous negotiations I've ever been involved in."

"VERY ARDUOUS"

At a news conference yesterday, Miller said they were "very, very protracted and detailed negotiations." The result, he said, was a 125-page contract, and "we went through that thing 10 times . . . it was very arduous."

Although most sessions began at 9 a.m. and ended at 5 or 6 p.m. with a two or three-hour mid-day recess, loggerheads that developed resulted in no meetings at all for two or three days at a time.

Miller traced the progress of the deal starting perhaps two years ago when Boeing received several "always somewhat mysterious" inquiries about its aircraft. The source was eventually traced to mainland China, but several indirect attempts by Boeing to obtain authorization to send a delegation to China were unsuccessful.

SIGNING SEPTEMBER 9

Then, last March 7, the company applied directly to the China National Machinery Import & Export Corp., which negotiates such deals. A cable to Boeing three weeks later invited a delegation to the April-May trade fair. Negotiations began April 15 and trade documents were signed Sept. 9. Nine different Boeing officials took part at one time or another.

Miller said the Chinese want details of the contract kept confidential. But he said the deal is for cash—almost unheard of in airplane sales—with a 30 percent down payment and full payment in U.S. dollars through the Bank of China and an unidentified bank in an unidentified country when the planes are delivered.

The contract includes training for Chinese pilots on the ground and in simulators at Boeing headquarters in Seattle, plus flight training in China. The planes will have Pratt & Whitney engines, and these account for about 15 percent of the $125 million price for the 10 aircraft.

The planes will be used on both domestic and international routes, Miller said, speculating that they would likely reach such Western nations as Japan, Canada and France.

HANOI GETS JETS FROM PEKING

(By Henry S. Bradsher)

SAIGON.—About one dozen MIG 19 jet fighter planes were delivered by China to North Vietnam early last week. At the time Hanoi was down to fewer than two dozen jet fighters and was losing them in dogfights with American attacking aircraft at such a rate that they would have been out within two weeks.

The fact that China came through with help at a time when the flow of Soviet aid has been greatly reduced by the U.S. blockade of North Vietnam emphasizes the increased importance of Peking to Hanoi.

China has since 1965 supplied mostly light weapons and bulk civilian goods to North Vietnam while the Soviet Union provided sophisticated heavy weaponry and technical goods. But now with roles shifting, the blockade is only one reason.

* * * * *

China has over the years also provided jet fighters to North Vietnam. The MIG 19s which China now is making at a rate of 450 a year is a modified copy of a Soviet design. The Soviets have provided later and better MIG 21s to Hanoi. But the North has been running out of them. Delivery of planes early last week was a Chinese effort to keep the North Vietnamese air defenses viable.

China has also provided North Vietnamese with Chinese produced copies of Soviet bombers. These are stationed in Southern China to protect them from U.S. air raids and have not been used against South Vietnam.

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MIDAIR COLLISION AVOIDANCE ACT OF 1973

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. Speaker, the recent collision between a NASA plane and a Navy jet, which tragically took 16 lives, demonstrates once again that Congress must enact legislation to require the installation of collision avoidance systems on most civilian and military aircraft. There is no doubt that the danger of midair collisions is increasing, and on the basis of personal studies that I have undertaken, unless we do something immediately, hundreds and perhaps thousands of people will die in such collisions in the next 10 years. In fact, the National Transportation Safety Board has projected 972 fatalities from 335 collisions between 1970–79.

Unfortunately, ground based radar does not always pick up aircraft, and a great percentage of aircraft flying today is classified as the lighweight, small general aviation type. For the most part, such planes fly outside the control of radar and aircontrollers on the ground. Actually, its a tribute to the pilots of such aircraft that more mid-air collisions do not occur than the already frightening number that do.

It is not a very pleasant subject to bring before the Members of the House, but after all, practically all of us are required to fly great distances, and while there is always the danger of an accident occurring, it can be increased many times over unless proper precautions are taken. One of these precautions should be the installation of effective collision avoidance systems. As our colleague in the other body (Mr. Moss) pointed out in a statement yesterday, the technological know-how is available to effect a program of collision avoidance on most aircraft.

Together with my colleague (Mr. Moss), I introduced legislation yesterday that would set a target date of March 1974, for completion of testing of mid-air collision avoidance systems. The bill, H.R. 7125, requires that all airliners and military aircraft must have a collision avoidance system by June 1976. Additionally, by June 1977 all business and other commercial aircraft would be required to have the system operative and by June 1978 all aircraft would have to comply. This would exclude certain type aircraft that operate away from congested areas such as specialized sport, experimental, antique, agricultural planes and gliders.

We have a serious obligation to do everything possible to reduce the chances of midair collisions. I am very hopeful that we can get some hearings on this bill in the near future, and if any of my colleagues would like to discuss it with me please let me know.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to include a copy of H.R. 7125 as a part of my remarks at this point. The preamble, or findings and purpose, of the bill describe the seriousness of the midair collision problem. The bill is as follows:

H.R. 7125

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Mid-Air Collision Avoidance Act of 1973".

FINDINGS AND PURPOSE

SEC. 2. (a) Whereas mid-air collisions have already caused and will continue to cause a

tragic loss of human and economic resources, inasmuch as—

(1) mid-air collisions between air carrier, general aviation and military aircraft have caused a tragic loss of human life totaling 966 fatalities from 178 reported mid-air collisions between 1956 and 1970;

(2) the National Transportation Safety Board projects that, based on past levels of collisions and fatalities, the nation can expect to witness the loss of 972 lives from 335 collisions between 1970 and 1979;

(3) single collisions have resulted in damage claims of some $70 million; payments of some $29 million; and, based on qualified estimates, could result in a cost to the airlines of some $180 million if involving two wide-body airliners;

(4) the nation will experience a dramatic rise in airspace congestion as the airline aircraft fleet is expected to grow over 40 percent and the general aviation fleet by over 73 percent between 1971 and 1981.

(b) Whereas studies, analysis and tests have already demonstrated that economical and effective collision avoidance systems can be made available to reduce markedly the incidence of mid-air collisions that cannot be prevented with the nation's ground-based air traffic control system alone, inasmuch as—

(1) the National Transportation Safety Board reported in 1971 that "an estimated 82 percent of the accidents studied may have been avoided if collision avoidance systems (CAS) and pilot warning indicators (PWI) had been installed aboard the involved aircraft";

(2) in four of the eleven collisions between air carriers and uncontrolled aircraft, the uncontrolled aircraft was not even seen on the ground-based radar; and

(3) the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration has stated that efforts to evaluate three advanced designs proposed by industry, in versions suitable for all classes of aircraft, can be completed by March 1975.

(c) Therefore, the purpose of this Act is to require the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration to expedite the evaluation and selection of a national standard for a collision avoidance system; proceed to develop plans for operating rules and regulations integrating this system into the ground-based air traffic control system; and require the installation of a collision avoidance system on all classes of aircraft by certain dates.

EVALUATION, SELECTION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF COLLISION AVOIDANCE SYSTEMS

SEC. 3. (a) Not later than March 30, 1974, the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration, in cooperation with the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and the Secretary of Defense acting through the Interdepartmental Group on Collision Avoidance and Pilot Warning, shall complete the flight test and evaluation of currently competing airborne collision avoidance systems, as defined in section 101 (37) of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, and not later than June 30, 1974 shall select a national standard for such systems.

(b) The selected standard shall be technically and economically suitable for all classes of civil aircraft, as defined in section 101(14) of the Federal Aviation Act of 1948.

(c) Not later than December 30, 1974, the Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration shall publish implementation rules and regulations to describe compatible use and operating procedures between CAS systems and the existing air traffic control system.

AMENDMENTS TO THE FEDERAL AVIATION ACT OF 1958

SEC. 4. (a) Section 101 of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 is amended by inserting at the end thereof the following:

"(37) 'Collision avoidance system' means an all weather cooperative system on an aircraft which is compatible with but independent of ground based air traffic control systems and can detect all other aircraft representing a potential collision threat and, if necessary, indicate to the pilot a safe evasion maneuver."

(b) Section 601 of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

COLLISION AVOIDANCE SYSTEM

"(d)(1) Minimum standards pursuant to this section shall include the requirement that—

"(A) not later than June 30, 1976, a collision avoidance system shall be installed on any aircraft which is operated by an air carrier or a supplemental air carrier, and has a maximum certificated takeoff weight in excess of 60,000 pounds;

"(B) not later than June 30, 1976, a collision avoidance system shall be installed on all public aircraft;

"(C) not later than June 30, 1977, a collision avoidance system shall be installed on any civil aircraft which has a maximum certificated gross weight in excess of 12,500 pounds;

"(D) not later than June 30, 1978, a collision avoidance system shall be installed on all civil aircraft not covered by clauses (A) and (C) above.

"(2) Specialized sport, experimental, and agricultural aircraft and gliders as defined by the Administrator, shall be excepted from the provisions of this subsection when operating outside congested terminal airspace."

WELFARE SCANDAL—XIV

HON. VERNON W. THOMSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, evidence of the massive failure of our welfare system overwhelmingly demands urgent rethinking of the entire, outdated apparatus by which we try to help the poor and helpless. The system invites fraud and is characterized by inefficient administration. It further encourages a breakdown of individual responsibility through its bureaucratic clumsiness.

For 3 months, two reporters for the Milwaukee Sentinel investigated the operations of the Milwaukee County Welfare Department. What they found was scandalous and the subject of a series of articles in the Sentinel. Today's 14th installment of this series shows how the welfare department and both taxpayers and businessmen dealing with some welfare clients are victimized by an inefficient, sloppily administered program of public assistance.

To stretch our available resources to reach and help the truly needy, we must tighten up our procedures and eliminate such duplicative funding for some clients at the expense of everybody else.

BUSINESS PAYS WELFARE TWICE

(By Gene Cunningham and Stuart Wilk)

While Milwaukee County taxpayers are taking a beating from the welfare department, a number of businessmen are getting hit twice.

They not only pay tax money for waste and fraud. In addition, they take losses on their business transactions through the department.

For example:

One plumbing contractor is trying unsuccessfully to collect $1,120 in unpaid bills for work ordered by the department on homes owned by welfare recipients.

A furniture company wrote off $1,131 on its income tax as a bad debt. The amount was the unpaid balance on furniture ordered by the department for welfare recipients.

An optometrist said he loses hundreds of dollars every month because the welfare department will not pay the full cost of glasses ordered by welfare recipients nor will the department tell him what amount it will pay for glasses.

A real estate broker complained to the department that welfare recipients owed him $1,261 in unpaid rents and security deposits, money they had been given but had spent for something else.

The department, the businessmen said, insists that although it authorizes and orders items and services for welfare recipients it will not pay the cost.

Instead, the money is given to the recipient who often spends it for something else, leaving the businessman or landlord with a collection of unpaid bills.

"The authorization for the work comes from the welfare department, but then they don't pay for it," the plumbing contractor complained.

He is currently sending the department bills for work done for 13 different welfare recipients. Some of the unpaid bills date back to 1970.

The department, he said, told him it "had no record of having been billed" for six of the accounts. He showed a Sentinel reporter copies of bills and letters he had sent the department.

In some cases, he said, the department insisted it had not authorized the work.

In others, the department said the money already had been given to the recipients and that it was up to the plumbing contractor to collect from them.

The furniture store owner said he took telephone orders from department workers for more than $5,000 worth of furniture from 1968 into 1970.

He and his bookkeeper said they knew the department workers who phoned in the orders and that the proper acknowledgments of the orders were sent by the store to the department.

When it became apparent that some of the recipients' accounts were not going to be paid, the store contacted the welfare department.

The department's answer was that the money had been given to the recipients and that the store had to collect from them, the owner said.

He began a letter writing campaign to the department.

"Orders were taken from your caseworkers. . . . Our business was strictly with the Milwaukee County Welfare Department and we were not aware that any moneys were sent to your clients," he wrote.

He explained further that he had given the department a discount price that he did not give to individual retail customers.

The reply was the same—collect from the welfare recipients.

"As we stated before, we do not and did not deal with your clients. We dealt with welfare department homemakers and caseworkers. We feel it is the responsibility of the ordering party, namely the welfare department, to pay this charge," the store-owner wrote in a later letter.

When it became apparent that the department was not about to pay the bills, the store wrote off the unpaid balance of $1,131 as a bad debt.

In some cases, the store repossessed some of the items.

In others, the welfare recipients could not be located or the items bought were mattresses that cannot be repossessed and resold, the store owner said.

The optometrist said that he loses hundreds of dollars every month on glasses sold to welfare recipients because many of them demand expensive, stylish frames which Title 19 Medicaid allowances apparently will not cover.

"They say 'I want those gold wire shades' and when you tell them welfare won't pay for those" they argue with you, he said.

He said that last month his bill to the department for glasses for welfare recipients came to more than $2,500. He received a check for $1,974 in payment, he said.

The optometrist said he had tried unsuccessfully to find out from the welfare department how much Title 19 will pay for glasses.

He was told "we can't tell you because then you'll always charge that amount," he said.

The optometrist said that about one-fourth of his business is from welfare recipients but that he is seriously considering refusing to sell to them.

The real estate broker who complained to the department about unpaid rents and security deposits asked that the department put welfare recipients on vouchers and make payment direct to the landlord instead of giving the recipients the money.

"The voucher system is the only answer to the increasing trend of welfare recipients in not paying their rents and security deposits," he said.

The broker also contacted Supervisor William E. Nagel, chairman of the County Board's Welfare and Human Resources Committee.

Nagel checked the cases about which the broker had complained. He reported that in many of them the rent money had been given to the recipients who had simply spent it for something other than rent.

In a letter last January to Arthur Silverman, director of the welfare department, Nagel said:

"It is shocking to think nothing can be done to prevent such flagrant abuse of public money."

Nagel also introduced a resolution calling for a study of nonpayment of rent by welfare recipients and its cost to the county in lost security deposits, duplicate rent payments by the department and costs of moving recipients to other housing.

THE ANTI-CIVIL RIGHTS GENOCIDE TREATY

HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, the Senate has the constitutional responsibility to ratify treaties presented to it by the President. The House of Representatives does not have ratification power. Nonetheless, there are, from time to time, treaties under consideration which may have such great impact on our whole system of Government that we as Members of Congress have a responsibility to those who have elected us and to all of the American people to make our concerns known. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has reported out such a treaty. This treaty is the Genocide Convention—a Convention which would seriously disturb and disrupt our present form of Government.

In an article in the American Bar Association Journal for August 1949, Orie L. Phillips, Chief Judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 10th Circuit, stated that the Convention would:

. . . define certain acts, which have traditionally been regarded as domestic crimes, as international crimes and to obligate the United States to provide for their punishment and for the trial of persons accused thereof either in our domestic courts or in an international tribunal.

Judge Phillips has raised an important point that I wish to investigate at some greater length. If the U.S. Senate was to ratify the Genocide Convention, the United States would undertake an obligation to prosecute and punish public officials and private citizens of the United States for acts not embodied in the term genocide. In article II of the Genocide Convention, the term "genocide" embraces five specified acts "committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national ethnical, racial, or religious group, as such." The real meaning of the term genocide considers genocide only that which intends the complete destruction or the complete wiping out of a group. Under the terms of the Convention, any public official or private individual is subject to prosecution and punishment if he intentionally destroys a single member of any of the specified groups.

In 1950 the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations realized that the convention distorts the idea embraced in the word "genocide." For that reason, they stated that the Senate should not consider ratification of the treaty unless it announced a certain understanding of the meaning.

In 1970 and 1973 the committee in its report stated:

While the committee had no particular problem with the meaning of these words in order to allay any misconceptions, it recommends two understandings to this article . . .

The first understanding—which is of relevance to us—would construe the words "intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such" to mean the intent "to destroy, such a group in such manner as to affect a substantial part of the group concerned."

Mr. Eberhard P. Deutsch on behalf of the American Bar Association stated:

It is again submitted that such an understanding in ratification of the Genocide Convention by the United States would hardly stand in the way of a finding of guilt.

The drafters of the convention have attempted—through their distortion of the concept of genocide—to make punishable either in the courts of an adherent to the treaty or in an international tribunal to be established under the terms of the treaty all of the acts enumerated in articles I and III of the convention.

Since the provisions of the treaty make an intent to destroy a single individual belonging to one of the four designated groups an act of genocide, the treaty would make any person in any of the countries adhering to it a potential victim of genocide. Almost every single person on the Earth belongs to one or more of the four groups designated.

The ratification of this convention would lead the United States into affirming something quite different than its name implies. The drafters of the convention have not even shown an understanding of that which they are attempting to stop.

Treaties must always be given serious consideration. And this one must be given very serious consideration. I ask my distinguished colleagues in the Senate to defeat ratification of this convention.

NEW INTERNATIONAL AIRPORT

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 18, 1973

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I want to call to the attention of my colleagues a project being undertaken under the leadership of a Virginia corporation which will greatly enhance civil aviation in Southeast Asia. I refer to the proposed new international airport near Bangkok to be designed and built by 1978 by Northrop Airport Development Corp.—NADC—of Vienna, Va., which is located in my district.

Southeast Asia and the Pacific represent the fastest developing air travel market in the world, and one of the key hubs in that area is Bangkok. Air traffic through Don Maung, the present Bangkok airport, will reach saturation levels by 1977. Even today, the airport at Don Muang is so outdated that it is impossible for one super-jet to taxi past the terminal while another is taking off.

Furthermore, the airport at Don Muang is a combination military and commercial installation, even though the separation of military and civil aviation already is standard worldwide.

The Government of Thailand has long been aware that a critical situation is approaching and it has set aside land for a new international airport. Thailand has been beset by declining world rice prices and narrowing markets for its natural rubber products. It needs to expand its tourist trade. However, with the present squeeze at Don Muang airport it is impossible to do so—and the straining treasury cannot provide the capital for a new airport without jeopardizing other key domestic programs.

Northrop Airport Development Corp. has conceived of a way to help get the Thai Government out of this aviation dilemma without placing any additional strain on the government's own capital resources.

For the first time, a private company is offering a turnkey civilian airport, complete from planning through operation—and this landmark innovation actually includes private financing. It will cost the Thai Government nothing except the land, which it will provide at no cost to the private airport company, and except for the cost of certain governmental services that the Thai Government will supply for the operation of the airport, such as control tower service and security and immigration serv-

ice. Furthermore, the company's systems approach to airport construction should compress by 40 percent the time normally required to build such a facility, thus allowing profitable operations to begin 3 or 4 years sooner than otherwise.

Briefly, NADC contemplates establishing a new corporation called the Northrop Thailand Airport Co. in which Thai private investors will hold majority ownership. Capital of approximately $100 million will be obtained through investments and loans from foreign and Thai sources. After the airport opens the new company will operate it under a 20-year franchise—but the Thai Government at all times reserves the right to buy the airport.

This concept provides the money for this essential facility without calling up images of a rich American Big Brother operation. I want to stress that this is a wholly private enterprise.

Mr. Speaker, I believe this may provide the answer to a potentially serious problem for civil aviation. The benefits in terms of safety alone would deserve our wholehearted support. For not only does this approach provide the capital, it also exports sophisticated communications equipment, American technical know-how, and American air safety standards which are the highest in the world.

In addition to the overriding advantages we would all gain from having a modern airport with all the best safety and communications equipment now available, this project will provide a tremendous economic stimulus to our Thai friends. An NADC study concludes that during the initial twenty years of airport operations, the contribution to the economy of Thailand by foreign air visitors beyond that accruing from Don Muang operations in 1976, is estimated to be $55 billion in 1970 constant prices. In addition, another $6.6 billion is estimated to be expended on the construction of hotel rooms for these visitors. The incremental savings to the economy of Thailand resulting from the expanded and modernized air cargo facilities at the new airport is estimated at $6.8 billion for the 20 year period.

However, this project is not a case where a foreign operation by an American company exports jobs and dollars—quite the reverse. This is a case where a foreign operation can help create jobs for Americans as well as funnel dollars back home.

Northrop Thailand Airport Co. will be financed by loans and investments from Thai and foreign sources, thus minimizing the American dollar outlays as well as relieving pressure on the U.S. reserves by utilizing Eurodollars and Asian dollars abroad. In addition, interest and dividends on the American portion of the capitalization over 25 years will have a significant impact on our balance of payments deficit. Construction of the new facility will require raw materials and equipment from the United States. Sophisticated safety and communications gear manufactured here will be installed there. Management services in the form of planning, design and construction management will be almost wholly American. All these factors will have an effect on American employment.

On-site employment of nationals wherever possible will stimulate the Thai economy. This stimulation will increase its buying power, thus creating new markets for American products of all kinds.

But let us not be too hasty in crediting these benefits to our balance-of-payments ledger. Our recent economic policies have improved our opportunities in the world market. It remains our task to take advantage of them. The organizations established by the Government and the Congress to support foreign trade and promote the expansion of private enterprise in the developing world, such as the Export-Import Bank, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation, the Private Export Financing Corporation, and the Foreign Credit Insurance Association, must take an aggressive stance by participating in the financing necessary to capitalize this project and others like it. If we neglect this opportunity to support a facility providing these benefits to the world, the Thais, and our own people, other countries will not be so reluctant. Such support is one of the simplest and least costly ways of financing economic aid to developing nations.

Mr. Speaker, for too long the United States has concentrated exclusively on the AID approach to foreign assistance. Here is a case where private investment can help get our Government out of the support business, yet can show evidence of our continuing interest in long-term capital investment in Southeast Asia. We can point to this project with pride as a prime example of private industry's promotion of trade and innovative financing from private sources replacing governmental foreign aid.

Here is a project from which everyone gains. The Government of Thailand shall have its badly needed airport. The Thai people will benefit from the increased tourism and increased employment. The people of the United States will benefit from the improvement in our balance of payments, increased employment at home, and the new market for American goods in Southeast Asia. And the people of every nation in the world will benefit from better contact with Southeast Asia.

To assemble the financial package envisioned in this plan will require the support and assistance of several governments and several governmental agencies thereof. I would hope that NADC will promptly receive that support. Surely, if the United States is unwilling to encourage the private development of Thailand there will be other countries ready to step in and offer assistance on other terms.

TAX CREDITS FOR NONPUBLIC ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

HON. LAWRENCE COUGHLIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. COUGHLIN. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I introduced legislation to create a tax credit against the expenses of education at private nonprofit elementary and secondary schools. The amount of the credit would equal 100 percent of nonpublic elementary and secondary education costs up to a maximum credit of $200 per dependent in any year. I am pleased to announce that I am joined in sponsoring this measure by 21 of my colleagues representing 16 States and Territories.

It is widely recognized that the viability of our public education system, as it has evolved, is in large measure dependent upon the existence of nonpublic schools. Public education is, of course, the backbone of our educational system and as such deserves our primary attention and support. However, it is a fact of life that private and parochial schools now enroll 5½ million students or 11 percent of all elementary and secondary school students in the country. A study by the National Catholic Education Association underscores the vital role nonpublic schools play, especially in urban areas. In New York, for example, 24.3 percent of all students attend nonpublic schools; in Chicago, 27.3 percent attend nonpublic schools; and in Philadelphia, the figure is 33.6 percent.

Nonpublic education is in a state of crisis and we can no longer afford to ignore that fact. As a result of increases in teacher salaries and operating costs, private school tuition has risen and enrollment has declined in recent years, placing additional strains on public education facilities and making greater demands on public funds. Many nonpublic schools have been forced to close or to curtail their programs. This trend is likely to continue if some means is not devised to reduce the hardship experienced by families who send their children to nonpublic schools.

For whatever reason families may prefer a nonpublic school education for their children—specially tailored or experimental programs, proximity, or religious conviction—they should be accorded this choice. Moreover, it should not be a choice exclusively available to the well to do. For this reason I have constructed my bill in such a way that the full amount of the tax credit would be available to those least able to finance nonpublic education for their children—lower and middle-income taxpayers who earn $19,000 a year or less. This allows the vast majority of nonpublic school parents to receive the maximum benefit of the credit. For those with higher incomes, the credit would be reduced by 1 percent of income in excess of $19,000 in recognition of their greater ability to pay. Because of the urgent need for this legislation, I have recommended an effective date of December 31, 1973. The tax credit would thereby be applicable to educational expenses incurred in taxable years starting with 1974.

Tax credits offer a financially sound solution to the mounting crisis of nonpublic education. It has been estimated that if public education were required to absorb private school pupils, the additional cost to the taxpayer could run as high as $8 billion. While my tax credit proposal would result in some loss of revenue, it is clearly a much less costly approach. The long-term cost savings are all the more apparent when one com-

pares the cost of educating a student in the public schools—approximately $1,000 a year—to the modest $200 tax credit which I am proposing.

As the scope of the difficulties encountered by parents in meeting the rising costs of nonpublic education and the wider implications for public education costs have become more apparent, support for the tax credit concept has broadened. President Nixon has endorsed the principle. The tax credit proposal was one of the major recommendations of the President's Panel on Nonpublic Education. Treasury Secretary George Schultz suggested legislation very similar to my own proposal when he testified before the House Ways and Means Committee last year.

As one who has been concerned with aiding parents of nonpublic school pupils for some time, I recognize the uncertainty which surrounds this issue due to various court actions. The situation is far from clear at this time. Tax credits for nonpublic education enacted at the State level have been upheld by courts in New York and Minnesota but ruled against in Ohio. The Ohio decision is presently on appeal to the Supreme Court and I welcome a ruling which I am confident will support the tax credit approach. However, in the absence of judicial clarification of this issue, I believe the Congress has a responsibility to develop and enact measures which are reasonable and constructive.

Mr. Speaker, I want to express my appreciation to my colleagues who joined me as sponsors of this legislation and I insert a list of their names in the RECORD:

LIST OF COSPONSORS

Mark Andrews, Republican, of North Dakota.
John Buchanan, Republican, of Alabama.
Clair W. Burgener, Republican, of California.
James C. Cleveland, Republican, of New Hampshire.
James M. Collins, Republican, of Texas.
Ron de Lugo, Democrat, of the Virgin Islands.
William L. Dickinson, Republican, of Alabama.
O. C. Fisher, Democrat, of Texas.
Walter Flowers, Democrat, of Alabama.
Bill Frenzel, Republican, of Minnesota.
Orval Hansen, Republican, of Idaho.
Ken Hechler, Democrat, of West Virginia.
Margaret M. Heckler, Republican, of Massachusetts.
Robert J. Huber, Republican, of Michigan.
John E. Hunt, Republican, of New Jersey.
Romano L. Mazzoli, Democrat, of Kentucky.
Bertram L. Podell, Democrat, of New York.
Leo J. Ryan, Democrat, of California.
Ronald A. Sarasin, Republican, of Connecticut.
William F. Walsh, Republican, of New York.
Antonio Borja Won Pat, Democrat, of Guam.

THANKS

HON. JOHN W. WYDLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. WYDLER. Mr. Speaker, the Americanism Chairman of the Hollis-Bellaire-Mark Post No. 980 of the American Legion has forwarded on to me a poetic tribute he wrote with regard to the cease-fire in Vietnam, and I would like to share with my colleagues the eloquence of the sentiments expressed. The tribute follows:

THANKS

I speak for the men in the Air Force,
The Army, the Navy, Marines,
The Coast Guard and all our Allies,
And for those in the Submarines.

I speak for all those in Service
Who are stationed all over this world,
Fighting for the Honor and Glory
Of keeping Our Flag unfurled.

You at home have prayed for our safety,
And for the hope we would surely return
With the Flag of Victory flying,
On our ships from the bow to the stern.

In our hearts we will ever be thankful
For the time which we know that you spent,
Praying in church every Sunday
And praying each day during Lent.

We know that you prayed every morning,
We know that you prayed every night.
We know that your prayers had injected
The courage that helped win the fight.
The prayers that you said weren't wasted,
For each moment, each hour, each day,
Found some wounded patiently waiting
For the moment you started to pray.

Your prayers saved the lives of many,
And the souls of those who are dead,
Who fought and died like the heroes they were,
To bring peace in the world ahead.

Now, we may be your Sweetheart, your Brother,
Your Father, or maybe your Son,
But, whoever we are, we just want to say,
"Thanks" for a job well done.

WALTER J. KAISER, Jr.,
Americanism Chairman.

PYSANKY—UKRAINIAN EASTER

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. DOMINICK V. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, in the 14th Congressional District of New Jersey which I have the honor to represent there is a large community of Ukrainian-descended people. Because they are hard working, have a tradition of taking care of their own, and law abiding, they are often overlooked by the community at large. As a Congressman representing a large Ukrainian community, I am often invited to Ukrainian social events. I have been privileged to share in their ancient culture and partake of the unexcelled generosity and thoughtfulness of this wonderful group of people. Many Americans not of Ukrainian descent have not been so privileged, and thus, know very little of Ukrainian folkways.

Mr. Speaker, I was delighted to read this afternoon in the Washington Star-News an article by Diana McClellan describing the preparation of Ukrainian Easter eggs. For the benefit of all my colleagues who have not been privileged to know much about the Ukrainian people, I include Miss McClellan's fine article in the RECORD.

The article follows:

PYSANKY—UKRAINIAN EASTER

(By Diana McLellan)

They look impossibly difficult to make.

But Ukrainian Easter eggs, with their intricate designs, their tulip-bright hues and their profusion of ancient symbolism, have been lovingly made every year for 1,000 years by Ukrainian families with no closer claim to genius than you or me.

The art of creating the elegant symbols of the rebirth of spring and the resurrection of Christ is called Pysanky.

It needs few special tools. The only really esoteric one, a stylus called a kistka, is available locally at the Country Store of Washington, Va., where a demonstration will be held Saturday.

"They're made by Ukrainian women but they can't make too many at a time because it makes their fingers bleed," the proprietor said yesterday. Considering that, the $2 price is really a bargain.

Eggs, beeswax, crepe paper (you extract the dye from it) and some kleenex are the only other supplies you need to create dazzlingly authentic Ukrainian eggs.

In the old days, of course, dyes were extracted from onion skins and various other natural color sources, and some people today use plain old Rit.

You can choose the symbols you'll put on your eggs from an enormous traditional repertoire. Originally, families from the Carpathian mountains stuck to geometric patterns for their eggs; various types of crosses abounded, triangles represented the holy trinity, and curlicued lines encircling the eggs symbolized eternity.

Lowlanders liked to use animals, and didn't mind introducing symbols of temporal fortune among the religious motifs.

Reindeer and horses, for example, both stood for material wealth. Hens and roosters—always shown at rest—stood for fertility. The fish, as it had since early Christian days, stood for Christ. Suns meant good fortune; flowers, happiness; wheat, a good harvest, and so on.

The eggs themselves were decorated raw—fertility symbol, again—and were not intended to be eaten.

In fact, kept around the house all year, they were supposed to protect the home, and act as a heaven-approved fire and lightning insurance. Present-day egg-decorators, discouraged by the nasty smell that accompanies accidents to middle-aged raw eggs, tend to blow the eggs before decorating.

Nobody has yet determined whether this weakens the fire-preventing power of the eggs, but they still make handsome gifts for Easter.

ANOTHER VIEW OF NIXON BUDGET

HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, the President's recent televised remarks to the Nation concerning his budget and problem of inflation have evoked some salty comments from the Detroit Free Press.

An editorial in the March 31 issue of the Free Press found some flaws in the President's argument. Since the Congress was the target of the President's attack, it might be well for us to heed the points made in the editorial.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, the editorial follows:

CONNING THE CITIZENRY

To say that the nation must keep its budget balanced to hold prices stable is not the

same as saying that Congress must adopt President Nixon's budget, Mr. Nixon to the contrary notwithstanding.

He tried hard to give that impression on television Thursday night when he said: "If I were to approve the increases in my budget that have been proposed in the Congress it would mean a 15 percent increase in your taxes, or an increase in prices for every American."

Then, a few moments later, he leaned even harder. He didn't earn the sobriquet of Tricky Dick for nothing. "I admit there is an honest difference of opinion on the matter of the federal budget," he said. "If you are willing to pay the higher taxes or prices that will result if we increase federal spending over my budget, as some in Congress have proposed, you should ask your senators and congressmen to override my vetoes." But if you don't want higher taxes, he said, write your congressman that, too.

This is a phony and specious argument, and the President knows it. He is relying on the people not knowing it and, given the complexities of the budget, he may be right.

There is no argument in Congress over the size of the federal budget. We have yet to hear a voice from Capitol Hill arguing that the President's proposed $268 billion overall budget is seriously out of line.

What is being argued is how the pie is to be divided. Mr. Nixon has proposed slashing existing programs for education, housing, agriculture and welfare. He wants more money for the Pentagon, law enforcement, the environment, energy, transportation and a federal tax credit for private school tuition.

With some of these changes we can agree, as do many members of Congress. With other proposals, though, especially more money for the Pentagon just after we have extricated ourselves from Vietnam, we and many members of Congress disagree. That is the "honest difference of opinion."

Further, no one expects every pet project to pass Congress and wind up on the President's desk. Yet that is what the President was saying.

When he talked about a 15 percent tax increase, he was basing it on his budget as submitted—plus all the possible addons. He was not talking about substituting a congressional proposal for one of his own. He was not talking about the congressional duty to weigh priorities.

What he was doing was trying to pull a con job on the American people.

DEMOCRACY—THE HEART OF THE GREEK PEOPLE

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, if liberty and equality, as is thought by some, are chiefly to be found in democracy, they will be best attained when all persons alike share in the government to the utmost.

Aristotle, as we all well know, wrote the above words when Greece stood forth among all nations as the fatherland of freedom, justice, and democracy. It is from the teachings of her early philosophers and from the examples her early leaders laid that free nations have followed, developed, and patterned themselves, bending to the particular needs and focus of their own times. From the principles of their ancient courts, to the strength behind their Hippocratic oath, to the continued emphasis on the need for a balance between the rational and the emotional in their art, their drama, in every aspect of their daily lives—few of us will disagree that the Greek nation has provided an invaluable foundation for the understanding and the implementation of the democratic principles free men cherish today.

It is therefore extremely painful and disconcerting to know that in the past 6 years, only vestiges of this Nation's remarkable past remain. For on April 21, 1967, representative democracy in Greece was smothered and the situation, since that date, grows ever more abusive. The cruel beatings of the Greek University students serve as only the most recent example of the oppressive nature of the Greek junta. And, as the sixth year of miltary rule draws near, the words of Aristotle seem now to have come almost from a land of make believe.

I would like to take this moment to once again reaffirm my hope that the Greek people will once again enjoy a life of freedom and personal fulfillment. Democracy is embedded far too deeply in the hearts of these men and women to remain forever dormant. And, I know that the Greek people have not given up their hopes and dreams and their courage. I join with these brave citizens in their goal that democracy will be "best attained when all persons alike share in the government to the utmost."

CENTRAL PARK: EMBATTLED EDEN WITH FRIENDS

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, Central Park, America's most spectacular urban park, is located in my congressional district. Occupying the heart of Manhattan, Central Park has provided opportunities for recreation and relaxation for a century.

Central Park also represents one of the earliest victories for urban environmentalists in the fight against overdevelopment. Bicycle lanes, playgrounds, a zoo, benches, softball diamonds, rowboats, horse paths, and hiking trails can be found there. Both New Yorkers and visitors share its wonders each year. The Shakespeare in the Park program is nationally known.

Our Town, a community newspaper with a long-term commitment to the preservation and expansion of park areas in New York City, recently published an article on Central Park which I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues:

CENTRAL PARK: EMBATTLED EDEN WITH FRIENDS

(By Rose Smolin)

"A large public park in a democracy? Ridiculous!" was the spontaneous outcry in 1844 when Central Park was proposed for metropolitan New York.

For old aristocratic countries to create parks for the aristocrats—that was acceptable. For the general public—never. A park would be a folly in a Republic, so the argument ran, because it would necessarily be open to all the people.

Central Park has been a green oasis in the middle of the city for over a hundred years. It stands as a masterpiece of 19th century landscape art, but like any old masterpiece, it needs care.

When Estelle Wolf says sadly, "It looks so bad," she has that note of compassion in her voice that one has for a friend who is not well. As Membership Chairman of the Friends of Central Park, which was organized in 1967 by Mr. Robert M. Makla, she is thinking of the way the Park looked before time and use dulled its magnificence. She is thinking about the care and concentration that Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux put into its creation.

"A more uncompromising locality was never given to any Adam to make and Eden of," Clarence Chatham Cook wrote in 1867. He added, "Nature having done almost nothing, art had to do it all."

Olmsted and Vaux transformed this land which was all rock and swamp into one of the most beautiful parks in the world. It was their genius which created an environment within its walls which is in extreme contrast to all that lies outside. They created the paths to lead inward taking the visitor by the hand as it were into sylvan pleasure.

These artists created this beauty; the Friends of Central Park do their best to maintain it. They have raised enough money to have over fifty old trees cared for in order to insure their continued life. Since the Park has no tree surgeon, they have hired one.

When the Park was created, each tree and the place it was to occupy were carefully chosen. Rising ground and shrubbery were created to hide walls. Olmsted and Vaux wanted those who would contemplate these scenes after they were created to feel that they were transformed and elevated as they would be in a painting by a master.

Yet there are, and have always been, individuals and organizations who would never think of commissioning someone to paint a fountain or any material object into the middle of a Constable landscape, but who will eagerly propose that some man-made object be put into one of those carefully planned areas.

Bloomingdale's is the latest with their offer of $150,000 to lay some decorative tiles in the Mall to make provision for entertainment. Olmsted and Vaux were very specific about such intrusions. "The Park should be free," Olmsted wrote, "from the rigidity and confinement of the city with its incessant emphasis on artificial objects."

The Friends of Central Park are against the Bloomingdale proposal because they feel the priority is wrong. The money is to be matched by the city, and the experience of "The Friends" is that the city never has enough money for the essential upkeep of the Park. They would like to see that beautiful focal area, Bethesda Fountain and the Terrace, restored. They point out that Belvedere Castle is in ruins. They would like to see the money spent to make the Park look the way it used to look.

The Park has become, as its creators intended, many things to many people. For lovers, the Park is a romantic setting; for bird-watchers, a wild-life preserve; for city children, a backyard; for music lovers, an outdoor concert hall; for artists, a place to sketch and paint.

The Park does a great deal for New Yorkers; the Friends of Central Park do what they can for the Park. But it needs care; it needs cleaning; it needs restoration; it needs even more friends.

The role of William Cullen Bryant in the creation of the Park and a remark which

he made should be recalled. We remember him for his poem "Thanatopsis." His contemporaries knew him as the active and opinionated editor of The Evening Post and as an outdoorsman.

Bryant was also a man of decision, and he decided that the city needed a park. It was on July 3, 1844 that he took his broad-brimmed hat from the office rack and set out on foot to cover mid-Manhattan in order to find a suitable place for the park he had in mind. His was not a pleasant amble but a determined march over rough terrain without benefit of side-walks and very few paths.

He went back to his office and wrote the editorial in which he cited the present location as being the ideal one. He referred to it by a name of his own invention "The Central Park" although the city buildings at that time had only reached Twenty-Third Street.

It was certainly the center of Bryant's interest as he wrote a series of editorials to cajole New Yorkers into accepting the future need for such a haven. When it was suggested to Bryant that he was advancing a lost cause, he made the remark which is worth considering today.

"I know New Yorkers," he said, "They won't bother to keep the streets clean, but they are likely to engage in a scheme with an air of magnificence."

History proves that he did, indeed, know his New Yorkers. But what would be a "scheme of magnificence" in our time? The task of restoring the Park to its former beauty would qualify. This could be done if it had enough partisans. It is a simple matter to become a Friend of Central Park; one need only write to the organization, Lenox Hill Post Office, Box 610, New York City 10021 or call UN1-9696 for a membership form.

TRIBUTE TO LARRY E. TOWNSEND

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, on March 5, Lee and I lost a dear friend, and the people of the State of California, as well as the Nation, lost an outstanding leader.

But even in our loss of California State Assemblyman Larry E. Townsend, we retain many memories that we should like to share with the other Members of Congress.

We can surely say his death, coming at the age of 43, could be due in no small part to his ceaseless fight for the persons he represented.

During his 7 years as the Representative from the 67th Assembly District, Larry fought untiringly for the principles he believed in so strongly. Those very ideals, which were so dear to Larry, are the same ones which have made our country great.

Larry's background helped to make him the legislator committed to the American way of life that he was.

A native of Memphis, Tenn., Larry came to California in 1950. He finished his higher education in the San Diego area and started to work with the San Diego Gas and Electric Co.

He soon became active with Local No. 465 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and was appointed to the brotherhood's staff in 1957, where he served until his election to the California State Assembly.

Interested in politics since his high school days when he became a Young Democrat, Larry Townsend served 3 years as a member of the Los Angeles County Central Committee.

Clearly showing his commitment to his community of Torrance, Larry served as chairman of the Torrance Civil Service Commission for two terms, and as director of Little Company of Mary Hospital.

While ably representing the people of Gardena, Lawndale, and parts of Carson, Compton, Hawthorne, Redondo Beach, and Torrance, Larry championed many causes in the fields of education, health, and tax relief for property owners. He also spearheaded the development of the Southern California Regional Occupational Center in Torrance, and supported the fireman paramedic bill which provides emergency aid to heart attack victims.

Recently Larry was appointed chairman of the important California State Assembly Transportation Committee. He has served as a distinguished member of the Health, Commerce and Public Utilities, Governmental Organization, and Joint Retirement Committees.

Larry served all of us well as an outstanding legislator.

We still have a legacy of his contributions in his wife, Shirley. Shirley, who was always firmly at his side, understood his dreams as the reasons for his toils. We are confident that his goals and dreams will continue with the efforts of this outstanding woman and their three children, Dale, LaShirl, and Lauren.

Mr. Speaker, it was for all of us that Larry Townsend worked so diligently in the vineyards of public service. Now, as we continue to reap his harvest, we mourn the passing of a great legislator and a close, personal friend—Larry Townsend.

SER

HON. EDWARD R. ROYBAL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. ROYBAL. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced legislation to authorize funding for the establishment and operation of service, employment and redevelopment—SER—centers to meet the needs of the unemployed and underemployed Spanish-speaking population of this country.

Since its formation on June 10, 1966, SER has been the largest and one of the most effective manpower programs serving the Spanish-speaking people.

Administered by Jobs for Progress, Inc., a nonprofit corporation, SER is funded principally through Department of Labor and Department of Health, Education, and Welfare funds. SER extends its resources throughout the country, assisting a variety of local programs and upgrading the economic opportunities of Spanish-speaking Americans.

SER was formed in 1966 through the joint funding of the Department of Labor and the Office of Economic Opportunity. Prior to the formation of SER, the League of United Latin American Citizens had been operating job placement centers of the Spanish-speaking organization, the American GI Forum, and formed Jobs for Progress, Inc. The manpower program became known as SER, which means "to be" in Spanish. The initials also stand for the goals of the organization—service, employment, redevelopment—the means by which the poverty and despair of many Spanish-speaking people can be eliminated.

By August 1969 SER was clearly on the move, expanding and extending manpower services to many people for the first time. By 1970, 23 programs were operational. On a national scale, Spanish-speaking leaders from various communities were coming together—pooling their knowledge, experience and hope. Today, SER is a dynamic organization which is expanding beyond its original territory to meet the needs of people in cities such as Gary, Ind., and Racine, Wis.

In addition to skills training through a variety of educational institutions and on-the-job training, SER provides the enrollee with supportive services to insure firm placement in a meaningful job. SER is also conducting successful experimental programs such as Operation Detour, a program for young first offenders, offering an alternative to court backlogs and imprisonment. Another innovative program is the SER Residential Youth Center in San Jose, Calif. Here an environment marked by drugs, hopelessness and crime is being replaced by a living situation which allows individual potential to flourish. These are just samples of the many innovative programs being developed to provide creative solutions to persistent problems unique to the Spanish speaking.

The majority of society knows little or nothing about Spanish-speaking people beyond the adverse images created and perpetrated by the mass media. Counteracting these attitudes is an overwhelming problem. Through training and employment, SER is helping to erase false notions and practices which have kept Spanish-speaking Americans from full and equal participation in the benefits of this country. In many parts of the United States, people of Spanish-speaking origin—the second largest minority in the country—are at the bottom of the economic, educational, and social ladders. Traditionally, institutions have been unresponsive to their needs, and the results have been devastating: people crowded into dehumanizing barrios, an alarming school dropout rate, escape through drugs or crime—a seemingly inescapable cycle of social and economic oppression.

The purpose of SER is to help build a better America. This is not an unfamiliar or uncomfortable idea to the Spanish speaking. They have been helping to build America for centuries. They realize that although our present society has much to offer, a great deal still needs to be changed. SER has become a catalyst for positive change by breaking the bar-

riers of traditional employment patterns and by helping business and industry to understand that Spanish-speaking people are a valuable resource. As a specific goal, SER wants the Spanish-speaking disadvantaged of this land to become self-sufficient. It will do this by continuing to be the major national vehicle for the delivery of manpower services to the Spanish speaking.

During fiscal year 1972, SER served a total of 11,163 people. Of this number 5,305 were trained; 3,478 were placed directly on full-time, permanent and meaningful jobs; and 2,380 received supportive services. The number trained exceeds SER contractual obligation to DOL of 3,905 trainees by 1,400 people. This demonstrates SER's commitment to efficiently serve the Spanish-speaking community beyond what is required in the contract.

SER is providing quality training to the trainee in the areas of job preparation; adult basic and adult advanced education; English as a second language; institutional training, and on-the-job training. SER is operating at 101 percent of planned capacity. This represents excellent planning and management on the part of the local project directors and their staffs. A mere 12 percent of the trainees are in holding. Only 16 percent of the trainees terminated from the program early.

SER is placing 79 out of every 100 people trained. This is accomplished by careful assessment, counseling, education, training, and followup of trainees. In program year 1972 SER placed 5,346 people on full-time, permanent, and meaningful jobs. This figure exceeded SER's contractual obligation to DOL of 2,499 by 2,847.

One of SER's notable achievements is the cost of per trainee figure of $1,085 and the cost per placement of $1,341. Every local staff member has served 22 clients. For every $1 spent on an enrollee, the return to the community, in the form of increased earnings, is $1.24.

I include a copy of my bill. The bill follows:

H.R. 7275

To authorize financial assistance for service, employment, and redevelopment (SER) centers

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Service, Employment, and Redevelopment (SER) Assistance Act".

DEFINITIONS

SEC. 2. For the purposes of this Act, the term—

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

(2) "State" includes the District of Columbia and the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

STATEMENT OF FINDINGS AND PURPOSE

SEC. 3. Due to the unmet needs of the unemployed and underemployed Spanish-speaking population of the United States, it is essential to the welfare of all Americans that action be taken by the United States Government to provide funds for bilingual manpower training, job placement, counseling, remedial education, and other related services.

APPROPRIATION AUTHORIZED

SEC. 4. (a) For the purposes of carrying out this Act, there are authorized to be appropriated $30,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, $35,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1975, and $40,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1976, and each of the four succeeding fiscal years.

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

PROGRAM AUTHORIZED

SEC. 5. The Secretary shall make financial assistance available under this Act for the establishment and operation in any State of service, employment, and redevelopment centers which shall include education classes specifically designed to assist the disadvantaged Spanish-speaking clients who are unemployed or underemployed. The educational components of a service, employment, and redevelopment program shall consist of adult basic education, advanced adult education, world of work orientation, and English as a second language, with the classes being specifically adapted to the particular needs of the community where the center is located; and any such program shall include (in addition to the educational components) services in the areas of recruitment, counseling, vocational training, job development, job placement, outreach, follow-up services, on-the-job training, and other appropriate and related services. Service, employment, and redevelopment centers shall also conduct research and development activities which will improve program performance. No funds shall be made available for any program under this section unless the Secretary determines that adequate provisions are made to assure that (1) residents of the area to be served by such program are involved in the planning and operation of the center, and (2) the business community in the area to be served by such program is consulted in its development and operation. The Secretary shall give priority to any program authorized under this section serving residents of an inner-city area with substantial unemployment or underemployment.

EQUITABLE DISTRIBUTION OF ASSISTANCE

SEC. 6. The Secretary shall establish criteria designed to achieve an equitable distribution of assistance among the States under this Act. In developing such criteria he shall consider, among other relevant factors, the ratios of the population, unemployment rates, educational achievement levels, and income levels of Spanish-speaking individuals.

LIMITATIONS OF FEDERAL ASSISTANCE

SEC. 7. Federal financial assistance to any program carried out pursuant to this Act shall not exceed 90 per centum of the cost of such program, including costs of administration; except that the Secretary may approve assistance in excess of that percentage if he determines, pursuant to regulations establishing objective criteria for such determinations, that this is necessary in furtherance of the objectives of this Act. Non-Federal contributions may be in cash or in kind, fairly evaluated, including but not limited to plant, equipment, and services.

ADMINISTRATION

SEC. 8. (a) The Secretary shall prescribe regulations to assure that programs assisted under this Act have adequate internal administrative controls, accounting requirements, personnel standards, evaluation procedures, availability of in-service training and technical assistance programs, and other policies as may be necessary to promote the effective use of funds received under this Act.

(b) The Secretary may prescribe such additional rules and regulations as he deems necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

(c) In carrying out his functions under this Act, the Secretary is authorized to utilize, with their assent, the services and facilities of Federal agencies without reimbursement, and, with the consent of any State or political subdivision of a State, to accept and utilize the services and facilities of the agencies of such State or subdivision without reimbursement.

REPORTS

SEC. 9. The Secretary shall transmit, as a part of the annual report required of the Department of Labor, a detailed report setting forth appropriate information with respect to the activities conducted under this Act.

CLEVELAND'S BOOSTER: LARRY ROBINSON

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, the city of Cleveland, like most major American cities, suffers from the exodus to suburban areas. The city will not enjoy a revitalization until commerce and consumers both return to the downtown area.

In spite of this, many Clevelanders have great faith that—with enough money and a deep commitment—our city will thrive once more. A leader in the articulation of this credo is Mr. Larry Robinson, president of J. B. Robinson Jewelers.

Larry Robinson deserves credit for tying his own personal business interests to the future of Greater Cleveland. In an interview with the Chicago Tribune on April 5, Mr. Robinson explained his philosophy.

The article follows:

JANEWAY—JEWELER REFLECTS ON FACETS OF GROWTH

(By Eliot Janeway)

NEW YORK, April 4.—As greater Cleveland goes, so goes America's industrial economy; and as downtown Cleveland goes, so goes America's progress in bringing its blighted center city cores back to vigorous economic life.

Larry Robinson, a native of Cleveland and head of a chain of retail jewelry stores, has been riding the consumer spending boom and giving downtown Cleveland a lead to ride it too.

Retailer Robinson, a graduate of the Harvard Business School, has combined his avocation as a civic leader and erstwhile radio-TV host of "rap" sessions on urban problems and his vocation by going public as his own mass merchandiser.

Ad-libbing his commercials and writing his own ads for J. B. Robinson Company Jewelers, he has translated a catch phrase into good business. He has become both the medium and the message.

JANEWAY. How did you get started in the retail jewelry business?

ROBINSON. When my father died in 1959, he left me a small wholesale jewelry business. Rather than liquidate, I decided to quit the world of the executive suite and go into the retailing business. In 12 years, our sales have gone from about $200,000 to approximately $4 million a year.

JANEWAY. Which means that you have done very well as a proprietor. Do you attribute your success to Harvard Business School marketing techniques?

ROBINSON. Right. One of the things I learned there was that the only way to be successful in any kind of marketing business is to give customers what they want, and that's what my people do. This means broad high-quality assortment, low prices, nice people to get along with, and strong guarantees in terms of exchanging or returning merchandise.

For instance, we are just about to announce an offer to exchange any Robinson diamond bought a year ago or earlier for the original cost plus 10 per cent towards the purchase of a larger and more valuable diamond.

JANEWAY. In other words, you are treating diamonds like automobiles?

ROBINSON. Not really, because automobiles depreciate in value. We are taking into account the fact that diamonds appreciate in value over the years.

Incidentally, what has been going on in the diamond markets internationally is just incredible, particularly in the last five years. For instance, both downtown Cleveland and did you know that America is now a net exporter of cut diamonds that weigh more than a half-carat?

JANEWAY. But we mine almost no diamonds here. Is that all reexport?

ROBINSON. That is part of it. The value added is by American cutters who reexport to foreigners. Just prior to, during, and right after the dollar devaluation, the Europeans were all over New York. If I wanted a two-carat stone, some of the cutters were reluctant to tell me where I could find one because they knew they could get a lot more money from the Europeans.

JANEWAY. Do you see more people buying jewelry for investment since the dollar was devalued?

ROBINSON. Yes. Our sales of diamonds and also of gold jewelry have gone up sharply in recent months. The Europeans, however, have been somewhat more aggressive in purchasing jewelry for investment because they have had more experience with inflation.

JANEWAY. How much have diamond prices increased over the last few years?

ROBINSON. In the last five years, diamond prices at the wholesale level have increased more than 50 per cent; and in the last decade, they have more than doubled.

JANEWAY. Has that increase contributed to your sales this year?

ROBINSON. Not significantly. In spite of the new life styles, people are still becoming engaged and getting married in the old fashioned way. Our overall business is up 40 per cent over last year, and 70 per cent of that business came from diamonds. Since our average engagement ring sale today is about $375 as compared with $350 late last year, I would say that most of that increase was from greater volume, rather than higher prices.

JANEWAY. Does your business all come from suburban shopping centers?

ROBINSON. Eight of our stores are in major shopping malls around the state. But our downtown Cleveland store, which is our headquarters, is far and away our leading volume and profit producer.

JANEWAY. Does that indicate an economic resurgence for downtown Cleveland?

ROBINSON. Our volume went up even when Cleveland was down cyclically, but I think our experience is reflecting a tremendous upsurge of retail spending in industrial Cleveland.

In the first five years of this decade, we will have about half a billion dollars of construction in downtown Cleveland. And we have plans to expand our downtown store again, altho we have already expanded it seven times in the last five years. Naturally, I'm bullish about the future of Robinson Jewelers, but I am also bullish on the future of the greater Cleveland area.

PRESIDENT NIXON'S ENERGY MESSAGE

HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, since early December we have anxiously been awaiting the President's energy message. The plans, programs, and legislation it proposes were accepted openly. It must be admitted that there are many things of great interest and note contained in the message.

As chairman of the Public Works Subcommittee on Energy, I have particular interest in the contents of the message and would like to share some of my initial reactions to it with you. Of course, it goes without saying that this lengthy document merits serious and painstaking review, not only by me but by the Congress as well as the public which will be most affected by any action taken on its behalf.

First, I would like to commend the President for his treatment of conservation of energy. There is no doubt that Americans consciously and unconsciously waste tremendous amounts of energy annually. I was particularly pleased with the suggestion that automobiles and home appliances be labeled as to energy consumption. I only hope that he is not being overly optimistic in his suggestion that companies will do this voluntarily. I would have been more pleased if he had mentioned that if voluntary action is not taken, some type of compulsory legislative action may be necessary.

Next, I should like to comment upon the proposed deregulation of new natural gas at the well-head. This is not a new proposal; as it has been championed by the energy industry for some time with a growing number of converts both in Congress and the administration. In the hearings I chaired in August 1972, we heard extensive discussion of this topic from various industries and from Mr. John Nassikas, chairman of the Federal Power Commission. As was mentioned in the President's message, we were frequently told how Government price regulation has not provided the necessary incentives needed for continued exploration and development. However, we never received a satisfactory explanation as to exactly where the inadequacy lay. We were told by Mr. Nassikas that the Federal Power Commission attempted to set rates which would provide a reasonable profit, yet seemingly this profit was not enough. I question whether they were not receiving a sufficient profit or merely not the desired profit. Although a few cents increase may seem insignificant, it has been said that the 4-cent increase that occurred over the last few years has cost the consumer $4 billion. Further, as a result of a recent speech by Chairman Nassikas April 11, 1973, the Washington Post noted that critics of a substantial rate increase said that doubling the present rate of 26 cents would cost the American consumers as much as $50 billion over the next 20 years." Considering the present problems with the rising cost of living, it is questionable just how much of a rate increase the American public can absorb.

I was pleased to see that the President was not oblivious to this problem as is evidenced by his allowing the Secretary of Interior to "impose a ceiling on the price of new natural gas when circumstances warrant." However, it may be pointed out that in a similar situation this spring, the administration was forced to put price ceilings on the rate increases for home heating oil requested by the energy industry. Although the President's suggested action has potential merit, serious debate concerning its overall wisdom is essential before final action is taken.

Debate will also be essential in the increased availability of offshore leasing; especially the extent to which this shall be done on the Atlantic coast. Since no one knows what an "acceptable environmental risk" is, I was most gratified to find that serious environmental danger will prevent leasing in a particular area.

I must admit I was at a loss to explain the statement; "we are continuing the Santa Barbara suspension," since on April 13, 1973, an article appeared in the Evening Star titled "New Drilling Off California Eyed by U.S." The article began: "The Interior Department has quietly taken the first step toward renewed massive oil drilling over a 290-square mile stretch off the California coast." Perhaps this is merely an example of the right hand not knowing what the left hand is doing. Nonetheless, it is grounds for serious confusion on my part.

I would also like to point out with respect to natural gas deregulation, that it would be more reassuring if some requirement were placed on the companies to guarantee that the increased rates resulted in increased exploration and development, and not primarily increased profit.

The prospect of offshore superports is a great concern to me, and I have introduced H.R. 2020 dealing with this subject. My bill would give the legislature of a State the right to prevent the construction of such a port off its coast. This seems to me both right and reasonable, since no State should be burdened with such an enterprise if, after weighing the benefits and drawbacks, the State decides against the proposal. The President would place such power with the Secretary of Interior.

What alarms me somewhat in the President's message is the failure to go all-out in making funds available for research and development. Such failure suggests that perhaps the administration still does not fully appreciate the seriousness of the energy problem.

The administration still seems unaware that we are in need of immediate action. If we are to avert economic disaster; if we are to avert being reduced to a second-rate Nation; if we are to avert getting boxed into a corner that may lead

to war; we had better get moving on a crash program that will assure our energy needs over the near term. Such an intensive program always costs; but this is to be expected. When you are in circumstances that demand quick, decisive, productive action, to be penny-wise can be pound-foolish. I hope this fact of life will soon become apparent to the President's advisers.

TAX EQUITY FOR WORKING MARRIED COUPLES

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, as we all know, millions of Americans have just finished filing their 1972 tax returns. Unfortunately, working married couples found they were paying higher taxes than they would if single or head of a single income household.

I have introduced legislation—H.R. 850—to eliminate the tax inequities faced by working married couples. While it may be true that some family incomes are substantially increased because of a wife's work, the greater majority of working women come from lower- and middle-income families and work to meet today's high cost of living.

I would, at this time, like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an organization called Married Americans for Tax Equality—MATE. This group, consisting of working married couples, was formed to fight this arbitrary tax law. On April 18, 1973, Anita Murray submitted a statement to the Ways and Means Committee for inclusion in the hearings being held on tax reform on the tax inequity suffered by the working married couple. Ms Murray's statement follows:

STATEMENT BY ANITA MURRAY FROM MATE (MARRIED AMERICANS FOR TAX EQUALITY)

Should a marriage license cost $200, $1,000, or $2,000 per year? As a result of changes in the Federal income tax law in 1969, which lowered taxes for single persons, married couples where both partners work, now pay higher taxes than if they were single. MATE (Married Americans for Tax Equality, 15 Charles St., New York City) was formed to fight this discriminatory tax penalty for married working couples.

The change in the rate structure brought about by the 1969 Tax Reform Act was the result of Congressional concern over the higher tax rate imposed on the income of a single wage earner as compared to the rates on that same level of combined income earned by a married couple.

It was said at that time that the single person could pay as much as 42% higher taxes than such married couple. Under the new rate structure, whereby a lower rate than before the 1969 act is imposed on single persons at a given level of income, the higher taxes payable by a married couple where both spouses work, can be as much as or more than that percentage higher than if the two working persons were able to file as single taxpayers.

Before this change, married persons filing separately used the same rates as single persons. Now, if a married person files separately, he or she must use higher rates than the rates used by a single person at the same income level.

Let us illustrate. Joan, who is single, earned $10,000 in 1972 and paid taxes of $1,525, using the pre-computed table which incorporates the standard deduction. Her fiance Dave, who earned $15,000, paid taxes of $2,702, also using the standard deduction. Thus, their combined tax liability was $4,227. Under current law, if Joan and David had married on or before December 31, 1972, the total tax on their joint income would have been $4,860, or $633 more than the taxes they actually paid as single persons. It looks like this might be a very long engagement.

As single persons, Joan and Dave are each entitled to a maximum standard deduction of the lessor of 15% of adjusted gross income or $2,000. As a married couple, they would be entitled to a maximum standard deduction of only $2,000 if they filed jointly, or $1,000 each if they filed separately.

The following chart illustrates the tax penalties paid by married couples at various income levels who use the standard deduction:

CHART 1.—NO DEPENDENTS, 1972 FEDERAL INCOME TAX PENALTIES FOR MARRIAGE

	Husband's income				
Wife's income	$5,000	$10,000	$15,000	$20,000	$30,000
$5,000	−$200	−$130	−$203	−$110	+$187
$10,000	−130	−350	−633	−780	−888
$15,000	−203	−633	−1,156	−1,503	−2,006
$20,000	−110	−780	−1,503	−2,055	−2,903
$30,000	+187	−888	−2,006	−2,903	−4,136

Note: The standard deduction is assumed in all cases. A negative amount in the chart indicates that the tax as a married couple is higher than for 2 single persons. A positive amount indicates that the tax is lower if the couple is married.

The situation is even worse for the working mother. Carole, a young widow with one child, earned $12,000 in 1972. In order to be thus gainfully employed, she paid $200 a month in child care expenses. Using head of household rates and after taking $500 in miscellaneous deductions plus $2,400 ($200 a month) in child care deductions, she paid $1,392 in taxes. Bill, who is single, earned $16,000 and paid taxes of $2,992 using the standard deduction. Their combined tax liability as single persons was $4,384. If Carole and Bill had married, their joint tax liability would have been $5,580 using the standard deduction. This would be $1,196 more than the taxes they paid as single persons. Since their joint income was over $27,500, they could not claim any child care deduction if married, and they would be allowed a maximum standard deduction of only $2,000, assuming their itemized deductions do not exceed that amount.

In connection with the child care deduction, there are several discriminatory aspects regarding married couples. As indicated above, it is the joint income that is taken into account in determining the income limitation for taking the deduction as opposed to the income of the person supporting the child. In addition, the couple must file a joint return to claim the child care deduction, and both spouses must be gainfully employed on a substantially full-time basis, whereas there is no similar requirement for a single person.

To summarize, although we object to all of the many other restrictions in the tax law that discriminate against married persons, these three provisions are responsible for a large proportion of the higher taxes paid by working couples who marry:

1. Single persons can use lower rates than married workers filing separately.

2. Each single person can take a maximum standard deduction of $2,000, but married persons are allowed a maximum of only $2,000 between the two of them, or $1,000 each. The low-income allowance is similarly restricted.

3. The maximum income limitation for child care deductions applies to the joint income of the two spouses rather than to the individual's income.

Our country has traditionally considered the family the mainstay of society, but it appears that for tax purposes, it has negative value. When this type of tax structure was tried in Sweden, tax divorces became so popular, and so respectable, that the law was finally changed in 1971 to eliminate tax penalties for marriage. We hope that Congress will act quickly to avoid widespread social consequences in the U.S.

In these times of economic stress, this inequity cannot be ignored. In most two-worker families, both husband and wife must work to provide the basic necessities of life. For working mothers and low-income couples, the difference may mean not being able to afford the luxury of legal marriage.

We urge you to protect the happiness and dignity of working Americans and prevent further damage to our society by removing the discriminatory tax penalty for marriage at once. Don't legislate against marriage—it's in enough trouble already.

Thank you.

This statement was prepared in consultation with Linda B. Hirschson, Member of the New York State Bar.

Respectfully submitted,

ANITA MURRAY.

ALASKA PIPELINE VERSUS TRANS-CANADIAN PIPELINE

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, today the Honorable William A. Egan, Governor of Alaska, testified before the subcommittee on Public Lands of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee.

Governor Egan argued vigorously for the advantages of the Alaska pipeline and against the trans-Canadian pipeline.

While I have the greatest respect for Governor Egan, I must respectfully disagree with some of his assertions and facts.

There is an interesting contradiction between the testimony of Governor Egan and Under Secretary of the Interior, John C. Whitaker. Governor Egan argues that the prices of oil will be determined by the flow of foreign crude, while Under Secretary Whitaker claims that the flow of gulf coast oil to the midwest and the northeast will determine prices.

Hopefully, in the future, these two individuals who are on the same side of the issue, can at least get their story properly lined up.

Actually, in a certain sense, both Governor Egan and Under Secretary Whitaker are correct when they argue that either foreign crude or diverted gulf coast oil will help determine midwest prices. Prices will be determined by supply—regardless of where it comes from. In fact, 2-million-barrels-per-day of Alaskan oil flowing into the midwest and east will have an effect on price. Economist Charles Cicchetti has estimated that the per barrel price of crude oil could be

cut 32 cents in the midwest and 33 cents in the east by building Canadian pipeline.

Despite all their claims to the contrary, neither Governor Egan nor Under Secretary Whitaker has successfully refuted the fact that oil prices could be, at a minimum, held down and possibly even lowered if a trans-Canadian pipeline is built.

The MacKenzie Valley Pipeline Research group has estimated the cost of constructing a Canadian pipeline at $3.4 billion.

Governor Egan makes the statement:

To be economically justifiable, the trans-Canadian line would have to cost no more than $4.2–$4.375 billion.

If Governor Egan believed—which I am sure he does not—that the Canadian pipeline would cost only $3.4 billion, then it should be considered economically justifiable.

Governor Egan argues that the true cost of the trans-Canadian pipeline will be $7 billion—which, according to him, would make it economically unfeasible.

I disagree. Neither Governor Egan nor the Department of the Interior have provided any documentation to prove their assertion that a pipeline would cost so much. The MacKenzie Valley Pipeline Research Group, on the other hand, has done a series of extensive studies that indicate the estimated cost of the pipeline at $3.4 billion.

Governor Egan also claims that the west coast's deficit in 1980 will be 2.4 million-barrels-per-day. If Governor Egan accepts the projections of the Interior Department and the National Petroleum Council, there would be a projected surplus on the west coast of 200,000 barrels per day.

Mr. Speaker, I have the greatest respect for the distinguished Governor of Alaska. I believe that he fails to perceive the economic and environmental advantages of the Canadian pipeline.

PEYSER CALLS FOR FULL AND VOLUNTARY DISCLOSURE IN WATERGATE CASE

HON. PETER A. PEYSER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. PEYSER. Mr. Speaker, we as a political body are being faced with a national disgrace in the Watergate affair. No one should be rubbing their hands in glee over what looks to them like a political advantage being created by this illegal action that took place during the last presidential campaign.

All Members of this Congress should realize that the public's faith in all of us in the political world is being shaken. Now more than ever to maintain the integrity of our political system I hope that we can pull together to bring about a speedy end and bring to justice those who are guilty in this affair. It is for this reason and for the good of this country that I call on all of those people at any level of government who have been involved in the Watergate affair to step forward now and disclose their involvement without waiting for subpenas or indictments.

THE WARSAW GHETTO REMEMBERED

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, shortly the Passover will be over, ending once again the celebration of the struggle of an ancient people to be free. This Passover marks the 30th anniversary of the foredoomed yet heroic uprising by the Jews of the Warsaw ghetto against their Nazi murderers.

When Hitler's legions overran Poland, 3½ million Jews resided there. Today virtually all are gone. Many perished in the ghetto of Warsaw, methodically slaughtered by the barbaric regime which will ever remain a byword for beastliness, horror, and merciless assassination of the helpless.

A few survivors had escaped from Treblinka and other murder camps the Nazis had set up in a semicircle around Warsaw. In that unhappy place, more than half a million Polish Jews had been crammed, like cattle readied for the slaughterhouse. At first incredulous, and then with growing amazement and horror, they realized what fate awaited them.

Penned in and dying like flies from disease and malnutrition, they were told "resettlement in the east" was their fate. The Nazi regime decreed to the Judenrat of the ghetto, its Jewish government, that a minimum of 10,000 Jews daily had to be assembled at the Umschlagplatz, or railroad square, for shipment. A minuscule handful of such people escaped to tell the tale.

In spite of repeated urgings by the Jewish community leadership, a heroic band of doomed men and women set out to make the Nazi beasts pay as high a price as possible for liquidation of the rest of the ghetto.

Begging, borrowing, and stealing a few weapons, and with some aid from the Polish resistance, they painfully constructed a resistance organization.

Couriers risked their lives to obtain a few gallons of gasoline for bombs, a few pounds of explosives, and a handful of weapons.

In the spring of 1943, they began their resistance; asking for but not receiving active military assistance from the Polish underground. The Nazis, taken utterly aback at this act of suicidal courage, mustered a massive force of airplanes, tanks, and mechanized troops to crush the pitifully small resistance that was, in spite of all, taking a significant toll of the barbarous SS troops and their allies.

The Warsaw ghetto was flailed by carpet bombing. Tanks and artillery smashed entire buildings. All inhabitants of entire blocks were killed if a single shot was fired from them. Poison gas was pumped into sewer systems. Other poisons were dropped into water systems. Dogs were used to ferret out women and children cowering in the ruins. And still, handfuls of Jews fought back, at times with only bricks and clubs.

Almost all died, horribly, mercilessly cut down wherever found. No prisoners were taken. All Jews were executed on the spot. And at last the massive funeral pyre of Polish Jewry was empty of life, burning and crackling over the mass grave of a Jewish community which had lived in Poland for more than a thousand years.

Gen. Jurgen Stroop of the SS had pictures taken of his "great victory," presenting them in a folio bound with human skin to Hitler.

This, then, is our glory remembrance of the Jews of Warsaw on this Passover. Consider it a free gift to their fellow Jews and to all those around the world who cherish freedom and dignity. For when they knew they had to die, they chose to perish on their feet, rather than to be butchered like animals on their knees.

Two vignettes from that event are worth recounting here. At one point, a young Jewish father and his small 7- or 8-year-old son were flushed out of a building. Nazi soldiers tried to separate them. Each time the terrified youngster rushed back to the shelter of his doomed father's arms. Finally, the Nazis, laughing, granted the two of them the final gift of dying together. That was one Jewish mentality, and it perished in the ghetto of Warsaw with its victims and adherents.

The other story is very different. It concerns a group of young Jewish men and women surrounded by the Nazis and ordered out. They came out, all right; with guns blazing, dying in a hail of automatic weapons fire with several of their tormentors and murderers.

Even though they died, their message and spirit lives. Israel and the modern Jewish people embody that feeling. It moves Jews in Russia to take any risk for freedom. It burns in the hearts of their coreligionists around the world, and touches the hearts of all men who know the joy of freedom.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF HEARINGS ON EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES IN PRESENT AND PROPOSED DRUG ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the Civil Rights Oversight Subcommittee of the House Committee on the Judiciary will hold hearings commencing on May 2, 1973, in room 2226, Rayburn House Office Building. The subject of the hearings will be current employment opportunities available to minorities in the Bureau of Narcotics and

Dangerous Drugs, the Office of Drug Abuse Law Enforcement, and the Office of National Narcotics Intelligence. The subcommittee will also hear testimony on affirmative action plans for the proposed Drug Enforcement Administration which if approved by the Congress will be comprised of the above-mentioned agencies and transferred special agents from the Bureau of Customs.

Interested persons may submit testimony to the House Committee on the Judiciary, 2137 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, the tragic stories of the persecutions of the Jews are as old as the history of man. From slavery under the Pharaohs to the pogroms of the last two centuries, the Jew has never known when the knock on the door will come. Even today the Soviet Union has flouted world opinion with its blatant use of the education tax to stifle Jewish immigration to Israel. So frequent are these stories in our history that it might be expected that the world might become callous to the plight of world Jewry. That, fortunately, is not so because free people everywhere have a great compassion for the Jewish people, who for centuries have been forced to bear the shackles of oppression and submit to the basest types of persecution.

Interspersed in the legacy of this persecution are gratifying sagas of successful Jewish resistance; stories of great courage and valiant attempts to rise up against their oppressors and tormentors. The most historic and valiant of these heroic uprisings started on the morning of April 19, 1943, in Warsaw, Poland.

On that day 60,000 Jews, more than half of them women and children, penned in an area only 1,000 by 300 yards and led by Mordecai Anzelewicz and his Jewish Combat Organization—ZOB—lashed out at their Nazi tormentors, armed with only a few pistols and rifles, a dozen or so machineguns that had been smuggled in, and homemade grenades. They were pitted against crack Nazi troops armed with tanks, artillery, and flamethrowers.

The outcome was never in doubt. But what had been planned as a 3-day operation by the Nazis turned into 4 weeks of savage house-to-house fighting. Finally the end came on May 16 when the last of the ZOB outposts were overrun.

During the 4 weeks of fighting over 800 acres of the ghetto were destroyed—gone were the homes and shops of thousands and thousands of Jews. Gone, too, were more than 56,000 Jewish men, women, and children captured or killed by the Nazis. Others died in the firing of the ghetto.

But, Mr. Speaker, not gone and not dead is the memory of the Jewish fighters who challenged the Nazi military might. Not gone or destroyed by the awful fires is the evidence of equally outstanding courage shown by the survivors who mourned their dead while caring for the wounded, the aged, and the orphaned. Many of them subsequently found a new life in Israel where at least some of the horrors of the ghetto uprising could be erased from their daily thoughts and their nightly dreams.

May our Jewish friends and neighbors gain renewed faith and restored courage from their observance of the anniversary of this historic event. May all of us renew our determination to do everything in our power to end for all peoples of all races, of all faiths and of all creeds the types of oppression and persecution which have for so long a time and over so wide an area of the globe beset the Jewish people.

APRIL IS CANCER CONTROL MONTH

HON. ELLA T. GRASSO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mrs. GRASSO. Mr. Speaker, cancer is a disease that knows neither limits nor favorites among its victims.

April is Cancer Control Month, a time when we pay tribute to the American Cancer Society's never-ending dedication to finding a cure for cancer, and to the efforts of private citizens to encourage through their contributions the work of scientists and technicians to find cures and effective treatment for this dread disease. In addition to the countless Americans who presently suffer from cancer, it is estimated that during 1973 more than 650,000 new cases of cancer will strike Americans from all walks of life. Fortunately, many forms of cancer are curable if detected early and treated promptly, and it has been an important goal of the American Cancer Society to alert the public to cancer's warning signals.

Medical researchers and scientists have made important strides in the struggle to rid cancer from our midst. One invaluable tool now being used by many is the Connecticut Tumor Registry. Since 1935, this organization has compiled a record of cancer cases and treatments in my State. The file is unique in that it has followed every cancer victim in the State during the past 38 years. The information store provides an uninterrupted record of cancer treatments and their results with more than 120,000 State victims of this disease.

It was my great honor to be an early sponsor of legislation during the 92d Congress to focus attention on the need for a national attack on cancer. The National Cancer Act of 1972 which emerged from that Congress institutionalized our national commitment to seek a cure for cancer. The Congress appropriated $492 million for fiscal year 1973. While spending for cancer research has been increased over last year; regretably, some $60 million which has been appropriated by Congress for use in the war against cancer is not being spent.

Although progress has been made, the road ahead will not be an easy one. We must continue to broaden our cancer research capabilities and to assure those in research that adequate support will be sustained until success is achieved.

Mr. Speaker, too many people now endure the agony of this disease and too many bear the sorrow of having a loved one as its victim. It is my hope that Cancer Control Month will serve as a catalyst to renew our commitment and strengthen our determination to make cancer go the way of polio, small pox, and other diseases which man has overcome.

THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, today is the 30th anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. That battle, in which a handful of poorly armed, starving Polish Jews stood off the German army for 35 days, has become a symbol for people all over the world, who are fighting for their freedom.

The Jews of the Warsaw ghetto never had a chance of winning, but they died as free men and women, because they chose to stand and fight for their liberty.

Every year at this time the Jewish people celebrate Passover, the holiday of freedom. It is a time when we remember our liberation from slavery in Egypt and of the many other occasions when we had to fight and die for freedom.

The battle of the Warsaw ghetto is one such incident. At this time I enter into the RECORD a poem written by Marilyn Krantz, the editor of a newspaper in my district, about the Warsaw ghetto Uprising:

THE MARTYRS' VOICE—ON THE 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

(By Marilyn Krantz)

Sh-h-h, listen world, can you not hear
Their voices, clear and bright?
Do listen now! 'Tis bad enough
They went unheard that night.

Today's Passover ritual
Includes the Martyrs' story,
A bold chapter in the annals
Of spiritual glory,
For the Festival of Freedom
Took on an added light
As they lashed out with defiance
Against oppression's might,
Armed with the shield of courage
And sword of determination—
Their acts upheld the dignity
Of the Jewish nation.

The Ghetto stood, a lost island
In the vast sea of life,
All alone in its anguish,
Left to end its own strife—
Both the young and the old
Vowed, in facing their plight,
That if death had to come
They would meet it in fight.

Can you hear the ghetto fighters
As the battle began,
Calling out from hell's abyss?
Hear them now, if you can,
As they matched the Nazi tyrant,
Blow for blow, look for look,
Knowing well their death sentence
Was written in his book;
And one thought brought them solace
In their pain. This they knew:
In the streets of Warsaw's Ghetto
Would be Nazi blood, too!

Oh, how weary and weak
From starvation and need
Were these people and yet,
In the name of their creed
They pitted their bodies,
So beaten and plundered,
Against the oppressors
As angry hearts thundered.

And often, so often,
From the depths of despair
The remnants cried out,
"Doesn't anyone care? . . .
Where ARE all the people?
Won't they come to our side?"
But their cries went unanswered;
As they suffered and died.

They fought not for themselves—
How could they hope to win,
So greatly outnumbered
By the mongers of sin!
It was for US, the living . . .
For a world of better years . . .
That their heroic message
Was inscribed with blood and tears.

And in the end, the vile Nazi
Did not fulfill his goals;
They who'd enslaved Jewish bodies
Could not enslave their souls;
To Heaven's arms went the Martyrs
From each Ghetto street,
The song of faith upon their lips
Resounding, pure and sweet.

These were part of six million—
Six million in all—
Who 'neath wheels of destruction
Had been destined to fall . . .
Whose lives once had meaning
Until they were shattered . . .
Whose bodies, once whole,
Were broken and tattered . . .
Who went to their graves
Asking how it could be
That a civilized world
Had not answered their plea.

Shall we light a yortzeit candle
To honor each one?
The light of SIX MILLION CANDLES
Would outshine the sun!

Now, only our remembering
Their message bold, inspiring,
Can give meaning to their living
And purpose to their dying . . .
Now, only by upholding
The Ghetto fighters' plea
For one's right to live in freedom
Can we preserve man's dignity.

Sh-h-h, listen world, can you not hear
Their voices, clear and bright?
Do listen now! 'Tis bad enough
They went unheard that night.

A TRIBUTE TO MARY GRIGGS

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I want to recognize Mary Griggs of the Fremont Unified School District in California on the occasion of her retirement. Mrs. Griggs has been a teacher most of her life and for the past 10 years hundreds of Fremont students have had the opportunity to learn from her and to experience the joy and enthusiasm she brings to her work, and hence to school. Her special skills and rapport with children have led her to her present position as a teacher in the gifted children program at Millard Elementary School.

While teaching has been Mrs. Grigg's career, her love and understanding of children also extends beyond the classroom. She has been a Camp Fire Girl field director, worked with the Blue Birds, and taught in church schools. In addition, she has given her time to tutoring ghetto children, to directing dramatic and musical productions given by children, and to taking them on cultural and sports outings. In these activities, as in her profession, Mrs. Griggs has had a positive influence on her students which they long remember, often returning in later years to express their appreciation. Her retirement will certainly be a loss to the Fremont School District and to the community, but especially to those children who will no longer have the opportunity to have her as a teacher.

OBSCENE RADIO BROADCASTING—X

HON. JAMES V. STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. JAMES V. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, over the last few months, I have been inserting into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD—February 5, 6, 7, 8, 21, 26, 28, March 28 and April 3—several items relating to controversial broadcasting by station WERE in Cleveland, Ohio, and on how this appears to be part of a national trend in programing by radio.

I am happy to report to this body that I have had some additional success in getting the Federal Communications Commission to accept responsibility for this situation. For the information of those who have been watching this situation unfold, I insert here the letter I received from the FCC in reply to my original letter to Chairman Birch:

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION,
Washington, D.C. April 11, 1973.

Hon. JAMES V. STANTON,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. STANTON: This is in response to your letter of February 1, 1973, regarding complaints from your constituents alleging that obscene program material is presently being broadcast by Station WERE(AM), Cleveland, Ohio. You suggest three alternative courses of action which this Commission could pursue in attempting to curb obscene programming: (1) action under Title 18, United States Code, Section 1464; (2) imposition of sanctions pursuant to the Commission's "authority to act in the public interest"; and (3) institution of a Commission inquiry and rule-making proceeding with a view to promulgating a national regulatory policy. You request to be advised as to what Commission action is being taken in this area and you invite comment on the possible courses of action which you have suggested.

This is a most difficult area. The Commission must scrupulously observe the fine line between censorship—wisely proscribed by the First Amendment and the Communications Act (Section 326)—and the discharge of its responsibilities under the Act to deter the broadcasting of obscene and indecent material. I believe that we are acting effectively and properly in this sensitive field. I shall detail our actions in the course of my seriatim comments on your suggestions.

As you know, criminal prosecution under Section 1464 is solely within the jurisdiction of the Department of Justice. The Commission has thus referred a number of complaints to the Department of Justice for possible criminal prosecution under 18 U.S.C., Section 1464.

Under Sections 312(a)(6) and 503(b)(1)(E) of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, the Commission is authorized to revoke broadcast licenses and to impose forfeitures for violation of Section 1464. In any action under these provisions, the Commission is of course guided by the decisions of the courts defining terms such as obscenity and thereby indicating the constitutionally permissible distinctions which must be drawn between protected and unprotected speech.

Rather than discuss in this letter what those guidelines are, I have enclosed a copy of our just adopted letter to Sonderling Broadcasting Corporation, the licensee of Station WGLD–FM, Oak Park, Illinois. That letter constitutes a Notice of Apparent Liability for a forfeiture of $2000 for violation of 18 U.S.C. 1464 as a result of broadcast of apparently obscene and indecent material on a radio talk show, "Femme Forum." As you will see, the letter treats fully the legal and policy considerations applicable to this area. It represents th definitive statement of the Commission's position, and may well become the "test case" whereby we obtain judicial clarification. You will also note that the letter is pertinent to many of the considerations raised by you.

We are also now engaged in a review of complaints received concerning allegedly obscene or indecent material broadcast by Station WERE–AM and other stations. We have instituted a Section 403 proceeding in order to assure that our investigation in this area can be fully and effectively carried out. See enclosed Order. We shall of course keep you apprised of any public developments.

As to the suggestion that we act under the public interest standard, we believe that no useful purpose would be served by proceeding in this fashion. You are, I am sure, in full agreement that the Commission "could not properly assess program after program, stating that one was consistent with the public interest and another was not." (*WUHY–FM*, 24 FCC 2d at p. 413). As we there noted, citing *Banzhaf* v. *FCC* 405 F. 2d 1082, 1095, that would be "flagrant censorship." So if we were to proceed under the public interest standard—as we did in *WUHY*—it would be necessary to meet the same specific criteria as in the case of the broadcast of indecent material, "namely, that the material is patently offensive by contemporary community standards and utterly without redeeming social value."

In short, in our judgment, the standard here remains the statutory one against broadcast of obscene *or* indecent material—with the important qualification that the criteria are applied with recognition of the unique characteristics of the broadcast medium. See Sonderling Letter, pp. 5–7.

Similarly, we do not believe that it would be appropriate to initiate an overall inquiry

and rule-making proceeding. We cannot change or further refine the controlling criteria in this First Amendment field. Rather, it becomes a matter of applying them to particular factual situations in a manner that serves the public interest. By that, I mean in such a way that we do not "chill" any protected speech and yet at the same time "weed out" the impermissible (the obscene or indecent). As to the broadcaster's responsibility to exercise his responsible judgment to avoid presentation of prurient trash, I believe that my recent NAB speech has certainly made that clear. See enclosed copy.

With respect to your inquiry concerning station retention of tapes, there are no Commission rules or regulations which require a broadcast licensee to keep tapes of its programs. The Commission recently considered requiring licensees to keep tapes of "open mike" programs, *Notice of Proposed Rule Making*, FCC 71-804 (July 22, 1970). After reviewing comments on the proposal, the Commission withdrew its Notice (Report and Order, FCC 71-804 (August 4, 1971) for the reason that such rules did not appear to be clearly warranted at that time, and, if adopted, they would be financially and administratively burdensome for many licensees, particularly those of small stations. In this regard, the Commission has noted the cost of audiotaping all or certain types of programs broadcast and the higher cost of videotaping, as well as the added expense for storage space, all of which would have to be borne for a time period sufficient in length to make such rules effective, and the difficulty in distinguishing between stations capable of bearing such increased operational and financial burdens and those which could not.

I note your attention to introduce legislation which would "assure more effective and fair enforcement of Section 1464." I would be glad to give you my comments on such legislation.

I fully share your concern that the airwaves not be polluted by the broadcast of obscene or indecent material. Our goal here is clear. As we stated in the conclusion of the *Sonderling* letter,

"It is not our function, consistent with the First Amendment and Section 326 of the Communications Act, to impose upon broadcasters and listeners alike our personal standards of good taste. But neither is it our function to ignore the presentation of programming that in our view violates a criminal statute (18 U.S.C. 1464), especially when Congress has assigned to us a special role in the enforcement of that statute."

I hope that the foregoing is helpful to you.

Sincerely,

DEAN BURCH, *Chairman.*

DECENTRALIZED RESPONSIBILITY

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, in President Nixon's haste to shift support of social programs from the Federal Government to State and local governments and private sector groups, we must carefully consider the potential for action that exists in these decentralized areas. If the President succeeds in delegating responsibilities away from the Federal Government, then the hope for social progress and change clearly lies in communities across this Nation.

In this light, I submit for your attention and the attention of my colleagues, the statement of Alex Prempeh, president of Effective Rehabilitation for Community Tenants, Inc.—ERECT—to the Human Resources Administration and mayor's office for the handicapped in New York City.

STATEMENT BY ALEX PREMPEH

My appearance here before you today, is, hopefully, to shed some light on a very serious problem, which may produce more effective and meaningful solutions.

First, the needs of the elderly have been neglected far too long in our city. Coupled with that of the handicapped, care of the aged has only recently been recognized as a major priority and responsibility of government at city, state and federal levels. But to date these needs, this responsibility and this priority have not been fully recognized at the community level.

While all money resources were being directed towards programs for the poor, economic opportunity, manpower, education, employment and housing, the true necessity for a program combining subsistence with shelter for this segment of the community has been sadly neglected, even denied recognition, as more and more of our senior citizens reach the golden years of their lives.

In far too many instances, our elderly and handicapped have to endure substandard, over-crowded or dilapidated housing, quite often in the most squalid conditions.

My experiences over the past thirty years have familiarized me with these circumstances and conditions, in real estate management and local political clubhouses, as neighborhood captain, housing developer, anti-poverty worker, organizer, and subsequently as consultant to Medicare Alert and director of Medicaid Alert.

Working with these conditions brought me close associations with the first President's Commission on the Aged, the Governor's Office of the Aging, Community Service groups and eventually, the New York City Office for the Aging. This has given me enriching relationships with most of the recognized personalities in this field, who have made pioneering efforts to bring these problems to the forefront. Now today I ask that this responsibility be fully assumed at the neghborhood community level.

In regard to service and support programs for the elderly and handicapped, which Federal and State legislation is expected to curtail or seriously cut back, I must point to their failure to organize neighborhood and agencies which must now be considered a major priority. Housing for the elderly has primarily been delegated to City and State agencies. The weak efforts of New York State Senior Citizens projects and City Housing Authority Senior Citizens projects to seek community involvement have fostered little community responsibilities and/or participation.

When Federal legislation made it possible under Section 202 to encourage local sponsorship and local participation regarding food, clothing and shelter for the elderly and handicapped, far too few groups were prepared to take advantage of this opportunity.

Since 1959, the Section 202 program grew to 45,527 units under construction as of September, 1969, of which 27,780 had been completed. But in 1969, when it was just beginning to fulfill expectations, the Section 202 program was replaced by the Section 236 rental housing program, in an attempt to coordinate and simplify government-financed housing programs. As of today Section 236 is dead and nothing but revenue-sharing will arise from the ashes. It is now up to Municipal and State agencies to supply the leadership.

In the course of these changes, workable arrangements were sought to encourage the participation of the private sector with government programs and lending agencies. Today I am proud to be a part of this combination and its involvement in the production of housing. But it still remains for government and the private sector to develop a workable arrangement with neighborhood and community agencies to assume the responsibility for the care of the elderly and handicapped tenants, whether of low or moderate income, whether receiving welfare or social security assistance.

As the price for assuming roles of responsibility, management and accountability, the principal themes from community groups are of "control" and "a piece of the action." Although the private sector firm with which I am associated is offering both of these incentives to community groups qualified in housing management, there are no groups qualified in management and care of the elderly and handicapped.

Unless neighborhood and community groups can be organized to operate in true partnership with government and the private sector, the problems of food, clothing and shelter cannot be solved by centralized agencies. To gain a piece of the action rather than left-overs or crumbs, neighborhood and community groups must be encouraged to take a serious look at their roles in respect to the elderly and handicapped before they become part of our forgotten yesterdays.

Service and support programs for the elderly and handicapped should take into consideration combinations of vocational education, rehabilitation and adult education with child care, mental care and health related programs. Such combinations may provide a pooling of appropriate resources which until now have only been moderately tapped, and may, with your concerted efforts and time, successfully be co-ordinated with private sector involvement.

To particularly characterize the plight of my own people, and especially in Harlem, where there are comparatively few facilities for the aged, the elderly and the handicapped, let me make a strong, personal plea. I know of no black organization with the capacity and the willingness to build and care for our own aged brethren. Until blacks and Puerto Ricans see the need to care for their own, and until city and state agencies organize and finance community groups especially for our elderly and handicapped, we cannot expect this situation to change.

We must see the problem as it is related to our own homes and our own neighborhoods or communities and then look around to see how others solved their problems.

I hope this will be of some help in this critical situation. Thank you.

A SALUTE TO JOE MOLONY AND MIKE MAZUCA

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, yesterday, I voted against a 1-year extension of the President's authority to impose wage-price controls for two reasons; first, while temporary controls are justified to control inflation during wartime, they are not justified during peacetime; and second, controls are inequitable and unfair to American working men and women.

The application of wage-price controls during peacetime undermines responsible business practice as well as collective

bargaining. Controls render both superfluous, because the accomplishments in the marketplace or at the bargaining table are superseded by legislative flat.

I mention this, because of the admiration I hold for those individuals in labor and management who have made the extra effort to work out reasonable and equitable agreements.

The United Steelworkers have two such individuals, Mike Mazuca and Joseph Molony. Joe Molony is retiring as international vice president of the United Steelworkers of America and on Tuesday, May 24, 1973, at the Statler-Hilton Hotel in Buffalo, his friends will be on hand to talk over old times, reminisce, and salute this great labor leader. I include at this point articles on Mike and Joe:

[From the Buffalo Evening News, Feb. 17, 1973]

WILL STEELWORKERS' MAZUCA GET A BRASS RING?

(By Ed Kelly)

When, after a heated election battle, Mike Mazuca of Buffalo was chosen as state director of the United Steel Workers (AFL–CIO) in 1969, more than a few tasks awaited him.

There were political rifts to be closed, better rapport to be established between his district administration and the union's international administration in Pittsburgh, a backlog of bargaining and local union problems to be cleared up, safety programs to be designed and implemented.

Mazuca was undaunted. He tackled the problems with the same zest he lavished upon rival ball carriers when he played running guard for UB Coach Jimmy Wilson's famed Baby Bulls football team of 1932.

Mazuca brought to the administration of his district an enormous energy, massive enough to match his physical size. The former foundryman from Worthington Pump stands 6 feet 2, weighs 250 pounds.

"I was never small," he chuckles, "bowing in at 16 pounds at birth."

Hours after being sworn into office, Mazuca set about what he calls "welding the state district into a unified whole."

He became a highly mobile and visible leader, moving about the state, setting up conferences in his Rochester, Syracuse, Albany and New York City subdistricts, spending time in his Lackawanna subdistrict.

At the same time he kept close to his subdistrict office in Cleveland that serves the USW local union representing Great Lakes seamen.

Mazuca was in Pittsburgh often for meetings of the USW's International Executive Board (of which, as a district director, he is automatically a member), in Washington frequently for union legislative and other sessions, in several cities on many occasions for USW company-wide and industry-wide bargaining conferences.

He'd also turn up in far corners of the state when occasion demanded.

For instance, after a mine disaster took 91 lives in Idaho last year, Mazuca sped to our state's North Country, donned a hard hat and went deep into the ground to see first-hand what precautions safeguard his members working in the zinc mines there.

But most of the time, Mike Mazuca was in his third-floor office in the Edwards Bldg. on Franklin St. where, through 50 union staff representatives and nearly a score of office aides, by phone and by mail, he tended to day-to-day operations of his District 4.

It's a whopper geographically, stretching from Montauk Pt., L.I., on the Atlantic to Dunkirk on Lake Erie. Its nearly 60,000 members belong to 238 locals.

A firm believer in delegating responsibility, Mazuca insisted from the first that, where possible, the principal burden of servicing a membership be borne by the local union representing that membership.

To represent his district and its member-local unions in major arbitration cases and situations arising under the federal labor law, Mazuca re-instituted the office of district counsel and retained attorney Tom McMahon to fill it.

The Mazuca directorship has given USW members a chance to do some exciting things, educationally, under a closer-than-ever working relationship between his District 4 and Cornell's State School of Industrial & Labor Relations. And his administration has seen stepped-up District 4 interest in the legislative area—local, state and federal.

The achievements of Mazuca's first term have been several. The tasks he set himself in 1969 have been largely completed, and successfully. His popularity with staff and rank-and-file has risen. His political position within the district, accordingly, has become impregnable.

So it wasn't surprising last Tuesday when USW members in the state, apparently embracing the wisdom of the old adage that "one good term deserves another," re-elected Mike Mazuca to lead them for another four years.

He was unopposed for the $25,000-a-year post. A would-be challenger failed to get enough local union endorsements to get on the ballot. Those who worked against Mazuca in 1969, including his then prinicpal opponent for the directorship (who was backed up by the international leadership in Pittsburgh), were solidly behind him in 1973.

The beginning of his second term next June 1 will find Mike Mazuca facing a brand new set of tasks.

Several stem from the recent merger—at the international level—of the independent International Union of District 50, Allied & Technical Workers, with the United Steel Workers. That amalgamation has added 8000 new members to Mazcua's district, most of them in Western New York, and has prompted him to set up a new sub-district office in Niagara Falls.

The merger has been concluded but still to be worked out is an alignment of the dues and initiation-fee structures of former District 50 and its new parent organization.

Many members of District 50, opposed to the merger, remain unhappy in the USW. They must be won over.

Within the USW are several company-wide and industry-wide conferences of local unions, formed to enable them to present a united front in bargaining. The local unions of old District 50 must be slotted into their appropriate conferences.

And the former District 50 units and their members must be worked into the existing USW safety and workmen's compensation programs.

"We've got another welding job to do," says Mazuca. "The membership of our Steelworkers district must be integrated in such a way that the result is a sound district in which all share the same programs, responsibilities, services and goals."

Mazuca's confident it can be done.

Though he himself says nothing publicly about the matter, Mazuca's friends believe that the USW state leader, four years from now, will be in a strong position to seek higher office in the international union.

They point out that the two top posts—president and secretary-treasurer—will be up for grabs in 1977. Incumbents I. W. Abel and Walter Burke will be unable to seek re-election then because of a 65-year age limit prescribed by the USW's international constitution.

Mazuca will be 62 when the next international union elections roll around.

By that time, his supporters feel, he'll have been head of the New York State district—a good power-base within the USW—for eight years and, they're confident, will have built up an impressive record.

They note also that Mazuca's stock should be pretty high with the current USW top leadership because of the massive way in which local unions in his district, during the recent nomination period, rallied behind the incumbent international leadership and its slate.

"There'll be one helluva scramble for the top big jobs in '77," predicts the head of a big USW local here. "And Mike Mazuca's got as good a chance as any, and a better chance than most, to grab one of the brass rings."

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JOSEPH P. MOLONY, INTERNATIONAL VICE PRESIDENT, UNITED STEELWORKERS OF AMERICA, AFL–CIO—CLC

Joseph P. Molony, International Vice President of the United Steelworkers of America, came to the United States at the age of 20 from his native Ireland where he was born on November 6, 1906.

One of Mr. Molony's first jobs was as a laborer for the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad. He also worked on the ore docks of Republic Steel Corporation in Buffalo.

The year 1937 was the year of the "Little Steel Strike," and it was during the strike that Mr. Molony was appointed as an organizer for the Steel Workers Organizing Committee (SWOC), predecessor of the United Steelworkers of America.

At the First Constitutional Convention of the USWA in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1942, Mr. Molony was elected Director of USWA District 4 (New York State). Time after time he was re-elected Director without opposition to head the District until 1965 when he was elected International Vice President.

As Director of District 4, Mr. Molony pioneered in the area of workmen's compensation in New York where he served as a member of the Governor's (New York State) Workmen's Compensation Committee.

Mr. Molony is Chairman of the USWA's Committee on Civil Rights, the first International Union officer to serve as head of the Committee. He is also a member of the AFL–CIO Civil Rights Committee. Mr. Molony was one of the participants invited by President Johnson to attend the 1966 White House Conference on Civil Rights.

He was Chairman of the Union's negotiating committee with Bethlehem Steel until 1965 when he was elected International Vice President. He also served as Chairman of the USWA organizing drive of Great Lakes seamen.

He is presently Chairman of the Nonferrous Industry Coordinating Committee.

Mr. Molony not only has insisted throughout his labor career that union officials should become active in civic affairs but has set examples by his own record of public service. He served for three terms as Chairman of the Niagara Frontier Port Authority. He also was Chairman of the Buffalo Zoning Board, General Chairman of the United Negro College Fund of Western New York; and a Director of the Buffalo Urban League.

Mr. Molony was the first to be given the Buffalo Evening News Outstanding Citizenship Award. He was given the Brotherhood Award of the Buffalo Chapter of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. The Buffalo Diocesan Labor-Management College honored Mr. Molony in 1960 with its Bishop's Plaque.

Mr. Molony is a member of the Board of Directors of the United Fund of Allegheny County and served as Associate Campaign Chairman of the 1972 United Fund Campaign. He is a member of the Board of Directors of the Health and Welfare Association of Allegheny County, and a member of the Board of Directors of the Pittsburgh History

& Landmarks Foundation. He served as Chairman of the Boys Town of Italy Fund Drive for 1970 and 1971. In September 1971, Mr. Molony was appointed as a member of the Airport Advisory Committee of Allegheny County.

Mr. Molony is known throughout the Union as a story teller par excellence. He is best known, however, for his deep, life-long commitment to the welfare of Steelworkers and his adopted country. Though his formal education was cut short, he is probably one of the best-read and best-informed union officials.

He served with the U.S. Army from 1943 to 1945.

He and his wife, the former Marguerite Bouchard, reside in Pittsburgh. They have one son, Michael.

CINCO DE MAYO—1973

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, on Cinco de Mayo, millions of Americans will observe an historic landmark in mankind's age-old struggle against tyranny, and in the New World's efforts to rid itself of the oppression of the Old World. For on that day, in the year of 1862, Mexico's great President Benito Juarez led a force of patriots to victory over the armies of France and her puppet Emperor Maximilian.

It is entirely fitting that America's second largest minority, those among us whose heritage includes Hispanic culture, the Spanish language, Indian blood, and Mexican ancestry, should join with their brothers of the Republic of Mexico in observance of this event. And it is fitting, too, that the people of the United States, speaking through this freely elected Congress, should recognize this day as fateful, not only in the history of Mexico but for all of the peoples of the New World. For the victory of Juarez marked a turning point; hard fought proof that the peoples of Mexico would not endure foreign rule and that they would find the strength to successfully resist it. Surely every American, North and South, is indebted to the brave people of Mexico for that.

In my own State of California, schools, cities, and organizations throughout the State will be observing this event, partly for the reasons I have already mentioned, but also as a gesture of solidarity with and affection for the people whose heritage is part of our own. For to the extent that California, a relatively new and yet not unpromising place, has a heritage, a culture, and a tradition, that heritage is inextricably bound up with the people of Mexico. And in observing Cinco de Mayo we honor not merely a gracious tradition and a great blow struck for human freedom in the past, we honor the present and, hopefully, the future as well. Indeed, we honor ourselves, for we Californians began as Mexicans and part of that heritage remains with us in the names of our cities and streets, in our history, our music, our literature, and our customs.

Cinco de Mayo celebrates the past, but it also recognizes that the struggle against tyranny and oppression is unending. Within recent years the people of the Southwest have witnessed the resumption of that struggle by a new brand of patriots, who call themselves Chicanos and who have already added to the rolls of humanity's heroes a new name that is honored everywhere in the world where men respect courage and love justice—the name of César Chavez.

THE CHICANO

The word "Chicano" is new to many of us. It is frightening to some and disturbing to others. It has been used most widely by younger Mexican-Americans, and those in the forefront of the struggle to improve the lives of their people and their communities and, therefore, those most likely to be perceived on television, and in the press as troublesome. But I believe those who are troubled and fearful have not thought deeply of the matter. For what does it profit the United States of America if we gain the world, but lose millions of our own to poverty, lack of education, and indignity.

The United States prides itself on being a nation of free, independent, and prosperous citizens. Time and again throughout our history we have declared war on poverty. The Chicano means to help us win that war, and proposes that we fight it as though we intended to win. Over 30 years ago, in a land caught in a cruel economic depression, a prophetic voice arose from the fields and orchards of California decrying the cruelty and injustice to those whose toil brought food to the table of our Nation, but who themselves were condemned to poverty and ignorance and often to hunger. The man was John Steinbeck and the book was "Grapes of Wrath." And he told a story of injustice and depression that shocked the conscience of the world and brought him a Nobel prize. Today, over three decades later, those who pick the grapes and harvest the lettuce are still struggling to win rights that other Americans assume as their birthright: Decent wages, job security, collective bargaining, education for their children, and respect for their culture.

However, I do not wish to dwell too much on the unhappy side of a complex story. The Chicano is, in fact, an amalgam of three cultures: The Hispanic, the Indian, and the North American. And from the beginning of these three traditions, he was created, indeed, he embodies, something new and unique in the world. A new man with an old culture. And rather than fear this new man, I think we might well try to understand and perhaps even learn from him.

THE POWER OF FAITH

One of the things we can learn, I believe, has something to do with the power of faith. For the Mexican-American community, as we all know, is above all a religious community. The spiritual and mystical approach to life, which finds itself under attack and even in decline in so many areas of modern life, remains as strong in today's barrio as it was two centuries ago. The church, it is true, has changed. Some of the priests and nuns have changed. Even some of the saints have been changed. But the people's faith does not change. Surely there is something profoundly satisfying in this fact. For it means that people, having found something which nourishes life and gives men hope, will not abandon it for the sake of transient pleasure and advantages.

THE CHICANO FAMILY

Secondly, I should like to mention the Chicano family—La Raza. Again there are voices among us which assert that the American family is finished; that the family system grew out of certain economic and historical conditions and that since these circumstances no longer remain, the family has lost its function. I have never known a Mexican American scholar to write or speak in this vein.

Nor are there many who dwell upon such themes as "the generation gap." On the contrary, hardship and struggle has cemented the Chicano family and made it stronger than ever. In the great majority of cases the children remain at home and respect the authority of their parents, regardless of age, until they are themselves ready to assume responsibilities of their own.

For most Mexican Americans the home and family remains a kind of sanctuary, a complete society. The very old and the very young often live side by side, depending upon each other. Whatever their fortunes may be in dealing with the outside world, the family remains united, interdependent, and fiercely loyal. What the family has, it shares. What it must suffer, it endures together. I think we might all learn something from the seamless robe of the Chicano family. For surely we do not need more loneliness, more alienation, more isolation from one another.

A HUMANIST TRADITION

Finally, I would speak of the Chicano as the bearer of a rich humanist tradition, rooted in the beauty of the Spanish language and the natural poetry of those who retain a feeling for nature and the land. I refer not merely to a superficial formality in manners and language, but rather to that innate courtesy which characterizes a highly social way of life.

The ethic of personal success, of material acquisition, of competitive individualism, has not been a prominent part of Chicano culture. There is instead a sense of community and of lives shared. Their leaders seem to possess a ready eloquence, perhaps the product of a bilingual culture, which we can only envy.

Perhaps no group of Americans has been more willing to fight for the United States, certainly none has fought with greater valor or suffered higher casualties proportionate to their numbers in the total population, and yet the Chicano in civil society is truly a gentle man. In personal address, in the conduct of the ordinary business of life, he rarely forgets the purely human element.

Faith, family, humanity—these I think are some of the virtues of our fellow Americans whose heritage is Mexican, whose language is Spanish, and in whose veins is the blood of the Aztecs. Doubtless one could name many others, perhaps more important. But I can only speak of my own knowledge and experi-

ence as a friend and lifelong neighbor of Mexican-American people.

I have chosen the occasion of Cinco de Mayo to make these remarks partly because I feel the time is appropriate, and also because a new age demands new insights. The familiar stereotypes by which the Mexican American has been portrayed in the movies, and, shamefully, is too often still portrayed on television advertisements, has created a totally false and dehumanizing picture.

The comical bandido, the lazy peon sleeping under a cactus, are perhaps not meant to be vicious or degrading. But they are the products of greedy men eager to exploit the ignorance of the general public. Stereotypes have been created which, deliberately or not, were meant to reinforce the Anglo's good opinion of himself by dehumanizing others.

In recent years we have begun to learn, slowly and painfully, of the terrible price that this Nation must pay for the all too human tendency to think of certain groups within our society as "other." Much has been written and spoken about the Nation's largest minority. But we are only beginning to realize that there are even minorities among the minorities. Not with the aim of pitting one exploited group against another. But simply to recognize that diversity is not the exclusive province of the affluent.

But it is not only the problems of the Chicano people—the poverty, poor housing, lack of equal opportunity, that demand our attention. It is also the successes. Their distinguished record in the Armed Forces, the rising numbers of Chicano students attending our colleges and universities who will surely be the instruments of a profound social change for their entire people in the not too distant future; and the growing authority of men like Cesar Chavez, who embody the deepest aspirations for peace and justice not simply of the Mexican-American, but for all the American people.

I am confident that the coming of Cinco de Mayo, 1973, will bring us closer to the day when this strong people, so long denied their proper place in our legislatures, our schools, our corporate, and business life, will cease to pick "the grapes of wrath." And that this generation of Chicanos which has progressed so rapidly in so many areas—which has a clear idea of its own destiny, will fullfill the words of the prophet who foretold that the day would come when—

Those who have labored in the vineyard shall keep the fruit thereof.

MANPOWER AND DIGESTIVE DISEASES

HON. JAMES F. HASTINGS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. HASTINGS. Mr. Speaker, a National Conference on Digestive Diseases as a National Problem will be held on May 18 at the National Institutes of Health. More than 500 persons will gather to develop a long range attack on every phase of this national problem.

It will be preceded by a 3-day workshop, April 23–25, at Arlie House in Virginia, where 150 will work at analyzing the present status of digestive disease research, manpower development and the delivery system for care.

Chairman of this conference is Dr. Fred Kern, Jr., head of the Division of Gastroenterology at the University of Colorado School of Medicine.

Impetus for the conference came about largely as a result of a law passed last year establishing the National Institute of Arthritis, Metabolism and Digestive Disease, focussing attention on the lack of adequate research in this area. That bill was considered by the Subcommittee on Public Health and Environment, of which I am a member. I participated in the hearings and am pleased to say that I worked for its passage both in the committee and on the floor of the House.

It has been brought to my attention that Dr. Kern has co-authored—along with Dr. Thomas R. Hendrix, head of the Division of Gastroenterology at Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine and also a member of the steering committee of the national conference—an excellent editorial which appeared in the March 1973 issue of Hospital Practice.

Mr. Speaker, I insert this editorial at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and commend it to my colleagues for study.

MANPOWER AND DIGESTIVE DISEASE

The 1967 Conference on Digestive Disease as a National Problem focused attention on the magnitude of the digestive disease problem and the proportionally small share of resources, both in manpower and in funds for research and training, that were allocated to digestive disease. A manpower survey showed that there were only 2,004 specialists in digestive disease in the United States and that they were unevenly distributed—some communities had many, four states had none. The real meaning of these figures can be questioned because the "gastroenterologists" identified in that survey were self-designated, i.e., physicians who identified themselves as having a special interest in digestive disease. Thus, the survey did not furnish information about what proportion of gastroenterologists was specially qualified or about the level of their knowledge and skills. From its beginning in 1940 and through December 1972, only 675 physicians have been certified by the American Board of Internal Medicine Subspeciality Board on Gastroenterology. How do these figures compare with the number of specialists in other areas of internal medicine? Again, data are incomplete, but, for example, several sources of information suggest that there are three to four times as many cardiologists as gastroenterologists. An informal survey published late in 1972 showed that there are many vacant academic positions for gastroenterologists—more than for any other specialty within internal medicine.

Despite the apparent shortage of manpower, reactions catalyzed by the 1967 conference are continuing to stimulate favorable decisions in behalf of digestive disease. Awareness of digestive disease as a major health and economic problem has increased. Money invested in digestive disease research has borne a rich harvest of fundamental as well as pragmatic information, e.g., in relation to bile salt metabolism and gallstones, intestinal secretion and toxigenic and choleretic diarrheas, hepatitis-associated antigen and acute and chronic liver disease, the complex interaction of gastrointestinal hormones, and the motor and secretory disorders of the GI tract—to mention only a few active areas of productive basic and clinical investigation.

There is considerable expectation that as this wave of interest and discovery in digestive disease gains momentum we will be able to replace the empiric approach to therapy of digestive disease by rational therapy, based on an understanding of the pathophysiology of these disorders. Cholecystectomy will be replaced by correction of disordered hepatic lipid excretion; paregoric and Kaopectate will be replaced by oral fluid and electrolyte solutions and by agents that interfere with the link between secretory stimuli and secretion; chronic active liver disease will be contained by an understanding of antigen and host interaction; and secretory and motor abormalities will be managed by correcting or circumventing neurohumoral imbalances.

The likelihood, however, that these bright hopes will be realized is in jeopardy. At a time when we need to push ahead to capitalize on the gains that we have made in the understanding of the physiologic basis of digestive disease, research resources are being threatened. At a time when we should translate our new understanding into more effective patterns of practice at all levels of medical care, funds for training are scheduled to be phased out.

Intelligent planning for the education and training of manpower for the future care of patients with digestive disease is obviously desirable, but it is especially difficult now because of all of the uncertainties of future medical practice. Some of the issues that affect our planning will be mentioned briefly. In the future, who will provide primary medical care for digestive disease patients? Will it be the family practitioners, internists, or gastroenterologists? Will general surgeons continue to be involved as primary physicians? Will physicians' assistants, or some equivalent, have the major role in primary medical care, as has been forecast?

Ideally, the best system is the one that provides the best medical care for the patients. Should patients with duodenal ulcer, for example, be cared for by generalists and referred to gastroenterologists only after they develop complications? Or should such patients be managed primarily by gastroenterologists with the hope that their supposedly greater understanding of gastric physiology and gastric secretion will prevent or delay complications? How will changes in the organization of medical care affect our training needs? Unfortunately, facts are not available to answer these and many similar questions that have a direct bearing on the deployment of resources in academic and teaching-hospital gastroenterology programs. It is important to know whether our teaching effort should be directed primarily toward physicians' assistants, medical students, residents in internal medicine and family practice or toward trainees or fellows in gastroenterology. It would be helpful to know how many digestive disease specialists per 100,000 population would be optimal in 1983. Now that we are having potentially disastrous cuts in federal research and training funds it is of crucial importance to know how best to use our diminishing funds.

It is evident that our specialty, like much of medicine, is in a state of flux and uncertainty. We recognize the need for critical data and equally critical determination of policy, as guides for our teaching and training efforts. It is partially for this reason that the American Gastroenterological Association and the National Institute of Arthritis, Metabolism, and Digestive Diseases of the National Institutes of Health (with support from other digestive disease societies, federal agencies, and pharmaceutical firms) have organized a second Conference on Digestive Disease as a National Problem to be

held this spring. In preparation for this conference, data are being collected that relate directly to some of the questions asked here. We do not expect definitive answers to many questions, but we do anticipate that the data and their subsequent discussion at workshops and at the conference by gastroenterologists, biomedical scientists in other fields, health administrators, economists, laymen, and others will more clearly define the policy issues and will help design future studies that will provide more precise information.

The need for manpower trained to care for patients with digestive disease is not at issue because of the overwhelming evidence that digestive disease is a major health problem that affects many millions of people—more than any other category of illness. Although only cancer of the digestive tract and cirrhosis are major killers, the morbidity and costs of digestive disease are staggering. Hospitalizations for digestive disease outnumber those for heart disease by five to three; hospitalizations for peptic ulcer and for cholecystitis each outnumber hospitalizations for coronary disease by a similar proportion. Digestive disease is the leading cause of visits to private clinics, the leading cause of hospitalization in VA hospitals, etc. The statistical documentation of the importance of digestive disease is impressive.

Because of the numbers of people affected it seems likely that regardless of future changes in systems and priorities, digestive disease will continue to be cared for on many levels, as it is now. Consequently, the training needs for this category of disease are enormous. Only a small proportion of digestive diseases is now treated by gastroenterologists. Most patients with these disorders are seen by family physicians, internists, pediatricians, and general surgeons. To ensure optimal care for patients with digestive disease, the new knowledge must be disseminated more effectively and specialty advice must be more timely and more available. This requires, first, more time and effort devoted to the presentation of the pathophysiologic basis of digestive disease to undergraduate medical students and a greater exposure in postgraduate residency training to the best and most advanced practice in digestive disease; second, an appropriate distribution of excellently trained specialists in digestive disease to provide consultation and advice in the care of the complex problems in this area; and, finally, provision for a continuing supply of highly motivated individuals for teaching and research so that our understanding of digestive disease continues to grow and our new insights are disseminated in usable, stimulating forms to undergraduates, residents, and all practicing physicians dealing with digestive disease.

In the words of Shakespeare's Brutus:

There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.

FRED KERN, Jr., M.D.
THOMAS R. HENDRIX, M.D.

HOUSING DISCRIMINATION BY SEX AND AGE MUST END

HON. HERMAN BADILLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing a bill today which amends the 1964 Civil Rights Act to prohibit housing discrimination on the basis of race, color, creed, national origin, sex, marital status, or in the case of adults, age. For the purposes of this bill, the term adult applies to any individual 18 years old or older.

Last year, while making a study of housing laws, I was startled to find that discrimination by sex was not a part of the so-called fair housing provisions of the 1968 law. Not only that, but I was also advised that the passage of the equal rights amendment would not remedy this situation since its provisions would only be applicable to situations where either Federal or State action was involved. This, of course, would leave untouched the much wider area of accommodations which by all indications had to be reached.

It seemed at first as though the addition of the terms "sex, marital status or age" to the 1968 act would serve my purpose. However, there was some area of doubt that made me wonder if this would indeed do. To begin with, title VIII provides that before a complainant may institute enforcement proceedings in Federal court, he must have filed a written complaint with the Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development who is then charged with making a preliminary investigation with a view to resolving the dispute through "conference, conciliation, and persuasion."

Only after the Secretary has declined to attempt administrative resolution, or such a process, as carried out by him or any appropriate State or local agency to which the dispute may be referred, has proved unavailing within given time limits, may an aggrieved person effectively pursue his remedies in Federal court. My study indicated that this process of mediation often has caused long delays. Furthermore, a great deal of responsibility was vested in the person of the Secretary who, depending on his own convictions, was left to decide the appropriateness of the complaint, the referral process, or indeed, the urgency of the matter.

It seemed to me that this, at certain times, could prove to be a great drawback to persons who felt themselves injured. After all, when we write the laws we cannot predict who will be administering them. Consequently, it appeared wiser to amend the 1964 act, giving a dual avenue to redress: First, a complainant can address his complaint to the Attorney General who, if he deems the person unable to institute proceedings for his own relief, initiate and maintain appropriate legal procedures to rectify the situation in the name of the United States, or, second, give the person the choice to sue in any Federal court for a redress of his grievances.

In the latter case, should the Attorney General delay in intervening, or indeed be inhibited in his actions by possible political considerations, a meritorious cause may be backed by a group and brought to a successful conclusion without the mandatory referral to the Secretary's arbitration, as would be the case under the 1968 act.

The very broad wording of my bill is designed to give the same type of protection which was invoked by the Supreme Court in 1968 in *Jones* v. *Mayer Co.*, 392 U.S. 409 (1969) when it held all racial discrimination in the sale or rental of property, private as well as public, to be a violation of the 1866 Civil Rights Act.

Mr. Speaker, it is time and more than time that we did something to end discriminatory practices which are presently injuring large portions of our population. My initial investigation into the field of sex discrimination, I contacted New York City's 10 largest property management firms, revealed that when women seek rental housing a majority of the firms will impose the "1 week's salary must equal 1 month's rent" rule. However, they do not include child support payments in the applicant's income—only income from stocks and bonds. Thus, a woman may not qualify for a decent apartment because she is deemed to be financially unable to support the expense. However, HUD, when it computes income, does take into account child support payments, in this manner often disqualifying the same women for subsidized housing this time because they are judged to be to well to do to qualify for assistance. Such absurities must stop. I am not even mentioning here the thorny aspects of financing which have already received considerable publicity.

It has also come to my attention that older persons as well as youth have considerable difficulty because of their age in competing in the tight housing market. This too must not be permitted to continue. The National Council of Senior Citizens backs this legislation. Our senior citizens are concluding lives of rich contributions to our society—they deserve and should receive respect and consideration and should not be shunted aside into what has been so aptly described as the "last segregation." Our youth, also deserve fair consideration. To use age as a sole disqualifying factor is unworthy of this Nation. Some directors of off-campus housing, who have learned of my intention to introduce this measure, have already signified their support. In their estimation, the bill fills a real need.

I hope that Members will support this much-needed legislation and join me in urging its speedy consideration and enactment.

OEO-FUNDED GROUP DISRUPTS HARVARD COMMENCEMENT

HON. JOHN B. CONLAN

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. CONLAN. Mr. Speaker, in view of the controversy concerning dismantlement of the Office of Economic Opportunity and new leadership in the Federal Government's poverty programing, I should like to bring to the attention of Members of this body another example

of mismanagement and poor judgment in OEO funding that created the disgraceful disruption of the 1970 commencement at Harvard University, where I did my graduate work.

It was about 9 p.m. on June 10, 1970, and the Harvard University band and the combined Harvard-Radcliffe Glee Club were completing their traditional commencement concert in the Harvard Yard. Harvard's 334th commencement week was in full swing. Class reunions were being held, the senior class was having its last party at one of the houses, and the concert in the yard, because it was free and open to the public, was attended by many members of the Cambridge community.

In another part of Harvard Yard, soul music was blaring forth from numerous speakers which 300 members of the Riverside planning team had brought with them. They seized a corner of the Harvard Yard between two dormitories which were housing the families of the 25th reunion class.

The Riverside Planning Team—RPT—is a neighborhood association organized and supported by the Cambridge economic opportunity committee, which is supported by OEO funds.

The Riverside group had decided to take over a section of the Harvard Yard to demonstrate for low-cost housing in the Cambridge area. The group wrote the president of Harvard University and demanded that he cancel his commencement eve plans and meet with the group.

During that week, RPT circulated flyers and used sound trucks to encourage community residents to walk to Harvard and participate in a low-cost housing demonstration in the Harvard Yard. That night they stated that they would not leave and would not turn off the music until the Harvard president appeared. During the evening RPT provided meals for its members.

Late that evening a representative of the president's office did meet with the group, but he was unable to satisfy its request. In the early hours of the next morning many graduates returned from reunion activities. They were greeted by the deafening sounds of rock music. RPT refused to turn off their loud speakers and many minor confrontations occurred before police had to be called in. The police brought the situation under control at about 3 a.m.

It was later discovered that the organization, publicity, sound trucks, food, and legal service personnel which RPT brought with them were all paid for out of OEO funds.

The next day was commencement day, and because of space limitations all attending the commencement exercises were required to present tickets for admittance. However, the Riverside planning team had staked out spots throughout the night in the Harvard Yard, thus assuring for its members strategic locations during the commencement.

Halfway through the exercises, the RPT people decided to make their move. With bullhorns in hand, they marched and yelled their way onto the stage as the Harvard president was conferring degrees. They mounted the stage, seized the microphones, and began shouting demands over the public address system.

The exercises stopped and the microphones were turned off. RPT demonstrators then used their OEO-purchased bullhorns to take over the exercises. At that point, the Harvard Corp. voted to give RPT 2 minutes for a statement. RPT members took the microphones, insulted the Harvard president and corporation for almost 5 minutes, and were finally escorted off stage by university police.

The commencement finally continued after a 20-minute delay.

The OEO-funded Cambridge Economic Opportunity Committee's executive director, the community coordinator for social services, and the director of Cambridge Legal Services were all in attendance to render legal assistance in case an incident involving the police occurred.

There appears little doubt, therefore, that OEO funds and personnel were used to organize and carry out the takeover of Harvard's 334th commencement exercises. In fact, Mr. Speaker, the local OEO agency endorsed the entire activity.

Such activities supported by OEO funds raised many serious questions. It is indeed an outrageous situation to have OEO funds supporting demonstrations that involve trespassing, disturbing the peace, assault and battery, larceny, disorderly conduct, violations of freedom of speech, and other offenses.

Mr. Speaker, the time has come for us to look deeply into the history of the Office of Economic Opportunity and to acknowledge, as painful as it may be, the many examples of misspent and fraudulently spent public funds. There must be a better and more efficient manner to provide services for the disadvantaged without spending public tax dollars on such illegal, self-serving activities.

Let us work together to restructure the poverty program to meet the needs of the poor.

Let us work together to develop a new system.

Let us accept the fact that OEO programs have proved to be a colossal failure in many instances and that they have been a monstrous waste of public funds.

Let us devise a new program that will prevent public funds from ever again being used to disrupt the activities of higher education.

I insert the following article from the Boston Herald Traveler outlining the events of the 1970 Harvard commencement in the RECORD at this point:

[From the Boston Herald Traveler, June 11, 1970]

CIVIL RIGHTS GROUP STAGES CAMP-IN AT HARVARD YARD

(By Paul Giguere and Tom Sewell)

Some 150 members of a Cambridge civil rights organization seeking low-rent housing began a sit-in under a tent in the Harvard Yard on commencement eve last night.

The "Camp-in" followed a march at 5 p.m. to the offices of Harvard President Nathan Pusey, led by Mrs. Sandra Graham, president of the Riverside planning team of the Cambridge Economic Opportunity Committee Inc.

Dr. Pusey was not there, but Edward Gruson, community affairs officer for Harvard, persuaded the protesters to move to nearby Gray Hall for discussion.

Gruson and Mrs. Graham and others engaged in an exchange before entering the hall, but there was no serious disturbance.

At the meeting in Gray Hall, the CEOC called upon the Harvard Corporation to turn over 100,000 square feet of "largely vacant property known as "Treeland" in the Riverside neighborhood area of Cambridge for construction of low-rent family housing.

Another demand was that during the Treeland construction one-third of the 500 student apartments in Peabody Terrace be given to Riverside families "threatened with evictions and rent increases."

Gruson advised the meeting that he could not at the time discuss the Treeland question. But he pledged that the corporation would build low and middle income housing in the future.

A SERMON ON ARCHIE BUNKERISM

HON. JAMES C. CORMAN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. CORMAN. Mr. Speaker, last fall my minister, Dr. Kermit L. Long, of the First United Methodist Church of North Hollywood, Calif., preached a remarkable sermon under the title of "Jesus Christ and Archie Bunkerism." Dr. Long believes that "there is more Christian gospel preached from the 'All in the Family' television show than from many churches and temples—if we get the message."

More than 60 million Americans view the show every Saturday night. Its popularity loses no ground as each week passes, but its effect has become far more complex and disturbing than mere entertainment.

"Getting the message" is the underlying theme of Dr. Long's forceful sermon. It is such an important and timely message that I am inserting Dr. Long's sermon at this point in the RECORD and strongly recommend its reading to my colleagues.

The sermon follows:

JESUS CHRIST AND ARCHIE BUNKERISM

(By Dr. Kermit L. Long, preached October 22, 1972, First United Methodist Church of North Hollywood, Calif.)

"America's number one television hero, Archie Bunker, is a prejudiced, ignorant, lower middle-class, white Anglo-Saxon Protestant, beer-bellied bigot." That's what he is according to a quote from Ebony Magazine's June 1972 issue. In real life the actor, Carroll O'Connor, is anything but Archie Bunker; in fact he is the opposite of Archie Bunker, or else, he says, he could never stomach playing such a nasty bigoted part. He, Jean Stapleton, who plays the part of his wife Edith ("dingbat"), and the rest of the *All in the Family* staff have won 10 Emmys. Without a doubt this is the most popular program on television today. We laugh at them, and we laugh with them. We enjoy the sweet, soft-spoken, beautiful blonde daughter and her long haired liberal husband, the son-in-law whom Archie calls "meat-head." In fact, on any given Saturday night over 50 percent of the viewing public is looking at this program. Now I know and you know that the church, through its clergy and laity, speaks

of what eternity has to say to the hours. We already have our agenda. It's in the Book—the Bible. It's in the theology of our faith and in the history of the people of God through the centuries of time. But if we are wise at all, we will also be cognizant of the fact that the world, too, prepares the agenda for the church. Thus I have chosen to speak on *Jesus Christ and Archie Bunkerism.*

In an *Ebony Magazine* article containing an interview with Mr. Carroll O'Connor, someone said, let's talk about Archie a bit. How does a man like yourself a man whose background and views are so different from those of Archie, bring him to real life? "Well," said Mr. O'Connor, "we didn't do any real research on this. We just tried to be open and sensitive to where we were in the world." In Hamlet's advice to the players, he tells them to hold up a mirror to life. This is real acting—holding up a mirror to life. This is what the actor is supposed to do. So when Carroll O'Connor was asked, "do you really believe that white America is as bad as you portray white America to be?" he answered, "I believe that Archie Bunker really represents a pretty good slice of white America even yet today. I have seen it. I have talked with Archie Bunkers in New York. I have talked with them in Boston, Tulsa, Cleveland and in Dallas. I know them best in New York where I have spent most of my life so this is why I play him in New York."

Archie Bunker is a man who is on a bridge. He is so rigid, so inflexible that he can't change. In his case it's just easier to name call than to try to be open to change. We know that God calls us to change, that the past is gone. But Archie doesn't want to let it go. He doesn't want to cross over the bridge. Because other people are crossing over the bridge Archie becomes the loser . . . and he is portrayed as a loser. Do you think Archie is enjoying life? Look at him as he comes in from work. There is always something wrong. (If you are always unhappy you'd better look at yourself, not at other people. Something is wrong with you.) He usually comes storming in, hanging up his old hat and jacket in the corner, full of complaints. The subway has been slow again. The Puerto Rican guard has given him trouble. The Blacks are moving in next door. And the Communists are threatening his life and all of our lives. The Hippies are bothering him. The world seems to be closing in on him and while we look at him and laugh at him, the guy is really in pain. He is hurting. And from his hurt he strikes out; he name calls. He is a bigot, full of prejudice, a bigot who is digging his own grave right here on earth.

Norman Lear, director and producer of the *All in the Family* show, Rabbi Heller of Los Angeles, and Dr. L. L. White a United Methodist black preacher appeared together on a television panel discussion during September, 1972. The discussion brought out the fact that Archie Bunker had the inability to adjust. He was always trying to build himself up by hurting someone else. (That's not how you build yourself up. You minister to the other person first, and then God, in His mysterious ways, has a way of building you up.) Since Archie hasn't learned this, it is pointed out that he is always the loser, and because he is always the loser we laugh at him. L. L. White, the black panther, was asked if this laughter bothered him. "No," he said, "laughter can ventilate feelings. It can be happy. We ought to look at prejudice and laugh at it for the ridiculous stance which it is. Then we ought to do something about it." Dr. White continued, "As a black man it doesn't matter if you laugh, just so you are laughing with me not at me. If you are laughing with me, there is a bond; if you are laughing at me, there is a barrier."

In *All in the Family,* viewed every Saturday by over 60 million persons, Archie is always the loser. But I am not sure that in real life Archie Bunker is always the loser. In God's eternal plan he is, but often in this life he is not. I have seen some Archie Bunkers who were pretty prosperous at the other fellow's expense, and you have too.

The program is not as realistic as it might be. Do you think that Lionel, the young, kind, beautiful black neighbor boy would really put up with what he has been through at the hands of Archie Bunker for a year and a half? He is finally starting to speak up—but it is past due. Even though they are in the home of a white man being served a cup of coffee, the young blacks today won't put up with racial insults. They are not sweet and polite and kind like Lionel. They might throw a bomb in the house and carry a knife on their body. While we might not appreciate that, we ought to at least understand it. There is a limit as to how much bigotry one can take . . . how much suffering one will go through at the hands of an ignorant fool.

Some of us think there is more Christian gospel being preached from that program than from many churches and temples . . . if we get the message. This is why I was saddened when Norman Lear, the producer of the show, when asked what the basic ethic on which the show was produced said, "it doesn't have any ethic." He continued that he didn't think of the program having any mission at all. His only job was to entertain. I thought, "Boy, if I was on this panel I'd really let him have it, slap him but kindly, I hope." Dr. L. L. White came through saying, "Now you may not have a mission, you may not think of this as a mission, but how can you possibly evade the responsibility of saving something when you realize the power of the media?"

All of us have a mission, whether we stand in the pulpit, produce an *All in the Family* show, teach school, go to the office, go to the farm, or go to the plant. We all have the mission to bury bigotry once and for all. If you are not in the business of burying bigotry I don't give a hoot what you do, you are not doing what God is calling you to do in our time. I know this isn't always the way people talk out in the world. Even a top executive of United States Steel said, "Our business in United States Steel is not to make steel, our business is to make money." Oh, I know a little bit about free enterprise. You have to make money, and you have to have profit to keep the economy going to produce the products that satisfy and serve people. But why must money be put ahead of service? Through your vocation and mine if we are dedicated people of God we have but one mission . . . to glorify God, by serving people. I'd like to see U.S. Steel and our other friends make the money by which they can do that. No wonder socialism and communism have got more than a foothold in the door. It's because of the blindness of some in our capitalistic system. Put this down for a certainty: if we do not learn how to use our capitalistic free enterprise system to serve people, God will let us fail. He might even help us. It is so easy, of course, to miss this business of mission . . . the loving acceptance and service of people, all people, regardless of color or creed. Character, not color, is what counts! Character, not creed, is what counts! Mission, not money, is what counts! Where are we? Are we following Jesus Christ or Archie Bunker? If you look to Jesus and get his pattern of life it's pretty simple. It's not only a lot different from Archie Bunkerism, it's a lot different from some of our own statements and behavior patterns. One of the troubles we have today is the trouble of making distinctions. I know we have to make decisions. And many of these decisions are not easy. But we also need to make distinctions and understand that there can be unity and equality within.

Yes, in the midst of all of our division, in the midst of all of our diversities, there can be a unity and a love. To make adequate distinctions as well as decisions is one of the needs of our time, so that we don't stereotype people and over-simplify and categorize people as Archie Bunker is so prone to do. He has a name for everybody, every class of people. They are not his type of folks, you know, like we are—white. It's a funny thing but it's done. Jesus is all white, like Santa Claus, and Protestant of course.

There is no difficulty with Protestant or Catholic, black or white, Jew or Gentile when we are all the people of God. Why do we categorize people and name call them when we don't understand them? We do this politically. During the 1972 presidential campaign I heard Mr. Nixon referred to as a Facist. I heard Mr. McGovern referred to as a Communist. It's a sickness of our time. These men are no more saints than you or I are saints, but they are both dedicated men. I know them both. It hurts when people categorize and name call because they are on another side of the political fence. We do that socially, too, you know. We even do it religiously. If someone doesn't say the same thing we want them to say, religiously speaking, they are heretics. That's prejudice—that's judgement, and none of us is good or smart enough to judge. Let God judge; that's his business. Can't we, in the church, have unity and diversity of theological and doctrinal opinions? If we can, we are the church; if not, we are something less than the church. Some of us love the Apostle's Creed which we use this morning. One of you said so as we came in. You were so glad we were using the Apostle's Creed again. On the other hand, I have been with this congregation as pastor long enough to know that some of you refuse to repeat the Apostle's Creed. You don't believe some aspects of it. But do you know what? We can still gather in love. You don't have to believe everything that some church fathers of several centuries ago said you had to believe to be a person of God. In fact, the church has been changing the creeds for nearly 2,000 years. We can gather with diversity of theological opinions, with diversity of doctrine, but in unity and love. That is the church. It doesn't take any prophet to see it, yet we are so slow to see it. This is why we had better look to Jesus Christ instead of Archie Bunker when we want to get serious about our life. For you see, Jesus accepted people as people, not as Jew or Gentile, not as Jew or Samaritan, not as saint or sinner. He was at home in the temple with the leaders of the faith. He was at home in the dwelling of the sinner. Oh, the "Righteous" were all upset that he would hobnob with such sinners. They looked down their noses at those people, but Jesus didn't. He accepted all people as people. Isn't that beautiful? That's Jesus. The Jews in his day didn't talk to those niggers. No they didn't call them niggers, they called them Samaritans. But it's the same thing—prejudice. The Jews felt the Samaritans were lesser folk. If Jesus had been that kind of a person we never would have had the beautiful story of the woman of Samaria at Jacob's Well who found salvation when a Jewish gentleman whom she learned later to be the Messiah, the Saviour of the world, accepted her as a person. How beautiful it is to accept people as people, instead of categorizing them and Archie Bunkerizing them.

We have been a long time getting close to Jesus. I think we are on the way and it is a beautiful day in which to live. Even Aristotle, smart as he was, declared that only a comparatively few people would really live lives that were worthwhile. First of all the slaves could not live happy lives because they were

the tools of other men. Then, those who die young would not find happiness because they had not lived long enough. And those who were diseased could not ever find happiness—they were too miserable. Those who were paupers, the poor people, couldn't find happiness because they just didn't have enough of the world's goods. Well now, if you take these four groups from society, there are not many left. If that is what it takes to be happy, most of us aren't going to make it. Some of us have to learn to live with poverty or near poverty. All of us have to learn to live with some problems of one kind or another. So we look beyond Aristotle to Jesus, who bases all of life upon God, and in whom the measure of time is but a segment of eternity. There are some who will not receive in this life all that common sense would dictate that they are entitled to. This is why there must be and why there will be an eternity.

Wherever Christ is present there is unity and equality in diversity, and people find the way of accepting and loving one another and living together for the enrichment of one another. Even the Jews had trouble when they were proselyting people. The Jews knew that a proselyte, one who became a Jew, could not possibly live life at the same qualitative level as one who was a blood descendant of Abraham. The Jews had their hang up with prejudice too. And of course if you happened to be a slave, your religious duties as a Jew must not interfere with your service to your Jewish master. A wife was the property of her husband. She wasn't a free and equal person. A wife was like a cow. In some countries today, a man is still worth ten women. How would you girls like to live in that kind of a country? Said Josephus, the historian, "Women are inferior to men." Now I don't care whether he is a church historian or whether he is the Pope, if it is a lie, we don't have to buy it. Look to the gospel and the spirit of the Master and you will find the difference between Jesus Christ and Archie Bunkerism. Paul looked seriously at Jesus. He knew who he was, he knew what he was, and he learned his lesson well. Paul says to the Galatians who were hung up on the law, "find love." Paul said that there is neither Jew nor Greek, for you are all one in Christ Jesus. If you would see what man can be, look to Jesus. All colors and all races meet in Him like the rivers meet in the sea.

So we come now to the place for decision. Preachers either preach for display or decision. Most of us are white. It is almost impossible for us to realize how subtle this evil of racism is . . . it's all a part of our culture. This is the moment for decision right now. Oh, I am not just inviting you to come forward, but if there is anybody here today who wants to say, I'll accept Jesus Christ and his way of life for me and I promise to support his church with my prayers, my presence, my gifts, and my service because I do believe in the Bible, I do believe in Him and I want the church, if you will come forward we will receive you this morning. But the main emphasis and the call to discipleship is not a call to come forward but to go out into the world and be disciples of Jesus Christ, the Lord of all who loves and accepts people as they are, regardless of whether they are black or white, male or female, slave or free, Protestant or Catholic, Jew or Gentile. People and people in God's sight if we understand Jesus. You are invited to go into the world as an ambassador of love accepting all people—even those with whom you must of necessity for integrity's sake disagree. Will you still accept and love each person as a child of God? If so you will be a faithful follower of Jesus, who recognizes we are all one in the family of God.

WILLIAM BENTON

HON. ROBERT N. GIAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. GIAIMO. Mr. Speaker, it is with a great sense of personal loss that I rise to call the attention of my colleagues to the career of former Senator William Benton, who departed this life March 18, 1973.

There is no way that I could fully convey to my colleagues the affection and respect which I held for this man. The knowledge that he was my friend gives me, in deepest humility, one of the greatest satisfactions of my life. I have personally conveyed my sympathy and my own sense of loss to Bill's lovely wife, Helen, but I want to share with this great body several of the highlights of the life of this outstanding man—a man who loved his country and his government with such commitment as to demand the full measure of his energies and his talents, which were many.

There are many men and women who excel in one and sometimes several fields; very few, however, achieve the total success and quality of performance as was achieved by Bill Benton in numerous and diverse areas of human endeavor. He devoted his energies and deep sense of personal concern in politics, education, philanthropy, foreign service, the arts, and his "original" career, advertising.

Bill began his many years in business as a copywriter in New York City. With Chester Bowles, another outstanding businessman and statesman hailing from my State of Connecticut, the Benton and Bowles Advertising Agency was formed, which, despite the depression, had grown into the sixth largest agency in the world by the time the two men sold their interests.

Bill then spent several years in Chicago, serving as an officer and benefactor of the University of Chicago. His business acumen led him to become owner of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, and his support and devotion to the furtherance of the cause of quality education led him to arrange for royalties from the sale of the firm's prestigious volumes to go the University of Chicago. This arrangement has raised more than $45 million for higher education over the years.

Following other success in business, Bill actively entered public service as one of the founders of the Committee for Economic Development to help rebuild Europe. He followed this endeavor with service as Assistant Secretary for Public Affairs in the Department of State, where he organized and supervised the Voice of America programs. These auspicious beginnings of his public service career were succeeded by his chairmanship of the first United States delegation to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and, some 15 years later, his service as the first U.S. Ambassador to UNESCO.

Bill Benton's political career in Connecticut began in 1949 with his appointment to the U.S. Senate, followed by victory in a special election in 1950 to fill the remainder of an existing Senate term. Gregarious and intelligent, Bill rapidly earned the respect of political leaders throughout Connecticut. With unusual courage, he spoke out early and strongly against the tide of McCarthyism, a stand which, in the minds of many observers, led to the stemming of the McCarthyism tide and the end of Bill Benton's career in public office. Largely as a result of the courage which he displayed during his Senate service, John F. Kennedy once remarked that Bill Benton would have a rightful place in a new edition of his book, "Profiles in Courage," were such ever written.

Public service continued to be the hallmark of Bill's career after he left the U.S. Senate. In education—as a trustee of numerous institutions and benefactor of many as well— in public service—as a traveler, organizer of seminars, author and lecturer; and in philanthropy—as an unselfish donator of his time and wealth, Bill Benton was a positive force in his State and Nation. He was a student of the world, as well.

It has been said that Bill Benton possessed a "Midas touch." Certainly his success in so many areas is to be admired, but one must also recognize that there are times when the man of greatest courage and conviction stands alone. Bill Benton was not afraid to speak out for his convictions, however lonely or unpopular his position might be at the time. He achieved a statesmanship level reached by very few men in our lifetime, with the gentleness and ideology of his nature always evident in his actions. The lives of all citizens of this country have been enriched because Bill Benton lived and because he cared.

If indeed a man lives as long as his goals are valued and his work remembered, Bill Benton is perpetuated in the minds and hearts of scholars everywhere.

FIRST WOMAN OPTOMETRIST IN AIR FORCE

HON. HAROLD RUNNELS

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. RUNNELS. Mr. Speaker, the many women serving in various capacities in our Armed Forces have a long tradition of excellence in all branches. One young woman in the Air Force is carving a career for herself in a field previously served only by men.

Capt. Allison Smith, of Artesia, N. Mex., has become the first woman optometrist in the Air Force. I am heartened to see that the Air Force will be able to benefit from her training and talent. Captain Smith has a tradition of optometry in her family. Her grandfather practiced in Alva, Okla., and her uncle still maintains

his optometric practice there. She was determined to keep this family tradition alive, and, following 2 years of undergraduate work at the University of New Mexico at Albuquerque, she graduated from the School of Optometry of the University of California at Berkeley. After 2 years in private practice in San Rafael, Calif., Captain Smith found herself intrigued by recruiting materials, and thus, embarked on her military career.

Captain Smith's service reflects a very healthy situation with the Armed Forces. All career options in the service, at all levels of capacity, should be open to anyone who can qualify on the basis of ability. In this way, each individual functions at his highest level of ability and the Nation benefits from this utilization of aptitude and skill.

LEGISLATION TO MAKE THE GOVERNMENT PUBLIC INFORMATION PROFESSIONAL A PUBLIC TRUST

HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, if the ideal of democracy is based upon a fully informed public, the accuracy of the information the public receives from its government will determine how close a society comes to the democratic ideal. Our society misses the mark by a wide margin, according to the unanimous report issued by the House Government Operations Committee after its Foreign Operations and Government Information Subcommittee held 41 days of hearings, listening to 142 witnesses. One of the reasons, the committee reported, is that decisions about public access to public records are not being made by public information experts.

The Federal Government's public information professionals usually are relegated to the level of press agents, called in to beat the drums and crank up the propaganda machine after the policy decisions already have been made. Those Government employees whose profession is informing the public do not even make the decisions on the single Federal law which is designed to guarantee public information.

In nearly all Federal agencies, the committee reported, requests for access to public records are channeled through the agency's lawyers, or they are handled by an administrative officer. Seldom is the public information expert even consulted; almost never does the public information expert make any decisions about the public's right to know.

"Public information experts," the committee's report concluded, "should serve as a bridge between an impersonal government and the individual citizen to make certain that he is sufficiently informed about Federal programs that may affect him and his family."

I have introduced legislation to create that bridge by establishing the public information function at the top level of every Federal agency and by permitting the public information experts to serve as the people's voice in Government with the power to make the basic advisory decisions under the Freedom of Information Act.

It is not a complicated piece of legislation. It requires each agency head to assign a chief public information officer at the top administrative level. It requires the chief public information officer to receive all requests for public records and to answer those requests. He also must set up the rules, establish the fees and approve the reports under the Freedom of Information Act. Only the head of the agency could overrule the information expert's actions.

Such a system assigns clear responsibility for proper administration of public information. And the responsibility is clearly upon an employee who leans heavily toward the public's right to know, not the Government's claim for secrecy. Following is the text of the legislation:

H.R. 7268

A bill to amend section 552 of title 5, United States Code, known as the "Freedom of Information Act"

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 552 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(d) (1) The head of each agency shall—

"(A) appoint, without regard to the provisions of this title governing appointments in the competitive service, a chief public information officer;

"(B) except in the case of an agency which is an Executive department, fix the annual rate of pay of such officer at a rate not to exceed the annual rate of pay, as in effect from time to time, of Level IV of the Executive Schedule of section 5315 of this title; and

"(C) prescribe the duties of such officer, which shall include—

"(i) receiving all requests for records made under this section to the agency by which he is employed;

"(ii) approving such requests made to such agency, subject to reversal by the head of such agency;

"(iii) approving all fees charged by such agency to persons requesting records from such agency under this section, subject to reversal by the head of such agency;

"(iv) approving any rules proposed to be published by such agency under this section, subject to reversal by the head of such agency; and

"(v) approving all reports or memoranda which may be required to be submitted to the Congress regarding activities of or expenditures for public information purposes under this section subject to approval by the head of such agency.

"(2) The chief public information officer appointed by the head of each agency under paragraph (1) shall be an assistant to such head, and in the case of an agency which is an Executive department, such officer shall be Assistant Secretary of such Executive department.

"(3) The head of each agency may appoint and fix the pay of such personnel as necessary to assist the chief public information officer carry out his duties under this subsection."

MUNTU DRUM SALUTES BLACK PRESS

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, the history of the black press predates the freedom of black people in this country. From its earliest origins until the present day, the black press has been the spokesman in this country for freedom, equality, and dignity.

The March 13 issue of the Muntu Drum of Cuyahoga Community College was dedicated to the 146th anniversary of the black press. It was fitting that one of Ohio's newest black newspapers should pay tribute to its historical predecessors in the State of Ohio.

Mr. Speaker, I want to share with my colleagues two excellent articles that appeared in this edition of the Muntu Drum. The first is "Deans of Ohio Black Journalism" and the second is "Development of Black Press in Ohio."

Both articles follow:

DEANS OF OHIO BLACK JOURNALISM

Turning to two outstanding figures, Wendell Phillips Dabney and W. O. Walker, in Ohio Black Journalism we first have Wendell Phillips Dabney who was born November 4, 1865, in Richmond, Virginia, to John and Elizabeth Dabney. Wendell Phillips Dabney was named after the celebrated abolitionists. "At the age of seven Dabney entered Lancaster School erected and named in honor of the Lancastrian System of schools then existing in England. The first school that Dabney attended was for white kids but later became a school for Black children. Wendell had a brother nine years older than he, whom he admired quite a lot.

As a little boy, he lived for the time when he could get to go out with his older brother, Clarence, who was nine years older and was allowed more freedom. Clarence, his main hero, was king among the boys in his district. No boy bothered him, for he was a good fighter and would defend himself against white or colored. Dabney's elder brother whom he admired very much was a great disappointment to him. His brother had several racial encounters with whites in Richmond, Virginia, which he ended up having to spend some time in city jail and later was ordered to leave the city of Richmond, Virginia. This incident was very much disheartening to Dabney who had held his brother very high as an idol.

After Dabney's brother left and went to New York City he started working after school with his father, who had a catering service.

One afternoon when Dabney returned home with his father, his mother informed him that he was going to Oberlin College. Dabney was shocked to hear this because he wanted to work with his father and earn more money.

Dabney went to Oberlin College where he lived off campus in a boarding school with other Black Students. He only remained at Oberlin for a year; while there he was a member of the Cademian Literary Society.

After Dabney left Oberlin he went to Richmond, but not to stay. He left Richmond, to go to Cincinnati, Ohio, where he remained for the rest of his life. While in the Queen City he became involved in politics and in 1907 felt that there was a need to have a

vehicle to speak for Blacks in that city. On February 13, 1907, he started the procedures to begin a newspaper. Dabney named it the Union, and its motto was: "For no people can become great without being united, for in the Union there is strength."

Dabney's paper was very unique because he ran it by himself up until his death in 1952. He supported the Republican Party and also did his paper until later years in his life when he came to believe in supporting individuals instead of a party.

Dabney was considered by many to be a militant editor who spoke up for Blacks in Cincinnati with his paper, but not only on the local but also on the national level.

On June 5, 1972, when Wendell Phillips Dabney died the Union also died, because there was no one to carry on with the papers.

Secondly we have William O. Walker, editor and publisher of the Call and Post, Walker was born in Selma, Alabama, on September 19, 1896. He was educated in the public schools of that city. The editor also attended Wilberforce University and later graduated from Oberlin Business College in 1918.

After graduating from Oberlin Business College, Walker worked for the Pittsburgh Courier as a reporter and later became City Editor of that paper. He remained with the Courier until 1920 when he took a position with the Norfolk Journal and Guide.

In 1932, Walker decided to come to Cleveland, Ohio to work on the almost defunct Call and Post. At the time that he came to Cleveland, the paper owed a lot of money to the Murrell Brother who had been publishing it. The paper was prepared on East 55th. Street and the press-work was done at the plant of the American Bohemian Publishing Co.

Young Walker was given $35.00 dollars a week for his services to the paper and after that he began looking for other qualified people to work on the Call and Post. Some of those people were Mrs. Ida James, Eugene "Gene" Ivey, Harry Alexander and Charles H. Loeb.

In 1940 the Call and Post was incorporated as the P.W. Publishing Company.

Today W. O. Walker is the man in charge of the Call and Post, located in Cleveland, Columbus and Cincinnati, Ohio.

The history of the Call and Post is very short, at one time in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, there existed two Black papers: Cleveland Call edited by Garrett A. Morgan who used the paper to advertise his goods. The other paper was the Cleveland Post edited by Perry B. Jackson. Both papers were in financial trouble so they merged together to form the Call and Post. This merger was later called a "marriage of their misery." With the leadership of W. O. Walker behind the Call and Post it has been in existence ever since their merger back in 1921.

In conclusion I would like to say that the Black Press was started in Ohio as the Freedoms' Journal in New York City, was started to speak out against evils and mistreatment of Blacks in the state of Ohio. Most Black newspapers in Ohio, supported the Republican Party. This was illustrated with the Union edited by Dabney and also the Call and Post edited by W. O. Walker. Since the Call and Post is a Republican paper I wonder if it had not supported Carl B. Stokes, whether it would still be in print today. For the Call and Post to support Stokes, a Democrat, one can surmise that it might have gone out of print if it hadn't supported the Black Democrat.

However, being loyal to the Republican party is what has kept a number of Black papers in existence. Dabney and Walker both were given jobs by the Republican Party.

Public issues were at the birth of the Black press, public issues remain at the heart of the Black press today and will probably in the future.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE BLACK PRESS IN OHIO

(By Ulysses Glen)

The Black Press in the state of Ohio is one hundred and twenty-nine years old. It was started sixteen years after Freedom's Journal was started in New York City by Samuel E. Cornish and John B. Russwurm. This was the first Black paper of its kind in the country.

"The Black Press in the U.S.A. is approximately half the age of the white press, having begun in 1827, when the white press already existed 137 years."

The Palladium of Liberty, the first Black newspaper in Ohio, started in the state's capital, Columbus, in 1843. The name Palladium of Liberty is similar to a number of other earlier Black newspapers. Their names let the reader know that they were speaking for someone's freedom. The following quote gives a brief history and flavor of Ohio's first Black newspaper.

"Established by a group of free Negroes in the Columbus area, the Palladium "devoted to the interests of the colored people generally, was an early, albeit, short-lived, civil rights paper. Its express purpose was to aid in the amelioration of unjust conditions in which the free Blacks of Ohio lived, to help in the attainment of the prerogatives of citizenship to which they were entitled, to agitate for the abolition of slavery. The editor, David Jenkins, had a many-faceted career. At various times, he was a farmer, barber, paper hanger, painter and glazier. As a leading participant in civil rights activities in Columbus' Black Community Jenkins was an energetic operator in the local Underground Railroad and a trustee of a Negro school society. Following service in the Civil War as recruiting officer of 127 Ohio Infantry, he was appointed to the Freedom's Bureau in Mississippi."

Since Palladium of Liberty was started before a number of Black Americans were allowed to read, one can surmise that Ohio's first Black newspaper was intended for whites who were sympathic toward the abolishment of slavery and the freeing of Blacks. The Palladium of Liberty like Freedom's Journal only existed for one year. Money was one of the reasons that a number of early Black newspapers had a short life. Blacks could not support them. If the paper was sponsored by a white group it could not speak out too militantly or the white group would stop supporting it.

There were also five other Black papers that existed in Columbus. These were: Ohio State Monitor started in 1918 and lasting until 1925; the editors were J. Wesley Carter, R. Doyle Phillips and F. H. Cook; The Ohio Torch founded October 1, 1928, the Ohio Historical Society has copies up until January, 1930; the editor was Charles H. Woode; Ohio State News was started in 1935 and existed until September 27, 1952, the editor was Llewllyn A. Coles; The Ohio Sentinel was started in 1949 and lasted until 1963, the editors were Russel A. Jackson, Theodore Coleman, and W.D. Gillespie; Columbus Call & Post started in 1965; editors are Amos H. Lynch and John Combs; Columbus Challenger is a monthly, started in 1963 and is still being published today; the editor and publisher is Robert Deal Broadus; The Onys was started in 1971 and is still in print, the editors are M.D. Dones and Jacquelyne Dorsern."

"There are seven Black newspapers published in (Cincinnati) Ohio, the first of them was started in 1863 and lasted for ten years. The name of that paper was The Colored Citizen, the editors were Joseph C. Corbin, John P. Sampson; Charles W. Bell, H. F. Leonard and Reverend George Williams. The six other papers in Cincinnati were: The Afro-Americans founded in 1882; there is no information as to how long this paper was in print. The editor of the paper was Peter H. Clark; The Union was founded in 1907 by Wendell Phillips Dabney and was in existence until his death 1952. The second part of this paper will give more information on The Union and Dabney; Cincinnati News was started December 6, 1963 and was a short lived newspaper. It was edited by Anthony C. Mathis; Cincinnati Call & Post was started in 1963 in that city. The Call and Post and editor will be discussed in my paper later. The Leader was started in 1952 and only lasted for one year. The editor was William C. Brown; Cincinnati Herald was founded in 1954 by Gerald L. and Mojorie B. Porter. The paper was in existence for eleven years."

There were a number of Black newspapers in Cleveland, Ohio, but there were only three of which any records or information can be found. They are as follows: The Gazette, which started August 25, 1883 and lasted until May 20, 1945. The editor of this paper was Harry C. Smith, who was elected for three terms to the Ohio Legislature from Cuyahoga County. The Cleveland Advocate was founded in 1914 by Ormond Forte, who is believed to be related to Roland Forte, who works on the Call and Post in Cleveland today. Forte is somewhat different from a lot of the other earlier founders of Black newspapers in Ohio where he had journalism experience having worked on the now defunct paper The Cleveland News. Another Cleveland based paper is the Call and Post which was started in 1921 and is still in existence today. I will discuss this paper in more detail in the second part of my paper on W. O. Walker, who is the editor of The Call and Post.

In Dayton, Ohio, there were five Black newspapers, the first being The Dayton Tattler, founded in 1890 and lasting until 1891. The editor of the paper was the late Paul L. Dunbar, who was also a noted poet; The Forum was started in 1913, and lasted until 1949. The editor of that paper was John H. Rives; The Ohio Daily Express was started in 1942 and was printed until 1955. It was edited by Leon W. Taylor and Paige Strickland; The New Dayton Express was started in 1964 and is still in print today. The editors were Joseph S. Saunders 1964–69, Sidney D. Davis 1969–71. Charles M. Austin, April-May 1971 and Eugene W. Tate June 1971 to present; The Advocate was started in 1971 and is still in print; the editor is Leo Cooper.

There was only information on three Black papers that were started in Toledo, Ohio: The Script was started in 1943 and lasted until 1949; the editors were W. E. Barnett and Frances Alexander; Sepia City Press was started in 1948 and was in existence for two years; the editor was O. Wendell Shaw; Bronze Raven was started in 1948 and is still in print today; the editors are Frances A. Belcher, 1948–1963 and Richard Belcher 1963 to present.

There was only one Black newspaper printed in Urban, Ohio, which was The Informer started in 1898 and existed until 1920; the editor was W. W. B. Curry.

In Hamilton, Ohio, there had been only one Black paper in existence; it was the Fort Hamilton American, started in 1940 and lasted until 1971, the editors were Olvin D. Smith 1940–68 and Judson B. Reece 1969–71.

In the steel city of the world, Youngstown, Ohio, there have been three Black newspapers; two of the three are still in print today. The following two papers are being printed in Youngstown, Critiqula started in 1969, a bi-monthly phamphlet format paper, the editor is not listed; Mohoning Valley Challengers was founded in 1967 and it's

editor is Nathaniel C. Lee. The third paper in Youngstown was the Buckey Review which was J. Maznard Dickerson, William Vaughn, Nathaniel R. Jones and B. B. Burrowes.

A REWARD FOR LONG AND FAITHFUL SERVICE

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, for a number of years I have attempted to call to public attention cases of public servants who dared to buck the bureaucracy in the interest of a more fair and efficient Federal service. Sad to say, in most cases their efforts, however meritorious, eventually resulted in their leaving Government employment.

In his column, Washington Watch, of April 15, 1973, veteran reporter and Pulitzer Prize winner, Clark Mollenhoff, recounts the latest developments in the case of John D. Hemenway, the Foreign Service Officer who battled the State Department for several years in appealing his selection out at that department. Having transferred to the Department of Defense in 1969, Mr. Hemenway was ousted on April 13 despite his qualifications for serving in a useful capacity in DoD.

I insert at this point the abovementioned column by Clark Mollenhoff as it appeared in the Richmond Times-Dispatch on Sunday, April 15, 1973:

RICHARDSON PERSISTS IN ATTEMPT TO FIRE EXPERT

(By Clark R. Mollenhoff)

WASHINGTON.—By all odds, John D. Hemenway is the kind of bright and hardworking foreign affairs expert who should be moving forward in the Nixon administration.

Instead, this 46-year-old Rhodes scholar, with fluency in Russian and German, is on the way out because he is persona non grata with Elliot L. Richardson, the new U.S. secretary of defense.

The first attempt at firing Hemenway was made for Richardson even before he was confirmed as defense secretary, through his alter ego, Jonathan Moore, who had preceded Richardson from the Health, Education and Welfare Department to Defense. Moore's job was to eliminate men who had been on Defense Secretary Melvin Laird's team.

Many of Laird's men bowed out voluntarily because they didn't want to serve under Richardson. But Hemenway wanted to remain as a confidential assistant in the International Security Affairs Division for Europe, in which he had served since 1969.

Moore bungled the first attempt at firing Hemenway in January, and has missed again, since then. However, a third effort to fire Hemenway may be made in such a way that it will not be vulnerable to charges of irregularities that made the first two attempts fail.

One might rightly ask what Hemenway, a bright Republican conservative foreign affairs expert, has done to merit such special attention from Richardson and his personnel expert.

The answer is that Hemenway has fought vigorously for his rights to a State Department job as a career Foreign Service officer, from which he was "selected out" (discharged) by the Johnson administration in its last days in office.

In the first weeks that Richardson was undersecretary of state in 1969. Hemenway's appeal from the "selection out" routinely fell under Richardson's authority. Richardson and Moore, who was his man Friday on such matters at the State Department in those days, gave the case to the same personnel division that Hemenway contended was involved in lying, falsifying records and otherwise illegally trying to fire him.

Richardson and Secretary of State William P. Rogers then rubber-stamped the personnel division's finding that it had acted properly in selecting Hemenway out.

Defense Secretary Laird and assistant secretary Warren Nutter recognized Hemenway for the bright and capable Foreign Service expert that he was and hired him, at essentially the same level, in the International Securities Affairs Division.

But, Hemenway still had career job rights at the State Department and he pursued these to force the first grievance hearing in history. In filing that action with the Civil Service Commission, Hemenway challenged the judgment of Undersecretary of State Richardson.

In one of the most painful and drawn out proceedings in the history of the State Department, Hemenway proved that top personnel officials in the State Department had sworn to false records.

The three-man hearing panel that heard the Hemenway case, in effect, found for him on all counts and ruled that he should be reinstated, promoted, have his legal fees paid and receive an apology, and that letters of retraction be sent to those who had been officially misinformed about the Hemenway case by the State Department press office.

The three-man panel also ruled that Hemenway's records should be expunged of the untruthful and derogatory material the personnel division had wrongfully placed in his file.

The decision meant that Undersecretary Richardson and his special assistant Moore had been wrong and had incorrectly advised the secretary of state. It also branded them as having major responsibility for a grave injustice.

However, the State Department simply set aside the hearing decision and refused to implement any of the recommendations favorable to Hemenway. There were letters of protest filed for Hemenway by both the most conservative and most liberal congressmen and senators, including liberal Democrat William Proxmire of Wisconsin and Republican Strom Thurmond, an ultra conservative from South Carolina. Sen. Henry M. Jackson, a moderately liberal Democrat from Washington, also spoke for Hemenway.

Undersecretary John Irwin finally agreed to a half-hearted apology to Hemenway and to pay his legal fees. But he refused to reinstate him as a Foreign Service officer and then left for Paris, where he is now serving as U.S. ambassador.

It is doubtful that any of those who have taken part in the elimination of Hemenway from the State and Defense departments can match his record as an honor graduate from the U.S. Naval Academy in 1951 with a B.S. in engineering; a B.A. degree in politics, philosophy and economics from the University of Oxford in 1954, and a master's degree from Oxford in international studies in 1956.

The Milwaukee, Wis., native is fluent in Russian and German and served in Moscow and Berlin as a career Foreign Service officer between 1954 and 1969.

Hemenway enlisted in the Army as a private at 17 in World War II and at 18 was commissioned a second lieutenant on the battlefield. He returned to the Naval Academy in 1947.

Hemenway is a man who has proved he will stand out in any crowd. Yet, the Nixon administration blundered early by going along with the Foreign Service crowd from Democratic administrations that used provably foul means to fire capable, but independent, conservatives who occasionally dissented but who usually proved they were right.

If there are too few bright conservatives in the State Department, Elliot Richardson has a large measure of the responsibility. If the few brighter conservatives who survived under Defense Secretary Laird are being eliminated, it is the direct responsibility of Richardson. If it is permitted to continue, President Nixon cannot avoid a measure of responsibility when both liberals and conservatives in Congress have joined in protest.

COMMENTS ON OEO—CBS MORNING NEWS

HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, on the CBS morning news of Thursday, April 5, 1973, M. Stanton Evans, editor of the Indianapolis News, presented his thoughts on the recent activities of OEO.

I include Mr. Evans' remarks in the RECORD:

OPINION BY M. STANTON EVANS

JOHN HART. Here's an opinion from M. Stanton Evans, Editor of the Indianapolis News. His own opinion.

M. STANTON EVANS. Efforts by the Nixon Administration to phase out the controversial Office of Economic Opportunity have met with predictable cries of outrage and alarm.

To hear the critics tell it, Nixon and acting OEO Director Howard Phillips are abolishing everything that is good and holy in government, showing their insensitivity to poor people and the needs of the disadvantaged.

A glance at the record and the Phillips' pruning operation, however, suggests an entirely different weeding.

Phillips states the matter well when he asserts that this agency has not done much to lift people out of poverty. Some grants tended to foster the welfare ethic rather than the work ethic. Too much of the anti-poverty money has gone into setting up an administrative bureaucracy, rather than into the hands of the poor.

Some of the poverty bureaucrats have responded to Phillips' program by filing suit to prevent the abolition of their jobs. An all too typical example of the attitude which prevails in certain governmental circles. Obviously these tax consumers feel they have a standing entitlement to other people's money and will defend to the death their right to sponge a living off the working taxpayer.

North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms observes that since 1964, some $2.8 billion has been poured out for OEO projects and that in some instances up to 85 percent of the money for local programs has gone to pay for bureaucratic salaries.

The results of this expenditure in terms of generating local effort have been poor indeed. Particularly when compared to private self-help endeavors in comparable areas of concern.

Citizens tired of seeing their money used in this fashion should let their congressmen know how they feel and urge support of the Phillips' crackdown.

HART. That's his opinion, not necessarily CBS's, or the station you're watching this morning.

REAL STORY OF AGRICULTURE NOT BEING TOLD TODAY

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, on March 29, 1973, Arnold Paulson, executive director of the National Organization for Raw Materials, Inc.—NORM—testified before the House Committee on Agriculture.

Mr. Harlan Vander Zee, president of NORM followed Mr. Paulson's presentation with remarks of his own.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert into the RECORD the statements of these two gentlemen, as well as a few complementary tables and a statement by Mr. Walter A. Bowers, also of NORM. I urge all my colleagues to read over the statements:

REMARKS OF ARNOLD E. PAULSON

Thank you very much Congressman Zwach, Mr. Chairman, and distinguished members of the House Committee on Agriculture. My name is Arnold Paulson, and as Congressman Zwach has said, I am from Granite Falls, Minnesota. With me here today, and on my right is Harlan Vander Zee, the national president of the National Organization for Raw Materials, Inc. Hereford, Texas. To my left is Mr. Walter Bowers, from Yates Center, Kansas. Mr. Bowers has distinguished himself with many years of service here in Washington, having served with the Treasury Department, the Pentagon Department of Commerce, and several other government agencies. Mr. Harry Rash, Banker from Thayer, Kansas is also with us, but he is attending another hearing at this time.

With your permission, we would like to split our testimony. I am going to deviate from the 15 pages of testimony and supplements that I have turned in because it is much too lengthy to cover in the time allotted. Also with your permission, I would like to adlib and make a few comments to the testimony as presented.

Our testimony today is in direct conflict with public sympathy. Everyone today, it seems is screaming about the high cost of food without really knowing the facts behind the cost of food. The only way the consumers of America can really expect a cut in food costs without taking it out of the hide of the producers is by all of the working people, labor and management, to go on strike for lower wages.

Labor, interest costs and taxes are the basic cost factors for everything the consumer buys. So, it seems ridiculous for the public to jump on the most efficient producers, and the lowest income segments of the economy the moment they get their first increase in wages in the last twenty years.

Probably the responsibility for public ignorance is due to the method of tabulating the Consumer Price Index and the Wholesale Price Index. The government revises these indexes every ten years, and both of these indexes are brought into balance with a lead pencil, as if everything is equal. So I would recommend that the first order of business, in my opinion, should be to revise the Wholesale Price Index and the Consumer Price Index to an honest, realistic base period equal to 100, so that the general public will know the horrible dislocation that exists between the consumer cost of living and the prices that are in balance with the wage and tural producers.

If we check the records and revise the consumer price index to reality, the consumer will discover that the cost of living is much higher than the government indexes reveal, and that agricultural income is much lower than the wholesale price indexes reveal.

Now, the real story of agriculture is not being told in America today, and the real story of our country's problems are not being told; and these stories must be told if we are to find lasting solutions to our nation's economic and monetary problems.

We are not here today representing the best interests of agriculture alone. We are here today in spite of agriculture. We are here for America. The reason we are so vitally interested and concerned about agriculture, and the income of raw material producers is because agriculture in itself is the greatest contributor and creator of new wealth for our National Economy.

We can trace all of our nation's domestic and international monetary problems to the cause and treatment of agriculture, and if we had the time this morning, we could prove this mathematically by using the official records of government. The problem we are faced with today, both in agriculture and the consumer problem are economic, monetary problems—domestically and international—and can be traced directly to the treatment of agriculture.

It boils down to one specific thing—New Wealth. What is it? Where does it come from? What is it worth? All of the consumer goods are high today, not just food, and these foods are not high because of high farm prices. Our cost of living is high today because of low farm prices over the years, and because of the amount of New Wealth that our economy losses each year as a result of the underpayment to agriculture. By underpayment, I mean honest prices for the cost of production plus a reasonable profit for the producers risk and work.

Now the reason that I mentioned earlier, that all of our domestic and international problems can be traced to agriculture is because we have completely ignored, or forgotten the value of New Wealth. Every year this nation must produce, create, or generate X number of billions of dollars of New Wealth to operate a solvent, stable economic system.

Where does new wealth come from? What is new wealth? The word new tells us it has to be something New that was not in existance before, and the only thing new that comes into being during the course of the year is our raw material production. All of science has failed to produce something from nothing. Money is not wealth. Money will merely purchase wealth. People want goods for their money—real wealth. Money would be worthless if it wasn't for what money will purchase! Yet, for some reason we have made economics the Flow of Money—rather than the flow of goods and services.

The real wealth that God gave humanity is not money but Raw Materials in the form of agriculture that we take from the land, and other raw materials from the sea, the mines, the forests and the air. This is the only thing New, and this is the New Wealth that we bring into being each year. Its value is nothing more than the price we pay for it in monetary terms. So, when we underpay ourselves as a nation for this New Wealth, it means that we have operating losses throughout the entire economy that have to be covered up by increased debt expansion, and increased burdens of interest. This is why our nation has gotten into the crisis it is in today.

All raw material prices must be at full honest parity, not for the producer alone, but for the entire Nation. By parity we mean prices actually being received by Agricul- interest costs that makes up our Consumer Price Index and Cost of Living.

The Nation must monetize real wealth. We can no longer afford to monetize debt and call this prosperity. It simply boils down to a matter of how money gets into circulation. Money is either earned into circulation from production, or borrowed into circulation via debt expansion. Which of the two makes the most sense?

We have become the greatest producing nation the world has ever known, so production is not our problem. Our problem has been our ability for the entire system to exchange this production with one another without the need of excessive debt expansion . . . to buy with earned income, rather than with borrowed income.

What has happened over the years as a result of low farm prices is that the entire nation has ben forced to substitute excessive debt expansion in order to exchange production with one another. When the nation fails to create, or earn the earned income necessary to exchange production of goods and services, then the goods either end up as surplus in the midst of want, or goods and services must be purchased with excessive credit.

Every segment of society is interdependent upon each other for the sale of their excess production. Unless the buying power of all segments are in balance with one another it becomes impossible to exchange production with one another without someone being forced to borrow excessively, or they are forced to go without, thus causing either surplus production, or unemployment.

One other item I would like to make clear that is not in my testimony. We are being told constantly that the farmers are only receiving about 40 percent of the consumer food dollar. This is not true. The farmers only receive about five cents (5 cents) of the food dollar, the other is wage and interest costs. From the 40 percent the farmers receive in gross income, the producer must pay for his chemicals, fertilizer, gasoline and all operating expenses. This is all going to the agri-business segments. The producers only get a nickel out of the food dollar for themselves.

Out of the nickel, the producer must buy his own food, clothing and shelter, make the mortgage payments on debt, meet the interest costs, support his church, pay his own personal income tax to state and federal governments . . . Not out of the 40 percent, but out of the nickel. If we will check the records we will discover that consumer income is the biggest cost factor of everything the consumer buys, including food. I think this is the story that should be told to the housewives who are on strike protesting because of high food costs.

In 1972, 79.8 percent of the total national income was wages, salaries and net interest profits on savings. The remaining 20.2 percent went to all of owners of private enterprise business units, such as corporations, small business, professionals, rental income of property, net farm and the self employed. Out of this 20 percent they had to pay all of their living costs, income taxes, etc. So it is easy to see that wages and interest is the biggest cost factor of everything—not the raw materials.

In closing I would like to make another comment. We hear a lot of talk about the imbalance in payment from trade and international deficits. Have we ever read in the newspapers about the horrible dislocation and balance of payment of trade between Metro-America and Rural America? This is the crisis of America today! The income of the millions of people who live in the rural areas and towns, and the prices they must pay for goods and services they must buy from Metro-America. Compare the buying power of the two areas and we will discover why we have unemployment, welfare and massive deficits. This is the dislocation that America must discover first, even before our international monetary problems, and the exchange values of currency, that merely

protects the International Financiers from taking their losses.

Gentlemen, I sincerely want to thank you for the opportunity of being here. I wish I could spend 4 or 5 days telling our story, but the time is limited. I trust you will read the testimony that we submitted and the supplementary article that appears in Acres, U.S.A., on pages 15, 16, 17, and 18. At this time I would like to turn my time over to Mr. Walter Bowers who will conclude our presentation. Thank you.

TESTIMONY OF HARLAN VANDER ZEE
HEREFORD, TEX.

HARLAN VANDER ZEE. Thank you Mr. Chairman. I saw Mr. Graham Purcell walk into the room. I would like to make a comment that we certainly lost a champion to agriculture when he was not reelected. This is no reflection against another champion Bob Price whom we all respect highly. It would have been a loss to agriculture to have lost either of them. I certainly hope to see Mr. Purcell back in a position of authority sometime in the future. He is a fine supporter of the cause.

A lot has been said that farmers should come to Washington to present a united front and let the Congressmen know what they want. It is so difficult to get two million farmers to agree, but honestly gentlemen, their one major problem is income. Their one problem is PRICE. They have no other major problems. When their income is sufficient, and their prices are adequate and fair at a parity level, then all of their other problems would disappear, big ones. That is what the National Organization for Raw Materials, Inc. (NORM) is all about, and almost only what NORM supports, is fairness, and honesty, and equity.

I think Mr. Webster and his dictionary said when I looked up the word "parity" in an old copy, and again in a newer edition, the definition had to do with farmers being paid for not doing anything, and that is the concept of the American public today. This is not the definition of parity at all. Parity has become a dirty word because of misunderstanding, it seems to mean welfare, it means give away, socialism and terms like that.

NORM supports the honest concept of parity, which means a standard of measurement of value of exchange. Parity means receiving equitable prices for goods exchanged for other goods at equal values. Parity must exist if we are to have a balanced, stable, solvent economic system.

Agriculture needs and must have a loan program to guarantee that the purchases of farm commodities will be on an equitable basis. Agriculture needs a law making it unlawful for the trades to pay less than a parity price for farm commodities. Just as Mr. Bowers has said, a law like the minimum wage law that makes it unlawful to hire labor for less than a specific price. Then there will not be any need for government subsidies.

The farmers don't want subsidies, honestly they don't. It is embarrassing. It is degrading somewhat for a man to have to receive a green check in the mailbox. BUT, it is necessary until our nation decides that we are willing to provide and pay what commodities are worth at the marketplace to keep this man in a level with the other segments of the economy.

Norm supports the concept that it is necessary to control our production with the needs of domestic use and exports, and also a reasonable emergency food and fiber reserve for both humans and livestock. We cover this in our printed testimony.

I certainly do thank you for permitting us to appear here today. We have over run our time, but we certainly do appreciate your attention.

I challenge the American public to further explore the thinking of this man, Arnold Paulson. This has not jumped up in a few years. It has been many years. A man named Carl Wilken, whom I imagine some of you gentlemen know, began this study in the '30's. He has testified before this committee on many occasions prior to his death in December 1968. This is the continuation of that research.

The only challenge that we might extend today is, "that if things we are now doing are good, why aren't they working?" And, I think some very good thoughts can be derived from further exploration of Mr. Arnold Paulson's thinking. Thank you!

[Dollar amounts in billions]

Component	Total accumulated income 22 years	Average per year	Percent increase	Parity (percent)
National income	$11,192.00	$508.73	139.12	87.33
Wages and interest	8,344.90	379.30	173.80	
Corporation profits after taxes	826.90	37.58	84.60	67.42
Small business and professions	871.40	39.61	78.10	65.04
Rental income persons	380.30	17.29	118.81	79.91
Gross farm income	955.80	43.45	33.92	48.91
Net interest profits of persons	331.90	15.08	728.57	
Wages and compensation	8,013.00	364.23	166.44	
Private enterprise	2,386.80	108.49	66.24	60.71
Net farm income	308.20	14.01	−5.09	

Note: Table illustrates the increase of income for each of the segments of the economy from a base period of 5 years, 1946–50=100 through the following 22-year period, 1951–72 inclusive.

Comparing all other segments in ratio to the increase in wages and interest costs over the 22 years the following shortages resulted. Or, had other segments kept in balance with wages and interest increase costs their income should have been greater.

National income—$1,622.5 billion income shortage.

Private enterprise—$1,544.18 billion income shortage.

Small business and professions—$468.16 billion income shortage.

Corporation profits after taxes—$399.50 billion income shortage.

Net farm income—$580.80 billion income shortage.

Gross farm income—$998.10 billion income shortage.

Rental income of persons—$95.48 billion income shortage.

As a result of these operating losses, the Gross Public and Private Debt increased nearly $1,700 billion. The governments lost all of the tax revenue from these losses.

National income only increased 139.12 percent, not sufficient to cover the increase in wages and interest costs of 173.8 percent, so it is only natural to assume the loss had to be covered either by debt expansion, loss of profits, or both. As a result, government could not balance its budgets, liquidity crisis resulted.

ARNOLD E. PAULSON.

OPERATING LOSS STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY

From the base period years 1946–1950=100 Through 1972

By: Arnold E. Paulson, Executive Director, National Organization for Raw Materials, Inc., 220–10th Avenue, Granite Falls, Minnesota 56241. Tel. 612–564–2555.

The following five year period 1946–1950 inclusive has been used to illustrate the Operating Losses of the National Economy up to the end of 1972. This analysis is based upon employing Wages, Salaries and Interest as the cost factor of operating the economy.

The following data illustrates the average income per year for the base period of 1946–1950. Had the economy of the United States remained in the same ratio of balance from 1951 thru the end of 1972, then all segments of the economy should have had the same percentage ratio increase of income . . . to be in balance with their increase in operating costs.

Example: During this 22 year period from the end of 1950, the National Income to be in balance with operating costs should have increased at the same ratio as the wages and interest. The very same should have applied to all of Private Enterprise which has the responsibility of meeting every dollar of wages, salaries, interest and taxes paid by everyone—including governments and all government employees.

Unless Private Enterprise earns its fair share of the national income, then shortages occur resulting in lost profits and savings vitally essential for Private Enterprise segments to invest capital to create new jobs, build and replace plants and factories for expansion. When these shortages occur, Private Enterprise is either forced to borrow and go into debt to meet increased wages, and for expansion, or curtail employment and expansion. As a result the Federal Government has a direct loss of Tax Revenue from this lost income which either has to be borne by the employees, or by government deficits.

(In billions)

Component:	*1946–50 Average*
National income—average for years 1946–1950=100	$212.74
Average Wage and Salary Payments, Compensation to Wages and Salaries, plus Net Interest Profits of persons	138.52
Wages and Salaries, and Compensation Payments Without Interest	136.70
Compensation, or Supplements to Wages and Salaries	6.40
Private enterprise income average 1946–1950	65.26

Private Enterprise Income represents the income of Corporation Profits after Taxes, Rental Income of Persons, Small Business, Professionals, Net Farm.

The following statistics represent the average income 1946–1950 (per year) =100 for the segments listed.

(In billions)

Gross Farm Income	$32.440
Net Farm Income	14.760
Small Business and Professions	22.240
Rental Income of Persons	7.900
Corporation Profits Before Taxes	29.300
Corporation Profits After Taxes	20.360

TO RESTORE THE ECONOMIC BALANCE OF AMERICA

(By Walter A. Bowers)

Economic balance of this nation can be restored by Congress and the President

working together within five simple guidelines:

1. Farmers (producers of food and fiber products) must receive in money ten (10%) percent of the gross national product (GNP).

2. Minimum prices must be established each year based on the cost of living in the same way that wages for labor are tied to the cost of living.

3. The value of paper money should be stabilized by never issuing more than $10.00 in paper money for each $1.00 of gold in Fort Knox.

4. Federal debt should never exceed twenty (20%) percent of total assessed value of property in the United States.

5. The Federal budget should never exceed twenty (20%) percent of the national income (NI) of the United States.

Great civilizations of the past have disappeared from the pages of history and their temples and palaces reduced to sand dunes and rubble when rulers failed to allocate to farmers a proper proportion of the national income. The prophets Amos and Ezekiel warned that Israel would fall because of failure to share properly national income with farmers. The Roman Empire fell when slaves working for nothing on corporate farms forced the free and independent farmer and his family into the welfare and food stamp programs of the cities.

Tying minimum farm product prices to the fluctuations of the cost of living related to an honest parity base would immediately double gross income of American farms from $65 billion to $130 billion. NORM economic studies show new wealth produced by farmers multiplies seven times as it permeates through the national economy from producer to consumer. Seven times the $65 billion increase would add $450 billion to the nation's gross national product (GNP), and $400 billion would be added to the national income (NI). Since the Federal government is estimated to take twenty-five (25%) percent of the National income in taxes, doubling farm income would produce $100 billion more in Federal tax revenues. With this additional $100 billion Congress could wipe out the President's $45 billion 1972–1973 deficit then could pay off ten (10%) percent of the $450 billion Federal debt and still leave the President a surplus to finance additional revenue sharing and city welfare programs.

To stabilize the value of the dollar issuance of paper money should be limited to ten (10) times the $10 billion of gold in Fort Knox (valued at $40.00 per ounce). No further devaluation of the dollar should be permitted. No further shipments of gold out of the United States should be allowed. All United States gold should be brought home from the I.M.F., Export-Import Bank, World Bank or other foreign depositaries. No American farm products should be sold abroad below honest parity prices and payment therefore must be in gold at $35.00 per ounce. Congress should order cancellation of sales of products to Russia and China on credit and payment required in gold at $35.00 per ounce. Tariff surcharges should be imposed immediately on all imports equal in percentage to the decline in value of the dollar below $35.00 paper per ounce of gold. This rule should apply especially to countries with which the United States now has an unfavorable trade balance and particularly to Japan, Germany and those from whom the United States buys minerals.

Within the borders of the United States, Congress should immediately require the change of color of all paper money from green to blue within ninety days. Congress should forbid acceptance of any outstanding green paper money from any foreign country except in payment (at face value at rate of $35.00 per ounce of gold) of outstanding $18 billion World War I debts, $100 billion World War II loans and lend-lease balances and $200 billion Marshall plan reconstruction and Truman plan underdeveloped nation obligations. When the supply of green paper money is exhausted, the United States can thereafter accept gold at $35.00 per ounce in further settlement of debts.

From this date forward the rule in the United States should be "Buy American". Shipments overseas should be made in American owned ships. Travel abroad should be only in American planes to countries that will accept American money at $35.00 per ounce of gold. There should be no further "favored nation" import agreements on any food or fiber products. American workmen should buy American products—they will get better repairs and service on such products from American workmen. And in permitting import of any foreign made products only those countries that pay wage scales equal to American wage scales should be considered.

From the $100 billion annual increase in Federal revenues made possible by doubling gross farm income, the Federal debt should be reduced $45 billion or ten (10%) percent annually until Federal debt is reduced below twenty (20%) percent of total assessed valuation in America.

The Federal budget should never exceed twenty (20%) percent of national income (NI).

To summarize, five simple guidlines would keep the economy of the United States in proper balance:

1. 10% of the gross national product for farming.

2. Minimum prices for farm products tied to the cost of living.

3. Paper money limited to ten times gold.

4. Federal debt limited to 20% of assessed valuation.

5. Federal budget limited to 20% of national income.

These five simple guidelines would restore world respect for the United States and would restore the position among nations of the American dollar. These simple rules would demonstrate how a free people can insure equitable distribution of national income between city and farm people, can stabilize the value of money, can control the use of credit and can control functions and activities of government.

WIDESPREAD SUPPORT FOR VOTER REGISTRATION REFORM

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, in my involvement in voter registration reform, I have been in contact with and have received support from individuals and organizations working in this field. University professors, State election officials, civil rights groups, labor unions, and concerned citizens have written me expressing support for my proposal to reform our system of voter registration. I would like to share these correspondences with my colleagues. They clearly point out the concern that exists for enactment of progressive laws for voter registration.

The correspondence follows:

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE,

Hon. CHARLES B. RANGEL,
House of Representatives, Congress of the United States, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN RANGEL: Thank you very much for your letter of January 18. In general, I strongly approve of the objectives and methods of the "Voter Registration Rights Act of 1973", so far as these are briefly described in your letter. I would like to know a good deal more, and would welcome a copy of the introduced bill, along with any hearings which may be held on the subject during the 93rd Congress. In particular, perhaps, I like the notion of providing monetary incentives to secure compliance—since, as we all know, such incentives tend to get results without an excess of hard feelings.

You may have seen a copy of my *Washington University Law Quarterly article*, "A Political Scientists and Voting Rights Litigation: The Case of the 1966 Texas Registration Statute." In case you haven't, I am enclosing one of my few remaining offprints. The article, as it seems to me, deals with a number of of the most important issues which surround this entire area of public law. I hope it may be of use.

Contemplation of the personal-registration requirement and its measurable burdens on the poorer half of our population has led me to the conclusion that it should be abolished altogether as depriving identifiable classe of people of equal protection of the laws. A uniform enrollment procedure conducted by public authority (whether state or federal) should be substituted; this would bring the United States into line with practice which exists in one variant or another throughout the entire Western world.

Naturally, I recognize that this a "radical" approach to the problem ("radical" in the 1867, 40th-Congress sense of the term). Still, to argue for it may be to sharpen the issue enough so that some effective action can be taken by Congress, even if it falls short of some doctrinaire ideal.

Again, I am happy to endorse the purposes and methods of your proposed legislation, as stated in your letter. If I can help in any further way, please don't hesitate to let me know.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS,
Washington, D.C., January 22, 1973.

Hon. CHARLES B. RANGEL,
U. S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: This is in reply to your letter of January 15, 1973 concerning voter registration. I am glad to know of your plans to introduce the "Voter Registration Rights Act of 1973."

As I pointed out in testimony before the House Subcommittee on Census and Statistics on March 22, 1972 the AFL–CIO "is deeply interested in standardizing and modernizing voting laws and has been for many years." In the last session of Congress we testified in favor of and urged Congress to enact Senator Gale McGee's bill, S. 2574 to establish a national system of voter registration by mail for voting in federal elections, and to encourage the states to adopt similar systems for voting in state and local elections. Because of your interest in this legislation I am enclosing herewith a copy of our statements before the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee on registration and voting legislation on October 19, 1971 and before the House Subcommittee on Census and Statistics on March 22, 1972.

From these statements I think you will see that efforts to improve and modernize present voter registration machinery have the strong support of the AFL–CIO.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY,
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES,
Evanston, Ill., February 23, 1973.

Hon. CHARLES B. RANGEL,
House of Representatives.
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN RANGEL: I strongly support your efforts to modernize this coun-

try's out-dated registration procedures. I believe that people are becoming increasingly aware of the problems involved in tolerating archaic practices that systematically discriminate against minorities, youth, the less educated, the mobile, those in the military service, Americans living abroad and the poor.

The present system is a national disgrace. Instead of facilitating voting, it effectively serves to bar people from exercising their right to the franchise. The members not participating in elections run to the tens of millions—approximately 63 million in 1972 alone.

Our registration laws are relics of another age—often simply experiments in certifying people to vote or, on occasions, in moralizing. When the pressures that brought about the legislation passed and the problem either disappeared or were amenable to other and more direct correctives, the laws instituting the practices were ont repealed. They simply formed an accumulated set of barriers to a decently progressive and effective registration system; an area in which the United States sadly lags behind other major democracies.

I believe that tens of millions of potential voters need a modern and more rational means for enrolling. I feel that our states and localities need some recognition of the tremendous burden placed on them and would welcome some help. Consequently, I warmly endorse your proposal for a national mail registration system, coordinated by the Bureau of the Census. Monetary incentives to the states would represent an appreciated assistance to them in executing their duties.

Once registered, people vote. The goal of an easily accessible franchise, open to all who care to exercise it, strikes me as the objective of a democracy. We do not now have such a political system. Your proposed bill would move us towards a truly open and representative ballot.

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION,
Washington, D.C., January 23, 1973.

Hon. CHARLES B. RANGEL,
Cannon House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN RANGEL: The National Education Association has been and will continue to be a strong supporter of a national registration system for federal elections. Therefore, we are pleased to learn that you plan to sponsor the "Voter Registration Rights Act of 1973."

I understand that Rosalyn Hester of our staff has been in touch with one of your staff members, Ken Garfield, regarding this legislation. Recently, at Mr. Garfield's request, Ms. Hester forwarded some of our materials to your office. However, I am enclosing a copy of the testimony we presented before the Subcommittee on Census and Statistics of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee last May. The statement sets forth the rationale for NEA support. I hope you find the testimony helpful.

We look forward to working with you and your colleagues to bring about the enactment of a National System of Voter Registration.

With best wishes.

CITIZENS' RESEARCH FOUNDATION,
Princeton, N.J., February 7, 1973.

Hon. CHARLES B. RANGEL,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN RANGEL: Thank you for your letter of January 18th, regarding the Voter Registration Rights Act of 1973. The Citizens' Research Foundation is not an advocacy organization and does not take a position with reference to legislation.

However, I have always felt that governments, federal and/or state, should take the responsibility for the registration of voters. As you know, in all other mature democracies in the world, governments are responsible to keep the voters' rolls current. It is only in the U.S. that this responsibility devolves upon the citizen, the candidate, and the party. This, in turn, increases costs for candidates and parties and leads them to seek out assistance from special interests.

There is no question in my mind that the government should do more than just encourage registration and voting. It should take the responsibility of registering voters on a non-partisan basis.

With best wishes,

STATE OF ALASKA,
Juneau, Alaska, January 29, 1973.

Mr. CHARLES B. RANGEL,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. RANGEL: I was delighted to learn of your efforts toward improving the electoral process. Enclosed is a phamphlet which was prepared by the American University Institute of Election Administration for the U.S. General Accounting Office.

It is my feeling and the feeling of others about the responsibility of conducting elections that a nationwide effort is needed to upgrade the entire election process. Toward this end, the first national meeting in New Orleans is being held on February 1 and 2 to discuss in detail the problems encountered in the last national election. Attending this meeting will be lieutenant governors and/or secretaries of state representing each one of our 50 states. I am hopeful that many worthwhile suggestions and proposals will be forthcoming as a result of this conference.

In Alaska, we are developing a pilot program that will see us attempt to effect what we call an "on-line voter registration system" utilizing computer capabilities already in existence. We feel that this program would have national application and would be very interested in discussing the matter with you, soon.

Your stated approach of "the strengthening of local systems" is an excellent one.

LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE
ON CIVIL RIGHTS,
Washington, D.C., February 1, 1973.

Hon. CHARLES B. RANGEL,
House of Representatives, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN RANGEL: The Leadership Conference does support, in principle, the kind of expedited voter registration you seek to put into law. In the last Congress the Conference worked for passage of Senator Gale McGee's Voter Registration Bill. From your description, your measure sounds similar to his, so I'm sure we would be interested in examining it. Please send us a copy and I will be glad to refer it to our Legislative Committee.

ASHEVILLE, N.C.,
February 18, 1973.

DEAR MR. RANGEL: I was happy to read your letter in the N.Y. Times of 2/9 relative to legislation to opening up registration for voting. I urged registration by mail to my N.C. State legislators but got no takers.

When I read of % of voters in other western democracies I wonder about the U.S.

Good luck to you in your efforts. We are transplanted N.Y. Cityites.

CONCERN OVER EVENTS IN THE KINGDOM OF SIKKIM

HON. CLARENCE D. LONG

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. LONG of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, I want to express my deep concern over recent events in the Kingdom of Sikkim, one of India's small neighbors. I have several newspaper accounts which I shall include at the end of my statement and which show that the Government of India has exploited its dominance over Sikkim in order to destroy the independence of that tiny nation and disrupt its legal government.

India has a strategic interest in Sikkim, which borders on Communist-controlled Tibet and which is located on one of the major Himalayan passes from China to India. India had an impressive presence in Sikkim even before the recent disturbances there. Two Indian divisions are garrisoned in Sikkim. In addition, India controls Sikkim's communications and foreign relations. Most internal affairs had been left to the Sikkimese Government. An election in January of this year endorsed the administration of the Chogyal or king. Opposition leaders, charging election-rigging and government mismanagement, staged demonstrations rather than protesting the election results through the legal means available to them. Observers familiar with the Sikimese electoral system largely discount the likelihood of election-rigging. They point out that Indian magistrates would be called on to referee any disputed election results.

The Indian press and official representative of the Indian Government have reported that thousands of demonstrators led by the opposition parties have converged on the capitol and that violence and a breakdown of control by the Government of Sikkim have occurred.

However, according to representatives of the Government of Sikkim, there has been very little violence. The Chogyal and his son, in a telephone conversation to London, discussed their administration's efforts to avoid incidents which could cause communal strife. They also revealed that there had been considerable pressure by Indian representatives to turn over control of the Government to India. Since that time, telephone service to Sikkim has reportedly been discontinued, and India has taken over control of the administration of the country. Foreign newsmen have been barred from the kingdom.

India's actions during this 5-week period have been extremely suspicious. It has been generally recognized that the bulk of the people participating in the demonstration are of Nepali origin. Yet there apparently were no effective steps taken by either the Indian Army in Sikkim or by authorities in India to prevent a flood of Nepali demonstrators from India's northern provinces from crossing into Sikkim.

Similarly, the Indian Government and press have been sympathetic to the opposition and critical of the legal administration and the royal family. Repeating opposition charges, they have frequently referred to the royal palace as gold topped—it has a red tin roof—and to the Gangtok football stadium where demonstrators camped as a royal polo ground. The Indians estimated that there were 20,000 demonstrators, though Sikkimese observers place the number at about 4,000. The discrepancy may well

stem from Indian efforts to justify their takeover.

In sum, action of the Indian Government seems to have been aimed primarily at consolidating its control over its neighbor rather than promoting reform or reducing civil strife. The entire episode is merely a thinly disguised takeover of a smaller country by a large and increasingly aggressive neighbor. We have helped India for years through our foreign aid program. We have seen an increasing amount of war and aggression on that subcontinent. It should be obvious that India has learned to help itself.

The newspaper articles follow:

[From the New York Times, Apr. 9, 1973]

NEW DELHI TAKES OVER CONTROL OF SIKKIM ON REQUEST OF RULER

GANGTOK, SIKKIM, April 8.—The Indian Government today took over the administration of the troubled Himalayan monarchy of Sikkim, which has been shaken by agitation for political reform during the last week.

An announcement from India House, the office of the resident political officer in this Indian protectorate, said that the move had been made at the request of Sikkim's ruler, Chogyal Palden Thondup Namgyal, who reportedly has been confined to his palace throughout the protests along with his American-born wife, the former Hope Cooke of New York.

The take-over came as thousands of anti-Government demonstrators were camped on the polo ground of this capital, which is 5,500 feet up in the Himalayas. K. S. Bajpai, the resident political officer, is to direct the administration under the Chogyal, who will continue to be head of state. A special officer will arrive later from New Dehli to replace Mr. Bajpai.

EFFORT TO AVERT COLLAPSE

Mr. Bajpai told newsmen it had been hoped that a breakdown of the administration could be averted. "We regret that it did not prove possible," he said.

He said that the 50-year-old Chogyal had asked India to take over responsibility for law and order in his kingdom, which borders Chinese-ruled Tibet.

Apart from the demonstrators, life appeared normal and tranquil. The Indian army was not much in evidence, although reports said it had been welcomed with cheers all over the kingdom.

A reporter who drove the 40 miles from the West Bengal town of Kalimpong saw few signs of unrest.

But all indications were that the administration had collapsed. Border checkpoints were manned by supporters of the Joint Action Committee, which consists of two opposition groups that have been leading the popular movement for reform and against the rule of the Chogyal. No officials were seen on the route to Gangtok.

OPPOSITION BARS NEGOTIATION

NEW DELHI, April 8.—The leader of the campaign for political reforms in Sikkim said today that the time had passed for negotiations with representatives of the ruler, the Press Trust of Indian reported.

Kazi Lendup Dorji, president of the Joint Action Committee, told newsmen in Gangtok that his supporters were "virtually calling for the abdication of the Chogyal," according to the news agency.

He spoke before India announced that she had taken over administration of Sikkim.

Mr. Bajpa who was placed in charge of the administration, told newsmen that all political factions in Sikkim had appealed to India to take over. He said India would help to solve political problems "in consonance with the spirit of the age."

KEY ISSUE IS ORDER

The most important issue, he said, is the restoration of law and order. Such questions as the safeguarding of minority rights can be tackled later, he said.

A major factor in the crisis was the discontent of the majority Nepali community over the State Council. In the council they have only equal representation with the Lepchi and Bhutia communities, which form only about a quarter of the population of 200,000.

The take-over by India came as thousands of Nepalis gathered in the tiny capital to press their demands. The Joint Action Committee was said to be in control of large parts of the kingdom and many Sikkimese officials were reported defeating to join it.

The Indian Government has barred all non-Indian reporters from Sikkim.

A spokesman for the royal palace in Gangtok, reached by telephone from New York early yesterday, declared that there had been "no such thing" as widespread fighting. But he conceded that Indian troops, stationed in Sikkim for years to secure the border with China, had been asked to help quell the demonstrations.

J. Densapa, secretary to the Sikkimese ruler, told The New York Times that Indian units had occupied police stations that demonstrators had threatened to take over. But he reported that Sikkimese police rather than Indian soldiers continued to guard the royal couple who, he added, had been able to go outside the palace.

Mr. Densapa asserted that there had been "some trouble" but "no violence" in his country. At the same time, he charged that the rebellious opposition elements had forced "innocent village folk" to join them by burning their houses and otherwise intimidating them.

He said that only one death "in the camp of the demonstrators" had been reported since the agitation started and that about 200 people had been arrested for "unlawful assembly." All but about 10 were subsequently released, Mr. Densapa added.

Among those still being held, the palace spokesman named Kashiraj Pradhan, leader of the State Congress party, He said that the opposition leader had been arrested after the January council election because he had been making "inflammatory speeches amounting to subversion leading up to this sort of trouble."

Mr. Densapa described the opposition as Sikkimese subjects of Nepalese origin and characterized their leaders as "undesirable elements." He dismissed the possibility that the unrest might have been instigated either by China, or by India, which he called "our protecting power."

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 10, 1973]

SIKKIM KING HINTS OF INDIAN PRESSURE

(By Bernard D. Nossiter)

LONDON, April 9.—A telephone interview with the royal family in Gangtok, taped here Saturday, suggests that India has exploited Sikkim's troubles to take over the Himalayan kingdom.

Neither the king, or Choygal, Palden Thondup Namgyal, 50, nor the crown prince, Tenzing Namgyal, 20, would say flatly that India had inspired their difficulties. With the Indian army at their doorstep, both chose their words carefully.

"Everything is going reasonably well," Prince Tenzing said. It is just that, you know, the element outside us has been causing some problems, and that we have several times been approached by the political officer to hand over all power to the government of. . . ."

On this last word, the telephone line which had been remarkably clear, suddenly went dead for an instant, obliterating the identity of the "government." In the context, there seemed little doubt that Prince Tenzing was referring to Delhi's political officer and the government of India.

In the course of the half-hour discussion, the king reluctantly acknowledged that he had asked the Indian army to intervene. But almost in the next breath, he talked of "outside elements" causing violence and cited protests in Darjeeling. Darjeeling is in the Indian state of West Bengal.

KING'S PREDICTION

Both royal figures said on Saturday afternoon, London time, that they were in control, if not in full control. The king, who is married to an American, Hope Cooke, predicted that he would have full control in 24 or 48 hours.

But the next day, Sunday, India took over administration of the tiny kingdom, saying it had done so "in the interests of law and order, at the request of the Choygal."

India's interest in Sikkim is not new. Delhi took advantage of a 1949 rising to send in troops and establish a protectorate over the kingdom. Since then, India has run Sikkim's defense, foreign affairs and communications.

Sikkim lies across an historic invasion route between China and India. Troops from both armies have fired at each other across Himalayan passes nearly 20,000 feet up.

The king's removal last May of India's chief administrator and Chinese hints that Peking wants less hostile relations with India may have encouraged New Delhi to seize firmer control of the little land.

FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS

Impartial accounts of the events in Sikkim are impossible to come by. India has refused to permit any foreign correspondents to enter the kingdom since the disturbances began last week.

The interview with the king and his heir was initiated from a London apartment by a fellow student of the prince at Cambridge. The student and two friends spoke with Gangtok over an open line. The three interviewers asked that their names not be used because they fear reprisals by the Indian government.

The king and Prince Tenzing spoke in perfect English and they were told that their remarks were being recorded. Another attempt was made to reach them on Sunday, but the Indian-controlled communications to the palace were cut off.

Prince Tenzing began by outlining the background of the disturbances. A mob of about 4,000, armed with clubs, he said, had stormed Gangtok to demand "certain rights." According to the prince, many of them had been forced to demonstrate by a "hard core" who had threatened them with knives.

The prince twice disputed in detail a story related by the government-controlled All India Radio that he personally had shot some demonstrators. As he told it, a crowd of about 1,000 had surrounded his car at Ranipur, outside Gangtok, threatening "an ugly situation."

MEN SHOT

"I drove through the barrier that they put up against me. I broke the barrier through, and my security man shot one man in the side and one in the leg because they were attempting to stop me."

Since the demonstrators are Nepalese Hindus and the royal family are Tibetan Buddhists, the All India Radio story said communal antagonisms were at the bottom of the unrest. The prince's account was apparently an effort to allay these passions.

Prince Tenzing acknowledged that the demonstrators were led by two political parties representing the Nepalese who were counted out in Sikkim's general election in January. He did not specify the "rights" they sought. But it is known that the Nepalese, a majority, believe they have been under-

represented and victimized by false electoral counts in Sikkim.

Next, the king came on the line.

"We have had to hand over a certain amount of law and order problems to the Indian army or rather the government of India," he said.

"Did you call in the Indian army?" he was asked.

"Well, they are here," was the reply.

"Yes, but did you ask them to intervene in the internal affairs?"

"Yes . . . in four points in Sikkim."

OUTSIDE ELEMENTS

The king continued:

"The present situation is rather good . . . I won't say I have complete control now but I will have complete control in 24 or 48 hours time . . . I can face my people anywhere. As far as my family is concerned, we can go anywhere, and although there may be some outside elements that maybe resort to violence, but no Sikkimese though . . . There are outside elements, otherwise why should the people in Darjeeling and elsewhere be protesting?"

The prince then took back the telephone. He spoke of "the outside element" and made his abortive mention of the obliterated government's demand for full power.

"We are in control," he said. "You see the whole reason why there has been no bloodshed, why the crowd has been allowed to come to Gangtok, has been that my father does not want any violence whatsoever."

"But in fact, we have all the guns and ammunition. We could have wiped out the whole crowd. So in order not to make . . . because the crowd contains . . . nearly 99.9 per cent Nepalese, if we fire on them, then it's going to become communal."

The shots by his security man, he said, were the first in the history of Sikkim. But, he insisted, the two victims "are not going to die. No one has been killed at all."

The crowd in Gangtok, he said, has been dispersed with tear gas, "without violence."

"Everything is going reasonably well," said the prince.

INDIAN NAMES OFFICIAL TO ADMINISTER SIKKIM

NEW DELHI, April 9.—The Indian government named a senior civil servant, B. S. Das, to take charge of the government of the little Himalayan protectorate of Sikkim.

Das was formerly India's representative in Bhutan, another Himalayan kingdom, and is now commissioner for the Delhi Municipal Corporation.

S. P. Singh, India's minister of state for foreign affairs, told Parliament that India took over the administration of Sikkim yesterday because of "the complete breakdown of law and order" there.

He said that "excesses of the police" had caused many casualties, including deaths, among demonstrators protesting the kingdom's political system which discriminates against the Nepalese majority.

"There were charges of malpractices, corruption and rigging of elections on the part of the Sikkim durbar (royal court)," Singh said.

After talks with Indian officials in Sikkim, Kazi Lendup Dorji, a leader of the rebels, announced that the "current phase" of protest had been suspended.

[From the New York Times, Apr. 12, 1973]

PRINCESS OF SIKKIM ACCUSES INDIAN AGENTS IN DISORDERS

HONG KONG, April 11.—Princess Pema Tsedeurn Yapshi-Pheunkhang, sister of the Chogyal, or King, of the Himalayan Kingdom of Sikkim, charged here today that Indian intelligence agents were interfering in the internal affairs of her country.

Earlier this week, the Indian Government named a senior civil servant to take charge of the administration of Sikkim in response to a request by the Chogyal, Palden Thondup Namgyal, as disorders swept the country. India was already responsible for Sikkim's defense and foreign policy.

The Indian move followed nearly two weeks of agitation for political change in Sikkim. Demonstrators had converged on the palace of the Chogyal, whose wife is an American, the former Hope Cooke.

Speaking at a news conference, the Princess said she sincerely believed that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and her Government did not know what Indian agents were doing. She added that she would strongly recommend that the governments of India and Sikkim jointly investigate the situation.

"The powers of Indian intelligence should be curbed," she said.

The Princess said that Indian intelligence agents had heavily financed the two opposition parties, the National Congress and the State Congress which has been in the vanguard of demonstration against the administration and the Chogyal. The committee has put forward demands for political reform.

The Princess said the National Congress had expected to "sweep the field" in recent elections, she said, but the Sikkim National party had won a majority of seats.

The opposition accused the Chogyal of rigging the elections, she said, but the vote counting was supervised by senior civil servants and magistrates.

Princess Pema said the Chogyal was anxious that all communities should be represented in the government and had asked the national party to join with the National Congress and State Congress party in forming a new cabinet.

However, the opposition parties refused and resorted to "terrorism and lawlessness" to attain their objectives, she stated.

The Princess said that the people agitating were "supporters of the parties that lost the election."

Princess Pema took issue with reports accusing the police of attacking demonstrators or committing excesses. She said the opposition parties "resorted to terrorist action and the police tried to maintain law and order."

"It would be better if all the parties concerned get together and discuss the question of any changes," she said. "But you cannot just give into one section. Change must come about by agreement. And we must not forget that elections were held in a democratic way."

The Princess said Indians from Darjeeling had gone into Sikkim to take part in the demonstrations and described them as "imported agitators." She added that India was "making trouble for itself" by permitting this.

"The present situation is not in the interest of India or Sikkim," Princess Pema said. "It is in India's interest to have a stable government in Sikkim."

WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

HON. GLENN M. ANDERSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. ANDERSON of California. Mr. Speaker, after 30 years, it becomes easy to forget the heroism of Polish Jews in the Warsaw ghetto against Nazi tyranny and execution.

But the lives that were lost and the heroism that was exhibited on April 19, 1943, cannot be forgotten.

On that date, the Jewish Combat Organization—ZOB—commanded by Mordecai Anzelewica, began armed resistance against the Nazi troops in the ghetto of Warsaw, Poland.

Outnumbered and outarmed, the ZOB forces fought gallantly. The last ZOB outpost was attacked on May 8, 1943, by the Nazis. With defeat imminent, the leaders of the uprising committed suicide.

During the fighting, over 800 acres of the ghetto were destroyed and 56,000 Jews were captured or killed. Others were burned in the ghetto's flaming ruins.

Today, as we solemnly observe the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising's 30th anniversary, I would recall the sacrifices made by 6 million European Jews and an equal number of Europeans of other denominations who died as a result of the Nazi terror in World War II.

Vladka Meed, who struggled and fought through the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, described the nightmare in last Sunday's Washington Post this way:

WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

We know already about the destruction. We know it very well, but we know so little about the life behind it. And sometimes, I am resenting that we only show destruction, destruction, holocaust. I mean how the Germans operated and how the Jews were killed in the streets. It's horrible. But I would like to reveal the life beyond this, how they lived. There were really very high moments in life. We had starvation, it's true. But at the same time we had a net of illegal schools, 85 illegal schools, in the Warsaw ghetto.

In the beginning our philosophy was to survive as human beings. We didn't know when the ghetto was created that this was really destruction, absolute annihilation. We didn't believe it. So the way was to survive as human beings. This was the ghetto philosophy and this was resistance, for living. Later on, the resistance was for a dignified death. But resistance was true all the time.

GREAT RIVER ROAD

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, April 19, 1973

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, in addition to the brief remarks I made on the floor of the House yesterday during general debate on the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1973, I want to submit a more detailed statement on the history, background, and current status of the Great River Road.

Section 131 of the bill authorizes 3 years funding for the Great River Road, a scenic, recreational, and historic roadway along the Mississippi River from its headwaters in Lake Itasca, Minn., to the Gulf of Mexico.

MINIMAL CONSTRUCTION NEEDED

Most of the Great River Road is already built; only an estimated 700 miles

of new construction remain to be done, according to information provided by the Department of Transportation. The balance will require upgrading to meet scenic road standards of environmental protection and enhancement.

Most of this new mileage will be built, Great River Road or no; and most of the rest of the route will, in time, be upgraded to meet increased traffic needs.

The question is whether this highway development will be accompanied by strip zoning and environmental degradation, or whether this Congress will give the States incentive and encouragement to build it in an orderly, planned, responsible manner with concern for the historic and scenic values along its route.

Earlier this year, I asked the 10 Mississippi River States to give me an up-to-date status report on their portions of the Great River Road. The responses I received indicate that 1,000 miles have been completed; another 1,000 exist but need upgrading; and 192 miles are scheduled for construction or upgrading within the next 5 years.

The States were most enthusiastic in their support of the road, and a number informed me that they have put it at the top of their scenic-road priority list.

Most of the States have completed all their planning, and are ready to proceed with construction once the funds provided in this bill are made available.

All States will comply with Federal requirements for environmental impact statements and the public hearing process; they have developed, or are developing, their own State-level procedures as well.

SCENIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL STANDARDS

Upgrading of existing roads to scenic highway standards entails acquisition of wide strips of land on both sides of the road, to protect the quality of the landscape. Strips of wildwood, bluff faces, swamps, and islands would be acquired outright, and protected from the unsightly hotdog stands, gas stations, and straggling shopping centers which inevitably accompany uncontrolled development.

Woodlands would be preserved or restored; original vegetation would be replanted, and animal habitat protected from the bulldozer and powersaw.

Farmers would continue tilling the land within the scenic easements and enjoy all rights of property except the right to put up billboards or other scenic defacements, or commercial or residential buildings.

The Great River Road will thus be a two-lane or four-lane country road, crisscrossing the river many times, and traversing permanently protected woodlands, scenic river valley, peaceful farmland, and some of the most historic areas of the Nation.

It will enable city dweller and rural American alike to enjoy and learn from 65 major scenic and historic areas, including two national forests, Superior and Chippewa; two national parks, Mamouth Cave and Voyaguers; one national monument, Effigy Mounds; several national wildlife refuges; numerous national memorials; historic landmarks; historic and military parks; as well as State parks and forests.

RECREATIONAL HIGHWAY NEEDED

Increased income, more leisure time, and a growing interest in the natural and historic values of our Nation have put more and more Americans on the road, accelerating the demand for recreational, scenic, and historical routes.

The Department of Transportation's 1972 highway needs study points out, for example, that in 1969 an estimated 11.6 billion automobile trips were made for recreation, generating a total of 150 billion vehicle miles, or 18 percent of total vehicle miles traveled.

Figures compiled by the Recreational Vehicle Institute show that sales of motor homes, travel trailers, campers, and other recreational vehicles grew from 483,000 in 1968 to 729,000 in 1972; with projections of well over 800,000 sales in 1973 and 1 million by 1980. Over 5 million American families now own one or more such vehicles; 8 million will be in use by 1978.

In short, the surge toward the open road, which has already caused tremendous problems of overuse in our national parks and forests, will increase with each coming year.

The Great River Road offers a solution to this overcrowding.

Specifically created to the needs of motoring America, it rivals the far western areas in historic sites, scenic beauty, and cultural interest. It is more accessible than the West to both east coast and midwestern travelers, and will absorb many who would otherwise continue westward, thus relieving pressure on Yosemite, Yellowstone, and other western areas.

If, in the future, vehicles are restricted in our more crowded parks, the Great River Road will be ready for those who choose, or those who must travel by car or trailer.

BACKGROUND—1938 BEGINNING

Mr. Speaker, the Great River Road is far from a new concept.

It was initiated in 1938 by then Interior Secretary Harold Ickes as a midcontinent parkway from Minnesota to the Gulf of Mexico.

Ickes appointed to the Mississippi River Parkway Commission the Governors of the 10 parkway States, to study the feasibility of this proposal.

Work was interrupted by World War II, but the Commission was reactivated in 1947 and in 1949 received a $250,000 appropriation from Congress for the parkway feasibility study by the National Park Service and the Bureau of Public Roads.

The study was published in 1951 at a cost of $150,000; the remaining $100,000 was returned to the Treasury. That study recommended a parkway—since changed to a scenic highway—along the Mississippi River, crossing back and forth over mostly existing or planned highways to avoid duplication and excessive cost. The study also recommended detailed phase I planning reports.

In 1954 the Congress authorized $250,000 in BPR funds for the road, which have been spent over the years.

By 1960 the phase I reports had been completed for each of the 10 States, recommending the general route, scenic easements, control of access, control of development of recreational areas along the route, and land acquisition for right-of-way.

In 1960, also phase II reports were begun, describing features of the route, delineating scenic corridors, preparing strip maps.

An additional $250,000 were authorized in the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1964, for continued detailed planning apportioned to the States on the basis of need.

To date $404,000 of the total $500,000 planning money has been apportioned; $326,000 has been spent. Most of the phase II reports have been completed.

GREAT RIVER ROAD NOW EXISTS

But the Great River Road is far more than a paper highway at this point. Markers have been placed along the length of the route; major historical, archeological, and natural areas have been located, and wayside stops, small parks, and scenic outlooks selected.

The vast preponderance of the road is already in existence; it needs upgrading to meet advanced scenic and environmental standards not in existence when those segments were built.

Mr. Speaker, we need an up-to-date cost estimate of completing the Great River Road. The last estimate, done in 1951, put the cost at $560 million. However that estimate is in 1951 dollars; a current estimate should be made on projected costs of new construction and upgrading of existing highways.

JUSTIFIED BY EVERY STANDPOINT

Mr. Speaker, I believe the Great River Road is fully justified on environmental, cultural, and economic grounds.

It will insure that the remaining undeveloped areas along the Mississippi will be preserved.

It will bring closer to all Americans, in all parts of the country, the history and culture of the Midwest, stretching 300 years back to the colorful history of the French in North America, from the Voyageurs of the fur trade to the hardy discoverers of the "Father of Waters" and the New Orleans Cajun legacy of Arcadian courage; as well as the native American Effigy Mounds, which affords a unique glimpse of the high civilization which has all but been obliterated elsewhere.

Americans want to see, enjoy, and learn from all those sites.

The beauty and history of America belong to all her people, whether they elect to approach by car or by backpack.

The Great River Road will bring closer to all Americans the priceless heritage and tradition which lie along the banks of the Mississippi River.