

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## McCORMACK PRAISES ENERGY CONSERVATION AWARDS PROGRAM FOR ARCHITECTURAL DESIGN

## HON. MIKE McCORMACK

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 22, 1973

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, it goes without saying that any discussion of energy shortages must focus not only on the development of alternative sources of energy but also on conservation of underutilized or wasted energy supplies. In addition, it must focus on both Government and private industry efforts to meet current and future energy needs.

In this context, it is important that we take note of the energy conservation awards program that has been devised by the Owens-Corning Fiberglas Corp. of Toledo, Ohio. Now entering its second year, the program encourages rational utilization of energy and the attendant reduction of environmental pollution by recognizing architects, engineers, and owners of buildings which are specifically designed or equipped to conserve energy. Entries are judged on the scope and creativity of the energy-conserving concept and on the actual energy savings achieved or anticipated. The competition is open to all registered architects and licensed engineers practicing in the United States. Any industrial, commercial, governmental, or institutional building completed, under construction, or commissioned and being designed on the entry date is eligible.

Last year, the awards were given to a Westinghouse Electric Corp. research building in Monroeville, Pa.—commercial category—the Mercy II Hospital expansion project at Coon Rapids, Minn.—institutional category—and a central energy facility linked to the Mount Sinai Medical Center at Miami Beach, Fla.—industrial category.

The architects of the Westinghouse research building, Deeter Ritchey Sippel Associates of Pittsburgh, calculated that the heat lost from their adequately insulated building would be exceeded by the heat generated by the lights even if the outdoor temperature fell to minus 5 degrees Fahrenheit. Thus this building needs no heating plant. Instead, air warmed by the lighting is returned to central heat exchangers from which it can be channeled to other parts of the building.

The Mercy II Hospital addition was based on a design concept to minimize energy consumption, and therefore the size and cost of heating and cooling equipment by keeping the outside wall surface to a minimum. In addition, it included such power saving concepts as a system for recovery of waste heat from ventilating air, solar bronze reflecting glass, radiant heating-cooling ceiling panels, fast-response hot water heat exchangers, and placement of mechanical

and boiler equipment on the top floor of the building to reduce roof heat-gain.

S. C. Smiley and Associates of Minneapolis designed a central energy facility at the Mount Sinai Medical Center to produce chilled water and high-temperature hot water for air-conditioning and heating. Using the latest technology, the energy conserving system was added at a very small additional cost over that of a conventional building.

Undoubtedly, many Members of Congress have constituents who would be interested in the 1973 Owens-Corning competition. Potential participants must submit a letter of intent to enter no later than June 30. Entries must be submitted by the end of August. Additional information may be obtained by writing Energy Conservation Award Program, Architectural Products Division, Owens-Corning Fiberglas Corp., Fiberglas Tower, Toledo, Ohio 33659.

I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate last year's award winners and Owens-Corning Fiberglas Corp. for designing and continuing this program.

## THE WORK OF ART AND SHIRLEY WEINER

## HON. WILLIAM V. ROTH, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. ROTH. Mr. President, Weight Watchers International, Inc., is an acknowledged leader in the field of weight control. It is an organization that has been recognized many times before this body.

Today I would point out the public service contribution of the largest area-wide weight watchers franchise in the country, Weight Watchers of Del-Mar-Va, Inc., which covers the State of Delaware, the State of Virginia and portions of Maryland and North Carolina.

Weight Watchers of Del-Mar-Va, Inc., was cofounded by Art and Shirley Weiner who are now celebrating their sixth anniversary in business.

The Weiners, however, have been much more than successful business people; their work has been marked by a creativity, a willingness to innovate and a total commitment to community service.

Most recently, Art and Shirley Weiner have sponsored a series of "Heart Fund" luncheons and donated more than \$5,000 to this worthy cause. They are also active in the "March of Dimes" work and sponsor many cultural events in the cities where their weight watchers classes are located.

It is timely that their efforts be recognized and lauded as they celebrate their sixth anniversary in business, and Weight Watchers International, Inc., celebrates its 10th anniversary in business.

Besides helping countless hundreds lose weight and maintain a "goal weight," they have brought to the four-State area

they serve a spirit of concern and a real willingness to be involved in community affairs.

## TVA ACTIVITIES REVIEWED

## HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, a recent article in the Colbert County Reporter in Tuscumbia, Ala., adjacent to Muscle Shoals, the home of TVA, tells of many of the varied activities of the Tennessee Valley Authority in partnership with the people of the region.

Because of the unique success of this partnership of the people and their government in enhancing the quality of life for all, I include the newspaper article as a part of my remarks:

"PEOPLE IN PARTNERSHIP" 40TH ANNIVERSARY THEME

"People in Partnership" is the theme for this month's 40th anniversary of the Tennessee Valley Authority, created by Congress in 1933 to help the people of a region develop and use natural resources to build a better standard of living.

Knoxville, Tenn., is the headquarters of TVA's unified resource development program for the Tennessee Valley—an area the size of New England, including parts of Tennessee and six adjoining states. Putting the headquarters of this unique Federal agency here in the Valley, rather than in Washington, was a key first step in getting the region's people, citizen organizations, and local and state agencies involved in the partnership approach.

In the 1930's and 1940's, tens of thousands of Valley people went to work for TVA in helping build the world's first large regional multipurpose system of dams and reservoirs. The system was designed to harness the Tennessee River for flood regulation, water transportation, and hydroelectric power production.

One result was to create the country's largest electric power system, and this too is a partnership. Power from TVA dams and steam plants is distributed to 2,300,000 homes, farms, businesses, and other users by 160 local municipal and cooperative electric systems. Boards made up of local citizens direct the operations of these local electric systems in a cooperative effort with TVA to provide reliable electric power supplies at minimum cost.

The reservoir system has proved its value in regulating floods on the Tennessee River. A single major TVA flood control operation earlier this year reduced flood damages by an amount more than double the agency's \$200 million total investment in flood control facilities. Meanwhile many areas in the Valley remain vulnerable to flooding, particularly along smaller streams. TVA's flood control engineers and state planning agencies have worked with more than 150 Valley communities to provide technical help in developing local measures such as flood-plain zoning to deal with these localized problems.

Dams and reservoirs on the Tennessee River main stem create a 650-mile-long waterway from Knoxville in east Tennessee, through north Alabama and west Tennessee, to the Ohio River at Paducah, Kentucky. This water "highway" links the Tennessee

Valley with 21 states on the Mississippi-Gulf waterway system. Tennessee River barge traffic has grown rapidly, totaling some 28 million tons of freight last year, as more than 200 waterfront industries and terminals have been established along the river.

TVA works with state and local organizations in laying the groundwork for the industrial growth that has changed the region's economy dramatically from the past history of inadequate job opportunities and massive outmigration of workers to other regions. Today Valley industries employ nearly five times as many people as in 1933.

More than 50,000 Valley farmers have worked with TVA and agricultural extension services in community demonstrations of improved farming methods, keyed to new fertilizers developed at the TVA National Fertilizer Development Center in Ala.

Similarly, thousands of forest landowners have taken part in the effort to rebuild the Valley's woodlands and improve forest management. Over 1,200,000 acres of depleted forest and eroding lands have been reforested, beginning with seedlings from TVA forest tree nurseries established for this purpose in the agency's early years.

Today much of TVA's work centers on its environmental protection activities, which are budgeted at more than \$100 million in the coming year. In addition to improved facilities for air and water quality control at its own power facilities, this work includes working with local communities throughout the Valley in establishing new sanitary landfills, rural trash collection systems, projects for collecting and recycling abandoned car bodies, and various air and water quality programs.

More than 900 recreation facilities have been established on TVA lakes, ranging from state and local parks and access areas to group camps and commercial docks and marinas. TVA has made land available and in many cases provided technical help in getting these facilities established.

In a recent statement to the agency's employees, Board Chairman Aubrey J. Wagner referred to this partnership approach with Valley people:

"As TVA observes its 40th anniversary, it pays tribute not to its own accomplishments but to the hundreds of institutions and thousands of individuals who breathed life into this concept, who made it work in the past and who must make it work in the future."

#### FEDERAL EMPLOYEE HEALTH PLAN

### HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 22, 1973

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, as chairman of the House Subcommittee on Retirement and Employee Benefits, I have a great and continuing concern over the benefits available to Federal employees in their health insurance program.

One issue recently which has been brought to my attention regards the question of whether duly licensed providers of health services contracted for by Federal employees should necessarily be required to perform under the direction or supervision of physicians.

This bill would provide that any participant in the Federal employee health benefits program would be free to select the health practitioner of his choice without the necessity of prior referral.

This is an issue which has particular

ramifications for services rendered by psychologists and optometrists.

I expect that the subcommittee will hold hearings into this matter in the coming months before we reach a final conclusion regarding this very important policy matter.

Mr. Speaker, the full text of the bill follows:

H.R. 8057

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

That section 8902 of title 5, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following:

"If the contract benefits include a service which may be provided by various licensed and/or certified health practitioners under applicable State or Federal statutes, and such practitioners' training meets Federal, State and national standards of accreditation, then the Federal employee beneficiary, annuitant or family member covered by such contract shall be free to select the health profession practitioner of his or her choice and shall have direct access to the same, without supervision or referral by another health practitioner."

SEC. 2. The amendment made by this Act shall become effective with respect to any contract entered into or renewed on or after the date of enactment of this Act.

#### HOW THE OEO AIDED RADICALS

### HON. ROBERT J. HUBER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Speaker, an article recently appeared in the Detroit News which outlines many investigations into the activities of OEO-funded agencies. Violations of the Hatch Act and the Economic Opportunity Act, and several examples concerning embezzlement, theft, terrorist activities, and fraudulent and illegal financial controls and activities are pointed out in this article.

When OEO funds are used to defeat the reelection bid of a Democratic Governor, bail out Black Panthers who have been charged with bombing police stations, disrupt commencement exercises of a leading university and pay transportation expenses for individuals traveling to a national political convention, the time has come to undertake a comprehensive reexamination of OEO.

I submit this article to be printed in the RECORD and suggest that my colleagues read it to get a clearer picture of the realities of past OEO activities:

#### HOW THE OEO AIDED RADICALS

(By John E. Peterson)

WASHINGTON.—An Alaskan community action program spent \$171,108 in anti-poverty funds in 1966 to organize Indians and Eskimos to vote against Gov. William A. Egan, a Democrat seeking reelection.

The money went to set up a community organization called Grass Roots in dozens of Indian and Eskimo bush villages throughout the state.

The Alaskan State Community Action Program (ASCAP) then flew its top officials into the villages to speak against Egan. Thousands of dollars were spent to print and distribute anti-Egan propaganda in the villages.

ASCAP opposed Egan because he had objected to the group's previous political activities.

Egan was defeated by 2,000 votes and a subsequent analysis of the election showed that large numbers of Indians and Eskimos, normally in the Democratic camp, had defected to his Republican opponent, Walter Hickel.

Both Egan and Alfred Fothergill, executive director of ASCAP, claimed that the anti-poverty agency's political effort was the main reason Hickel was elected.

ASCAP's role in the defeat of Egan never fully revealed before, is just one of the many cases in which anti-poverty funds have been spent for political purposes.

The Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO), the executive agency set up by President Johnson in 1964 to quarterback his "war on poverty," has numerous examples in its files.

A three-week investigation by The Detroit News has corroborated findings contained in many of the case histories in OEO's files—some of which have been stamped "administratively confidential" for as long as seven years.

The now defunct Institute for Regional Development (IRD) in Athens, Ohio, for example, received nearly \$2 million in federal anti-poverty funds from 1965 until it closed in 1969.

OEO files show the IRD supported the local chapter of the militant National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO) with more than \$150,000 in grants during that period, including funds to transport and pay the living expenses of 10 NWRO lobbyists at the 1968 Democratic Convention in Chicago.

The 10 later admitted participating in the numerous anti-war rallies and confrontations that marked that convention.

IRD also spent nearly \$100,000 to train anti-poverty workers throughout southeastern Ohio in militant demonstration tactics.

A subsequent report by federal investigators found IRD guilty of "gross violations of grant conditions" and "misapplication of federal funds." It drew the conclusion that IRD's actions had "no visible impact" on the area's poverty efforts.

Last fall, an assistant director of an OEO-funded community action program in Steubenville, Ohio, admitted using a federal postage meter to mail material attacking the Democratic candidate for sheriff. The candidate lost to his Republican opponent.

The Western regional office of OEO filed more than three dozen reports in 1970 and 1971 listing repeated violations of both the Hatch Act and the Economic Opportunity Act in regards to political activities by employees of agencies receiving OEO grants. The Hatch Act prohibits political activity by federal employees.

In five cases, OEO-grant officials ran for state office as candidates on the slate of the radical Peace and Freedom Party, while continuing to collect their federally funded salaries, the reports show.

Another report, filed this month, disclosed that officials at an OEO-financed Economic Opportunity agency in Fremont, Calif., incurred these rule violations over a six-month period in late 1970, and early 1971:

Transferred several thousand dollars in federal funds to the local chapter of the Brown Berets, a militant Chicano organization.

Permitted members of its staff to organize for the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) and several anti-war groups on government time.

Allowed staff members to travel far outside the agency's "target" area to attend political meetings at government expense.

Allowed staff members to serve as campaign workers for city council candidates during working hours.

Paid a student, Ricardo Romo, \$1,205.06 for consultant services during a period in which



he was actively campaigning for governor of California on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket.

Shortly after the report was filed, the agency's executive director, Roberto Acosta, was arrested and charged with the embezzlement of more than \$41,000 in anti-poverty funds.

"One of the real sore points," said Howard R. Phillips, OEO's current director, "has been the way public funds have been squandered time and again in blatant attempts to 'radicalize' the poor."

"Pick a radical group—the Black Panthers, the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the Brown Berets, the American Indian Movement (AIM), what have you—and chances are good they've managed to collect several sizable grants from OEO and other federal anti-poverty agencies over the last eight years."

OEO reports back up Phillips' charges. OEO funds siphoned through the Cambridge, Mass., Economic Opportunity Committee, for example, were used to carry off a large scale disturbance at Harvard University's 334th Commencement exercises, June 10-11, 1970.

Black Panther Party activities across the United States also received substantial funding from the OEO and other anti-poverty programs.

Project Anti-Recidivism (PAR), a specially-funded OEO program to rehabilitate convicted criminals in Jersey City, was infiltrated by Black Panthers who diverted its assets into their own treasury.

PAR funds were used to assist in preparation of Black Panther hate literature, purchase walkie-talkies for street communication and bail out Panthers arrested for criminal activity.

A number of Jersey City Panthers were arrested several times during the fall of 1968 for possession of weapons, attacks on police officers and a machine-gunning and a bombing of police precinct stations. On each occasion, they were bailed out with OEO funds.

OEO reports also indicate that sizable amounts of anti-poverty funds found their way into Black Panther coffers in Newark, New York, Boston, Chicago, New Orleans, Los Angeles, Denver, San Francisco and Oakland.

"The Black Panthers were the first militant group to realize what a good thing they had going in the anti-poverty program," said a high-ranking OEO official.

The American Indian Movement (AIM), the radical urban Indian group occupying Wounded Knee, S.D., has received more than \$400,000 in anti-poverty funds since its founding in 1968.

Phillips, the Harvard-educated conservative appointed by President Nixon to dismantle the OEO and transfer its better programs to other federal agencies, is particularly critical of the legal services program.

"Their basic goal was to provide high quality legal services to poor individuals," he said. "And I've certainly no quarrel with that goal."

But the legal services program, he asserts, has all too often attracted firebrand young lawyers who want to expand into more radical areas.

"We have report after report coming across our desk that shows OEO lawyers representing Black Panthers and other militants and radicals in court at taxpayer expense," he said.

In two cases, attorneys for the New Orleans Legal Assistance Corporation defended 14 Black Panthers arrested in a police raid on party headquarters and Los Angeles Neighborhood Legal Services Society defended a young woman indicted for transporting dynamite for the terrorist Weatherman organization.

In those cases, and numerous others, OEO files show anti-poverty lawyers defended radicals on government time and often used federal funds to pay for preparing their defense.

In addition, OEO files show dozens of instances in which OEO-funded lawyers campaigned for public office, conducted voter registration drives, filed class-action suits, provided legal services to militant groups and urged clients to organize "action" groups—all activities specifically proscribed by federal regulations.

"In too many instances," says Phillips, "the 'poor' they're supposed to be representing haven't been poor at all—but radicals, criminals and sometimes highly-affluent friends."

Phillips stresses that he is not against the use of federal funds to help the poor but is against programs that do not deliver promised services.

"We have to find ways to make sure anti-poverty funds are not used for political purposes," he said. "The answer may well be more control by local officials."

#### THE LAWS LIMITING U.S. PARTICIPATION IN THE U.N.

##### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 22, 1973

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, there are many interpretations of the laws enacted by Congress pertaining to the appropriation of U.S. taxpayers' money to the United Nations and its numerous affiliated agencies.

In order that our colleagues may have ready reference to present laws limiting U.S. financial participation in the U.N., I ask that the appropriate portions of Public Law 92-544 and Public Law 92-266 follow:

##### INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND CONFERENCES

##### CONTRIBUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

##### U.N., restriction

For expenses, not otherwise provided for, necessary to meet annual obligations of membership in international multilateral organizations, pursuant to treaties, conventions, or specific Acts of Congress, \$176,190,750: *Provided*, That after December 31, 1973, no appropriation is authorized and no payment shall be made to the United Nations or any affiliated agency in excess of 25 per centum of the total annual assessment of such organization except that this proviso shall not apply to the International Atomic Energy Agency and to the joint financing program of the International Civil Aviation Organization.

(Pub. L. 92-544, Title I, Sec. 101, Oct. 25, 1972, 86 Stat. 1110)

##### Legislative History

House Reports: No. 92-1065 (Comm. on Appropriations) and No. 92-1567 (Comm. of Conference).

Senate Report No. 92-821 (Comm. on Appropriations).

Congressional Record, Vol. 118 (1972):

May 17, 18, Oct. 12, considered and passed House.

June 15, Oct. 13, considered and passed Senate.

Weekly Compilation of Presidential Doc-

uments, Vol. 8, No. 44: Oct. 28, Presidential statement.

##### U.S. ASSESSED CONTRIBUTION TO U.N.

Sec. 410. The Congress strongly urges the President to undertake such negotiations as may be necessary to implement that portion of the recommendations of the Report of the President's Commission for the Observance of the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the United Nations (known as the "Lodge Commission") which proposes that the portion of the regular assessed costs to be paid by the United States to the United Nations be reduced so that the United States is assessed in each year not more than 25 per centum of such costs assessed all members of the United Nations for that year.

(Pub. L. 92-226, Pt. IV, Sec. 410, Feb. 7, 1972, 86 Stat. 36)

##### Legislative History:

House Reports: No. 92-380 accompanying H.R. 910 (Comm. on Foreign Affairs) and No. 92-761 (Comm. of Conference).

Senate Reports: No. 92-431; No. 92-404 accompanying H.R. 9910; No. 92-432 accompanying S. 2820 (all from Comm. on Foreign Relations) and No. 92-590 (Comm. of Conference).

#### TEMPORARY EXTENSION OF CERTAIN HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT LAWS AND AUTHORITIES

##### HON. JOEL PRITCHARD

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, May 21, 1973

Mr. PRITCHARD. Mr. Speaker, on May 21, I met with members of the Home Builders Association of Washington State in the New Senate Office Building. Unfortunately, I was unable to be present on the floor for passage of the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 512) to extend the authority of the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development with respect to the insurance of loans and mortgages, and to extend authorizations under laws relating to housing and urban development.

The administration has asked for no funding for fiscal year 1974 for housing and urban development programs, which are expected to become part of a consolidated community development program on July 1, 1974. As a result, many cities are experiencing very serious transition problems, either being forced to cut back on ongoing activities or postponing planned activities. The open end authorization contained in the joint resolution would enable the Appropriations Committee to provide the proper level of funding for cities facing severe transition problems.

Previously I had urged House passage of the resolution. I was pleased that the bill passed so handily, by a vote of 357 to 1. I would hope that the Senate will act quickly to make certain that adequate funds are provided to make certain adequate funds are provided to our cities for housing and urban development programs.

NATIONAL PRESS CLUB ADDRESS—  
THE HONORABLE CHARLES H.  
PERCY

## HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, on May 17, 1973, the opening day of hearings before the Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities—now known as the Watergate Committee—our distinguished colleague from the other body, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Percy), addressed the National Press Club in Washington, D.C.

The address focused on the responsibilities of Congress in understanding, and hopefully preventing in the future, the abuses which have been revealed in the Watergate case. Of particular interest to me were the constructive suggestions offered regarding the general reform of the present campaign finance system. I insert in the RECORD at this time the complete text of the remarks:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR CHARLES H. PERCY

This is an appropriate formal occasion for me to pay tribute, as others belatedly have, to the American press corps. You richly deserve the plaudits you have recently received. Rarely in your history have you achieved so much with so little cooperation or support.

I'm going to discuss, what has become known by one word—Watergate—with emphasis principally on the responsibilities it imposes on Congress.

The incredible web of crime, corruption and deceit that falls under the general heading of Watergate is the product of a variety of ingredients—misplaced or perverted loyalties, isolation, individual arrogance, contempt for the law and excessive zeal, among others. No discussion of the causes and ramifications of this complex scandal could pretend to cover every facet of it. But we must try—with all the vigor we possess—to get at the whole truth.

None of us is anxious to learn that our national ideals have been muddled and betrayed. But I believe we are strong enough to survive even the most chilling truths, and wise enough to learn from them. National pride and national unity will be hollow indeed if they are preserved only by shutting our eyes to the truth.

It would be best—for the nation and for the future of this Administration—if the impetus for full disclosure of the facts came voluntarily from the top, from the White House, rather than flowing upward from investigatory bodies or from an increasingly dispirited public.

If each kernel of truth must be torn away from those who are hiding it, the effort to redeem our national honor could take years. And, in the meantime, it will be increasingly difficult to prevent paralysis from overcoming the government.

Men and women of integrity and competence—those individuals whose fresh ideas and high principles have brought them success in private life—will refuse to join an Administration that remains under a cloud. Dozens and dozens of the key jobs in the executive branch will continue to remain unfilled until the last taint of corruption has been removed.

Every hour that a member of this Administration devotes to the Watergate is an hour spent away from the job of governing the Nation. For practical purposes, there will be no real government—in the sense of a fully

operating entity serving the taxpayers—until Watergate has been put behind us.

If Vietnam—and now Cambodia—have taught us nothing else, surely they have taught us that the price of national self-deception is high. When we ignore reality, however harsh, we do so ultimately at our own peril and expense.

Now, more than ever, we can ill afford to put our heads in the sand. The way in which we resolve our present crisis will define the depth of our commitment to ideals for which we often congratulate ourselves.

Watergate is a searing chapter in our history, but even before it has fully unfolded, I am convinced that some good can come of it.

A good starting point would be a genuine effort to find the solution to one of the major problems that lies at the heart of the Watergate affair—big money in politics. This mixture has always been volatile, but in 1972 it exploded with a force that has literally been heard around the world.

It has been reported that the Committee to Re-Elect the President raised about \$55 million to finance Mr. Nixon's drive for a second term. That this was actually *too much* money can be seen from the significant balance—nearly \$5 million—that reportedly remains in the Committee's treasury more than six months after Election Day.

Moreover, one perceptive observer has noted that one of the reasons for the myriad of "special funds" that have marked the Watergate affair was the Committee's unrivaled affluence. With no real fiscal restraints, it was possible to fund virtually every idea, no matter how dubious.

In 1971, the Congress passed and the President signed the Federal Election Campaign Act, which placed limits on spending for media advertising and established procedures for the reporting of contributions and expenditures.

This legislation did represent a start toward bringing the astronomical costs of running for public office under some semblance of control. But if Watergate tells us anything, it is that campaign spending reform still remains virtually unexplored territory.

I do not intend to subject you to a long laundry list of abuses that cry out for reform. Most of the steps that must be taken to cleanse the political system of the stains of Watergate are obvious to us all. We certainly need:

A strict limit on all campaign spending, not just media expenditures.

A blanket prohibition on all but token cash contributions.

A limit on the amount a single individual can contribute, to insure that ambassadorships are removed from the auction block.

The elimination of dummy fund-raising committees.

Effective enforcement machinery.

Creation of a blue-ribbon commission to investigate every aspect of our election laws.

But knowing what is needed is not enough. Only if we act quickly and decisively will we be able to convince an increasingly cynical public that elections are not for sale to the highest bidder. Only then will there be reason to hope that something more honorable than spies, sabotage and suitcases stuffed with cash will linger as the prevailing symbols of the year 1973.

If we are to demonstrate that we truly understand the meaning of Watergate, we in Congress also must begin to honor the constitutional mandate of separation of powers and of checks and balances.

Power has flowed to the Executive, not because Presidents have taken it, but because Congress has given it away. Congress has been weakened by antiquated procedures, the seniority system, closed meetings, members who serve special interests and institutionalized procrastination. Recent evidences of constructive change are welcome, but Con-

gress must now move confidently to modernize, to reorganize, to assert its responsibilities and genuinely serve the public interest.

Watergate also may help to re-establish a tolerance for diversity within the nation, and especially within the Republican Party.

Historically, the Republican umbrella has been broad enough to shelter an invigorating variety of opinions. Unhappily, however, some of the President's recently departed advisers seemed determined to check the free flow of ideas within our party. Their concept of a "good" Republican was a rubber stamp incarnate.

In the party, as in the nation, they confused dissent with disloyalty. They ignored the fact that every elected Republican officeholder in this country was more representative of the party than they themselves. They couldn't understand that Republicans who sometimes differ with the President on policy are no less Republican for doing so.

In the three and a half years left in this administration, moderate Republicans can help fulfill many of the goals, both domestic and foreign, that we share with the President. I do not know of a single Republican in the Senate who would not much prefer to work with the White House rather than at odds with it.

And there are few Republicans who do not take great pride in the withdrawal of American forces in South Vietnam, the return of our POW's, the settlement of the Berlin crisis, the new working relationship with China and the Soviet Union, and the efforts to achieve a lasting peace in the Middle East.

In the future, as in the past, we will not always agree within our party on the means necessary to achieve our common aspirations for America. But surely we can disagree from time to time without being disagreeable. Dissent need no longer be viewed as hostility. Blind loyalty is not necessarily the highest form of service, be it to a nation, a party or a president. Watergate, like Vietnam, should remind us of the hazards of yes-men in government.

The idea that "going along" is the surest path to success, or at least survival, is inherently dangerous, and in the Watergate case it was made all the more so because ultimate power in the executive branch resided almost entirely in a handful of isolated individuals. Even if any had been so inclined, the number of individuals who would have been permitted to protest to the President had been reduced to an absolute minimum.

It is an irony of mammoth proportions that an Administration dedicated to decentralization, to restoring governmental powers to the states and localities, should have been responsible for concentrating such vast amounts of power in the White House.

Within the tightly knit White House circle, there developed an attitude that the end justified the means, and that raw power was the instrument of success. Among its manifestations were the arrogant attempts to intimidate the media and diminish the Congress.

Whether this attitude was chosen by the President or simply countenanced by him, it has been thoroughly discredited by Watergate. It is time to resurrect, and put into practice, some eloquent words spoken by Richard Nixon in 1968:

"It's time once again," he said, "that we had an open administration—open to ideas from the people, and open in its communication with the people—an administration of open doors, open eyes and open minds."

Many of us in the President's own party have long been anxious to contribute our own ideas toward the success of his administration but frequently the doors have been closed. As the White House improves communications with members of the Cabinet, I hope it will also with the members of Congress.



Perhaps now we can begin to work more closely together—to work, for one thing, to restore public confidence in our institutions. To restore it, first we shall have to earn it. If we pursue our common goals in the spirit of tolerance and understanding, if we are as compassionate in administering justice as we are thorough in seeking it, then I am confident we can regain that which we may have lost.

So I would say this to Elliot Richardson; to the special prosecutor; to Sam Ervin and his Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, and to you, the members of the press:

Be relentless in your search for the truth; Be fair and just, but spare no one, regardless of position;

And do not heed those who say that there are some things that the people must never know, for that attitude in itself is a corruption of the founding principles of democracy.

We will pay homage to the truth only if we are dedicated to its use. In another time of trial, the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln wrote: "I have faith in the people. . . . The danger is, in their being misled. Let them know the truth and the country is safe."

Confidence in the ultimate wisdom of the people has nurtured our nation over a span of nearly two centuries and has fortified us in other difficult crises. We are the most resilient society on earth—not because we have ignored our problems, but because we have learned from them. If we can learn from Watergate, we will insure that the future of our democracy will be even more lustrous than its past.

I have confidence that we as a nation are strong enough to survive the cruel violations of conscience and law which have beset us. I have confidence that out of all of the agony, we will emerge determined to seek the remedies which can restore high standards of public conduct.

#### YESHIVA RAMBAM CELEBRATES 25TH ANNIVERSARY

#### HON. HUGH L. CAREY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. CAREY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I wish to extend greetings to the Yeshiva Rambam on their celebration of a quarter of a century of achievement in education in partnership with a dedicated community in Brooklyn.

During the last quarter century, Yeshiva Rambam has educated its students, both secular and religious, by giving meaning to the ancient wisdom of the Bible, coupled with the use of modern secular education indoctrinated with the spirit of the American way of life.

Under the able tutelage and leadership of Mr. Isidore A. Lefkowitz and Mr. Herman Appel, who have been with Yeshiva Rambam since its inception, the students have been guided to play an active and meaningful role in their community.

In these trying and difficult times, our Nation owes a debt of gratitude to Yeshiva Rambam and the Flatbush Jewish community for their dedication and devotion to developing a student body whose alumni have taken responsible and constructive positions in American society.

On the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the school, I have sent the following congratulatory message to Rabbi Sidney Harcsztark, administrator of Yeshiva Rambam:

MAY 11, 1973.

RABBI SIDNEY HARCSZTARK,  
Yeshiva Rambam, Brooklyn, N.Y.

DEAR RABBI HARCSZTARK: It is my pleasure to extend greetings to the Yeshiva Rambam on the celebration of its twenty-fifth anniversary.

The Yeshiva Rambam has made a major contribution to American society by providing an educational experience based on the Judaic ethnics and moral principles coupled with the ideals of American democracy.

For a quarter of a century Yeshiva Rambam has provided meaningful goals and direction to the youth of the Jewish community. The members of that community and the nation as a whole owe you a debt of gratitude.

I am honored to pay tribute to you at Yeshiva Rambam on this memorable occasion. Mazel Tov and may the Almighty grant you success in the future growth of your Yeshiva.

Sincerely,

HUGH L. CAREY,  
Member of Congress.

#### GEORGE E. ALLEN OF MISSISSIPPI

#### HON. DAVID R. BOWEN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. BOWEN. Mr. Speaker, my friend, Mr. Robert W. Collins, U.S. Naval Reserve, retired, of Yazoo City, Miss., has sent me a copy of an article which appeared in the Commercial Appeal newspaper, Sunday, May 6, 1973.

Mr. George E. Allen, a distinguished native son of Mississippi and trusted adviser of Presidents, is the subject of that article by Mr. William B. Street.

Under leave to extend my remarks I include the text of Mr. Street's interesting article on Mr. Allen's exemplary life. It follows:

The death of George E. Allen in Palm Desert, Calif., recently may have gone virtually unnoticed even in the Tupelo-Booneville-Okolona area of northeast Mississippi from whence he came.

George Allen belonged to a less complicated era of politics, one in which a good sense of humor and a dash of color meant far more than it does now.

Allen was a friend of three Presidents—Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry Truman and Dwight Eisenhower—and he served on numerous boards and agencies, was a leading corporation attorney and a onetime commissioner of the District of Columbia.

But we are not concerned with his record of public service at the moment.

What set Allen apart was his brand of humor. He was an excellent story teller, and most of his stories bore the brand of politics. It is said that he was one of the few who could put Roosevelt in a relaxed mood.

Allen's humor came naturally and despite adversity. He made a fortune in hotel management in the 1920's and saw it all go down the drain in the Wall Street crash at the end of the decade.

He was a nephew of the famed Pvt. John Allen of Tupelo, who served in the Congress for many years and is remembered today as one of the Nation's foremost humorists.

Allen's political mentor was the late Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi and one of his better stories concerned the man who was once described as the gadfly of the Roosevelt administration.

It seems that Harrison was a very young Senator, just starting on his way to a national reputation, when William Jennings Bryan scheduled a train trip through Mississippi and agreed to stop at Okolona to favor the populace with 30 minutes of his matchless oratory.

The occasion came near the end of Bryan's life. He had grown bald, was in failing health and his silver tongue had slipped a bit from the days when he captured the Democratic National Convention by storm with his "Cross of Gold" speech.

Harrison, according to Allen's story, rushed to Okolona to handle the introductory honors. No mean orator himself, Harrison got carried away with his opening remarks and used about 25 of Bryan's 30 minutes. Finally, Bryan spoke for 2 or 3 minutes, mumbled apologies and ran to catch his train.

Allen recorded that he was walking down Okolona's main street a few minutes later and met a farmer of his acquaintance.

"What did you think of Bryan?" Allen asked.

"I thought he was great, just great," said the farmer, "but tell me something: Who was that old, bald-headed fellow who talked after Bryan got through?"

Typically, Allen's stories of his relationships with Roosevelt, Truman, and Eisenhower were not in the Presidents-I-have-known line. His autobiography was entitled: "Presidents Who Have Known Me."

#### OUTMODED REGISTRATION LAWS HURT VOTER TURNOUT

#### HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, S. 352, a bill to establish within the Bureau of the Census a Voter Registration Administration for the purpose of administering a voter registration program through the Postal Service, has been passed in the Senate and now comes before the House.

In light of the extreme significance of this proposal, I would like to provide my colleagues with further information on this subject.

I now submit a recent article of mine that appeared in the Boston Globe, entitled "Outmoded Registration Laws Hurt Voter Turnout":

#### OUTMODED REGISTRATION LAWS HURT VOTER TURNOUT

In 1960, 64 percent of those eligible to vote in America actually voted. In 1968, it was 60.6 percent. Last November, it was approximately 55 percent. Recently, 4.4 percent of the eligible voters turned out for local elections in Oklahoma City. In Dallas, there was a 9.1 percent turnout.

This rapidly developing phenomena of political non-participation should concern us all. Political analysts believe that so many Americans are failing to cast ballots because they simply do not care about the results. Clearly, many Americans have become disinterested in the electoral process.

However, I believe that individuals are not voting because they are not eligible to vote. They are not eligible because they are not registered. Our system of voter registration

is one of the principal factors in America's poor voter turnout.

President Kennedy's 1963 Commission on Registration and Voting Participation stated that "restrictive legal and administrative procedures for registration and voting are a major reason for low participation." The commission described these procedures as "unreasonable, unfair and outmoded" and said they "disenfranchised millions."

In 1960, Stanley Kelley, Jr. and associates analyzed the rates of registration in 104 of the nation's largest cities. Penn Kimball, in his book "The Disconnected", wrote: "They (Kelley, Ayres, Bowen) discovered in statistical tests of 12 variables possibly affecting registration in the 104 cities under study that the most significant relationship of all was between the percentage of the population of voting age that is registered and the date at which the registration rolls are closed."

Idaho, which keeps its rolls open until the Saturday night before the election, had approximately 90 percent of its eligible citizens registered to vote in the last election.

The past decade saw the passage of laws that began to liberalize and open up registration procedures. The Voting Rights Act of 1965, applying to Southern states, abolished literacy tests and assigned Federal examiners to areas with low registration and voting turnout. This had an astounding effect on registration, especially among minority peoples.

In Mississippi, black registration jumped from 6.7 percent of the eligible black voters registered to 59.8 percent. In Alabama, from 19.3 percent to 51.6 percent. Progressive advancements in registration laws and procedures can clearly bring non-voters into our participatory process.

This is why I have introduced in this Congress the "Voter Registration Rights Act of 1973" which would create a system of national registration for Federal elections coordinated by the Bureau of the Census. It would utilize postcards and the mail and serve to constructively augment local registration machinery. Monetary incentives would be available to encourage state and local jurisdictions to make maximum use of the national system and to bolster their own.

The national system would have as its goal the strengthening of local systems. All local governments would be required to make greater efforts to insure that all of their citizens have freer access to both registration and voting than has generally been the case.

For most Americans, their main contact with government and politics is registration and voting. We must endeavor, in every way possible, to make this contact between the citizen and his government and political process as trouble-free as possible.

## CLEAR PERSPECTIVES ON THE TVA AT 40

**HON. ROBERT E. JONES**

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the 40th anniversary of the Tennessee Valley Authority has provoked a number of editorial comments on the value of this institution to the region and the Nation.

The comments of the Huntsville, Ala., Times recognizes that the TVA as well

as other institutions have critics but the writer points out many of the agency's critics lack perspective.

I direct the attention of the Members who are genuinely interested in the TVA to the editorial which follows:

### THE TVA AT 40

Forty years ago tomorrow, President Franklin Roosevelt signed into law a congressional act creating an agency that would lead the transformation of a vast river valley from a backward and perennially flood-ravaged area to a thriving, bustling region imbued with a hopeful new outlook.

Today, if the Tennessee Valley Authority chose to rest on its laurels, it would have quite a catalog of achievements to browse through in middle-aged contentment.

About all that the TVA, in partnership with the people of the Valley, has done during its four decades of existence is tame a mighty river, electrify a seven-state region, inspire more than a billion dollars' worth of industrial development, rebuild countless farms and forests, provide abundant new recreational opportunities, and, as TVA Chairman Aubrey J. Wagner puts it, "revitalize the human spirit" in the once-depressed region it serves.

In becoming the country's largest electric power system, the Authority has increased the percentage of farms served by electricity in North Alabama, for instance, from just 2 per cent in 1933 to virtually 100 per cent today. And despite TVA's own recently spiraling costs and resultant rate increases, the typical home in this area buys electricity at a rate that is still about 40 per cent less than the national average residential rate paid.

In developing its network of dams and reservoirs, TVA has created a 650-mile-long water "highway" linking the Tennessee Valley with 21 other states on the Mississippi-Gulf waterway system. The result? An enormous growth in commerce, in barge traffic (23 million tons of freight on the Tennessee last year), and in waterfront industrial development to provide needed jobs for Valley residents by the tens of thousands.

In flood control, one has to look back no further than this spring to grasp the value of TVA development. The fact is, a single major TVA flood-control operation during the recent deluge reduced damages by an estimated \$500 million—an amount more than double the agency's total investment in flood-control facilities.

But of course, TVA is not about to rest on its laurels now. There remains too much to be done, too many future energy needs to be met, too many other challenges yet to be faced in a region that is only now really coming into its own.

None of this is to suggest that the Valley is unanimous in regarding TVA today as the greatest thing since sliced bread. The agency, like every other institution today, has its critics. It is criticized for raising its rates, for disturbing the ecology with new dams, for resisting sweeping environmental pollution controls, for encouraging strip-mining of coal, for endangering fish with thermal pollution, for seeking further industrial development.

But many of the agency's critics, it seems to us, lack perspective.

Clearly, new thinking and new programs are required to solve the new and changing problems that confront this area today and those that lie ahead. And for the TVA concept to continue to work as well as it has for the past 40 years, it must have the continued basic support of the people it serves in so many essential ways.

## U.S. AGENCY CHARGES VIRGINIA CONTRACTOR IN BUILDING COLLAPSE

**HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS**

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. DOMINICK V. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, when the 2-year-old Occupational Safety and Health Act was still in its embryonic stage in the Select Subcommittee on Labor, which I am privileged to chair, our efforts were geared toward writing a law to safeguard the lives and well-being of American workers. We were totally dedicated—and still are—to a safety and health law to protect, not just penalize.

All of us were shocked and saddened by the tragic March 2 collapse of a high-rise building under construction in Baileys Crossroads, Va., which claimed the lives of 14 men and injured 34 others. The U.S. Labor Department recently charged a Virginia construction company with willfully violating the Federal job safety law in connection with this tragedy.

Mr. Speaker, the amount of the penalties proposed against the construction company by the Labor Department has little relevance in the face of the death of 14 men and the injury of 34 others in that accident. What is of the utmost importance is that compliance with the law in order to protect the workers on the construction site may have prevented the loss of 14 lives, and injury to so many others. The price of compliance is a small one to pay when the rewards of protection of safety and health on the job are so great.

I submit an article from the May 23 issue of the Wall Street Journal which gives an accounting of the building collapse and the Labor Department's subsequent action under the occupational safety and health law:

### U.S. AGENCY CHARGES VIRGINIA CONTRACTOR IN BUILDING COLLAPSE

WASHINGTON.—The Labor Department charged a Virginia construction company with willfully violating the federal job-safety law in connection with the March 2 collapse of a 24-story building that killed 14 men.

Penalties totaling \$13,000 were proposed by the department against Miller & Long Co. of Virginia, which was accused of three civil violations of the Occupational Safety and Health Act. The \$13,000 penalty is among the stiffest ever proposed by the department under the two-year-old law.

An attorney for the company said it "doesn't admit the validity of any of the citations and intends to contest them." He stressed that all of the federal charges were civil, rather than criminal, in nature.

Fairfax County, Va., has already filed criminal charges—including an allegation of manslaughter against one Miller & Long supervisor—in connection with the collapse of the building, which was under construction at Baileys Crossroads, Va., six miles outside Washington, D.C. Miller & Long, based in Baileys Crossroads, was a subcontractor pouring concrete on the project. In addition to the 14 workers killed, 34 were injured.

The Labor Department charged the company with "the premature removal of forms



from the 23rd floor of the building and the failure to have tests concluded to insure that the concrete had become strong enough to support the load without forms." The department called the alleged violation a "willful" one and proposed the maximum \$10,000 penalty.

Miller & Long also was charged with using damaged shoring timbers and failing to place guard rails on the open sides of two floors of the building. The department proposed total penalties of \$3,000 for the two charges. The company's attorney contended that neither of these two charges was directly related to the collapse of the building.

## TRIBUTE TO ART MCGINLEY AND JIM FARLEY

### HON. WILLIAM R. COTTER

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. COTTER. Mr. Speaker, two distinguished Americans, whom I have had the pleasure of knowing, are living proof that life begins midway through the 80's. I speak of Art McGinley, sports editor emeritus of the Hartford Times who continues to write a lively column, and Jim Farley, F. D. R.'s campaign manager and Postmaster General, and now board chairman of the Coca-Cola Export Corp.

The zest for living which these men exemplify is nothing short of remarkable. Their wit outshines the work products of a pack of television gag writers. Yet, another characteristic is their thoughtfulness and concern for others. They are, in short, true gentlemen whom I wish to salute on the occasion of the anniversary of their auspicious appearance in this life, and include a copy of Art McGinley's column on this subject:

JIM FARLEY WRITES

(By Art McGinley)

Then the postman of a recent day brought me yet another cordial letter from James A. Farley, former Postmaster-General and the man who managed FDR's journey to the White House.

Jim still is chairman of the Board of the Coca-Cola Export Corp., which directs that company's extensive operations in foreign countries.

He has held that post long years; politics was his great love, but he never turned his powerful situation in that field to financial benefit and was obliged to re-enter the business world to get a livable income. Before becoming a national figure, politically, he had been in the gypsum business.

I have known Jim Farley a half century—from the time when he and my cousin, Judge George Brower, were fellow members of the New York Boxing Commission. We have corresponded over that period. One of his letters I well recall was written in green ink, Jim ardent for all things Irish.

He is renowned for a remarkable memory for names. The late Moe Berkman, who for many years was political writer for the Hartford Times, would tell a story in instance: "I had met Jim Farley but once," Moe would tell it, "yet, years later, he came into a Bridgeport hotel lobby, walked up to me and said, 'How are you Moe, and how is everything in Hartford?'"

Many facets of Jim Farley's political career were impressive; none more than that in all

his long years in the field, he never had been charged with even one piece of doubledealing, of betrayal of a friend, or any of the other unsavory things that politics breeds. He writes:

"Dear Art: As I look over my diary from time to time, I noticed that in a few days you will be celebrating your 84th birthday and I'm delighted to know you are still around to receive congratulations from your friends and admirers and I am, of course, delighted to be in that category.

"As you know, God willing, I will be 85 years old May 30th, and I look forward to that occasion because I always have a party on my birthday.

"It's been a long time since we have had a good chat and it's always a delight for me whenever I receive any messages from you or about you from our mutual friends in Hartford.

"I do hope you are feeling all right and that you will enjoy good health and happiness for many, many years to come.

"Once again, my congratulations to you on your birthday, and with every good wish, I am.

"Sincerely yours,

"Jim."

## NEXT YEAR IN JERUSALEM

### HON. ANGELO D. RONCALLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. RONCALLO of New York. Mr. Speaker, this week, joined by 22 of my colleagues from New York, I wrote President Nixon asking him to intercede with Communist Party Chairman Leonid I. Brezhnev on behalf of a Soviet Jewess imprisoned for wanting to emigrate to Israel.

Mr. Brezhnev is coming to this country primarily to plead for trade concessions. Although I basically believe in a normalization of all relations with the Communist bloc in the interest of achieving a lasting world peace, I do not believe that we are under any obligation to extend most-favored-nation treatment to them while they are denying basic human rights to their citizens. No nation on earth has the right to restrict the emigration of its citizens or penalize them for expressing a desire to leave the country.

The Soviet Union has attempted to convince Congress and the American public that it has ended its oppression against Jews who want to emigrate. They cite as proof that they are no longer enforcing the astronomical exit tax. I, for one, am not yet convinced. The lifting of the tax is a welcome step and shows that the power of American public opinion reaches all the way into the Kremlin itself. But the tax is only one means of oppression. Russian Jews are still imprisoned, are still losing jobs as soon as they declare an intention to emigrate. Others are refused visas because their state-owned employers will not give the required letter of reference.

I am willing to be convinced, Mr. Speaker, but there is still a long way to go. One action which would do much to remove my skepticism would be the free-

ing of Silva Zalmanson who suffered from tuberculosis as a child and who is sick once again in a hard labor camp for trying to emigrate to Israel. I hope the President will be able to convince Mr. Brezhnev of the importance of this humanitarian gesture.

I include a copy of our letter to President Nixon at this point in my remarks:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Washington, D.C., May 21, 1973.

HON. RICHARD M. NIXON,

The White House,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: In a few short weeks you will be meeting for the second historic occasion with Chairman Leonid I. Brezhnev of the Soviet Union. We commend your efforts toward world peace and understanding and most particularly your efforts to normalize relations with the Soviets in trade and other matters.

The U.S.S.R. has taken an important step in creating a favorable climate for public and Congressional support for better trade relations by declaring that it will no longer enforce the oppressive exit tax on Jews who wish to emigrate to Israel. But this is only a first step, Mr. President. There is still a long way to go before we can be convinced of the sincerity of the Soviet Union in allowing freedom of emigration.

A much larger step would be to free those Jews who are imprisoned solely because of their expressed desire to go to Israel. A case in point is 28-year-old Silva Zalmanson, since 1970 serving a sentence of 10 years at hard labor for refusing to recant her Zionist beliefs.

At the age of 8, Silva nearly lost her life to tuberculosis. For six years she was under constant medical supervision, trying to regain her health and strength. In a poor state of health even at her trial, she is once again losing the battle for her life due to the hard work and insufficient food at the prison camp. Other cruelties have also been imposed on her. Silva's husband, Edouard Kuznetsov, was originally sentenced to death at the same Leningrad trial which put Silva in prison. His sentence was later reduced to 15 years at hard labor. Despite this, Silva is not even allowed to write her husband, let alone visit him. Her brothers Israel and Volf were also sentenced to long terms at hard labor.

Silva and her family did not engage in politics; they posed no danger to the Soviet state. Their only desire was, and still is, to be allowed to leave the U.S.S.R. and emigrate to the country of their choice.

Perhaps during the course of Chairman Brezhnev's visit, Mr. President, you could find time to ask your guest to free Silva Zalmanson and her relatives and to allow them to leave for Israel. You could tell him how important this gesture would be toward convincing the American people that the Soviet Union is interested in the human rights of its citizens. Perhaps he would then be willing to fulfill the dream of this sick young girl, expressed so eloquently at her trial, to spend "next year in Jerusalem."

Respectfully,

Angelo D. Roncallo, M.C., Lester L. Wolff, M.C., James R. Grover, Jr., M.C., Joseph P. Addabbo, M.C., John W. Wylder, M.C., Otis G. Pike, M.C., Norman F. Lent, M.C., Bertram L. Podell, M.C., Edward I. Koch, M.C., James F. Hastings, M.C., Barber B. Conable, Jr., M.C., Peter A. Peyser, M.C., Frank J. Brasco, M.C., Mario Biaggi, M.C., Hamilton Fish, Jr., M.C., Jack F. Kemp, M.C., William F. Walsh, M.C., Henry P. Smith III, M.C., Benjamin A. Gilman, M.C., Hugh L. Carey, M.C., Shirley Chisholm, M.C., Benjamin S. Rosenthal, M.C., James J. Delaney, M.C.

# ROBISON WELCOMES PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT

## HON. HOWARD W. ROBISON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. ROBISON of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am confident that all of us welcomed the statement made by President Nixon yesterday afternoon.

As a matter of fact, I had been preparing remarks—intended for delivery to the House today—calling upon the President to further state his position relative to the spreading ramifications of the Watergate investigation, now underway in the Senate. In my opinion, such a move had become incumbent upon the President in light of the fact that—although admittedly largely hearsay—such testimony as thus far received by the Ervin committee had already advanced its inquiry from the anticipated early stages of “who did what” either at the Watergate or in the attempts to cover it up, to the ultimate question of whether or not such activities were conducted with the knowledge and authorization of the President, himself.

Despite the appearance of some public apathy still remaining over this whole tragic, and so-unnecessary, affair—with many citizens still asking what “good” uncovering all of its facts would do the Nation—it has become apparent to me that matters were rapidly turning from “bad” to “worse” for the President, lending credibility to the growing spate of rumors that the President might have to resign his office, as no President before him has ever done. The existence of such rumors—no matter how inspired by Mr. Nixon’s political enemies—constituted a burden of such proportions that this Nation could not long carry it either at home or abroad. Evidence of this can be found not only in the recent behavior of the stock market and sagging trust of the dollar in world markets, but in many other ways yet to be specifically perceived.

I have not yet had time to digest either the implications of the testimony received by the Senate committee today, or of the lengthy Presidential statement. This will take time—and, in time, I will have further specific comments.

For the moment, however, I would like to reiterate what I said some 10 days ago to the effect that even the President of the United States—or, perhaps, especially the President of the United States—is entitled to the same presumption we all enjoy of being presumed innocent until proved guilty. On that presumption, alone, I am willing to accept at face value what President Nixon has now further said about Watergate—and I call upon all those citizens I represent to do likewise.

Further, I certainly do not think that the President should resign—nor, based on what I now know, do I think he can, or will, be impeached. In my judgment, he has been, on balance, a good and effective President—possessed, let us note, for we tend to forget this of our Presi-

dents, of the same human failings and frailties that beset us, all.

Nor—at least at the moment and, hopefully, not in the future—do I regret my past political support of Richard Nixon, nor my votes for him, in 1960, in 1968, or 1972.

We are, obviously, nowhere near the end of the Watergate affair, and where our efforts to untangle this dreadful mess will eventually lead us no man can say. But I have supreme confidence in several things—in the basic goodness and stability of this Nation and its people; in the fairness and sensibility of our citizens; and in the ultimate triumph of justice under the system we have established for the protection of our individual and collective rights and freedoms.

# TRIBUTE TO DR. JOHN WEINBERGER AND CHARLES L. ORR

## HON. B. F. SISK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, it is not too often that a Congressman has the honor of saluting a constituent for being singled out as a winner of a service award by the U.S. Department of Agriculture. Yet I have the distinction of having two such winners this year, and both were honored at U.S. Department of Agriculture ceremonies yesterday.

The chances of this happening are quite remote, especially considering the fact that only 91 individuals of a possible 83,000 USDA employees were singled out for special tribute by a honor awards committee.

I would like to take this opportunity to personally add my congratulations to Dr. John Weinberger, winner of the USDA’s Distinguished Service award, the highest given at yesterday’s ceremony, and Charles L. Orr, winner of a Superior Service award, the second highest honor.

Dr. Weinberger has received a number of high tributes in my State over the past few years, but he told me after receiving his department’s award that this was the zenith of his long and distinguished career. The USDA singled him out for spectacular achievement in horticultural research and the development of superior commercial types of fruits.

From the USDA Horticultural Research Station at Fresno, he has worked long and hard in developing varieties of fruit which fit into the complexities of marketing and yet meet the rigid requirements of the consumer. Although the peach, nectarine, apricot, plum, and grape growers have benefited from his labors, I feel the consumer has been the biggest beneficiary.

This man’s career is drawing to a close, yet I doubt that he will ever fully retire. He is probably this Nation’s only plant breeder working on improving table and raisin grape varieties. Along this line he and a colleague have developed a technique which allows for the rapid propagation of grapes, a method which has

been invaluable in the recent expansion of my State’s wine grape industry.

Although Dr. Weinberger’s richly deserved award is praiseworthy, I was equally pleased when Charles L. Orr, a member of the Federal Crop Insurance Corporation team which serves my district and parts of two other congressional districts in California.

Mr. Orr received the Department’s Superior Service award for “outstanding educational activities in behalf of the Federal crop insurance program.” This program, in my district and surrounding counties, helps protect more than \$47 million in crop production investments in a number of crops, but especially in raisins.

To salute one winner of a USDA award is reward enough, but to salute two winners of such distinguished honors is a rare and humbling privilege I would like to share with this august group.

# SOUTHERN RURAL ACTION, INC.: ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM

## HON. ANDREW YOUNG

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. YOUNG of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, in 1968, some 35 Senators and a comparable number of Representatives joined in the introduction of a bill known as the Community Self-Determination Act. This bill was designed to enable citizens at the local level to play a major role in the economic development of their communities.

The proposed legislation was supported by reference to a project in operation in Crawfordville, Ga. The Crawfordville illustration was one of several projects that made up the program of Southern Rural Action, Inc. Unfortunately, the legislation was not enacted into law. However, Southern Rural Action has quietly continued to develop economic projects and programs across the rural South. I am intimately acquainted with the work of this organization.

The men and women who staff Southern Rural Action, under the leadership of Dr. Randolph T. Blackwell, have annually conducted a million-dollar program on an average budget of less than \$300,000. By working for modest salaries and too often paying traditional organizational expenses out of their pockets, this loyal, dedicated group of citizens has been able to create a money flow in excess of \$60 million in the most needy parts of the rural South.

It is to the credit of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare Manpower Training and Development Division that it has provided some funds for this program.

I have here a copy of the progress report of Southern Rural Action, and take great pleasure in submitting it for inclusion in the RECORD, and urge my colleagues to examine it carefully:



## SOUTHERN RURAL ACTION, INC. ON THE LAUNCHING PAD—A PROGRESS REPORT 1968-73

## SOUTHERN RURAL ACTION HISTORY

Southern Rural Action, Incorporated is a private, nonprofit association incorporated by the state of Georgia in 1968 for the purpose of conducting economic development projects and programs in the rural Southeastern United States.

The work of SRA is a continuation of work begun in 1966 by Southern Rural Action Project, which was the Southern arm of the Citizens Crusade Against Poverty.

During its seven year history, SRA has done work in more than 110 communities, scattered across the entire United States. SRA has done concentrated economic development work in nineteen counties in the Southeast. This work has resulted in the creation of eighteen income job-producing factories and numerous social projects and programs.

## THE SRA AUDIENCE

The work of Southern Rural Action is predicated upon the fact that there is severe poverty concentrated in the rural South; 182 counties with per capita income of less than \$750 per year.

These are counties in which there is great black population concentration. Most of them have yet to discover any real semblance of democratic processes in society. Most of them have not in any real way been benefited by most of the federal social programs, including EDA, OEO, MDTA and FHA-USDA.

These are the counties in the nation that have experienced the greatest out-migration and in so doing, have contributed greatly to urban welfare rolls and center city decay.

## SRA HYPOTHESES

There are thousands of individuals that would prefer to live in rural America if income and social conditions were to show any signs of improving. Improvement is possible in rural America if projects and programs are designed so as to utilize resources that exist, mainly people, in the developmental process.

Construction of homes for rural families will have the effect of stabilizing and strengthening rural families. The development of manufacturing enterprises as against retail enterprises will tend to draw money resources from the affluent communities into the nonaffluent.

## SRA OPERATIONAL THEORY

Southern Rural Action has observed that depressed communities tend to cluster together and, in so doing, tend to share similar, cultural, social, political, population as well as economic characteristics.

There are strong feelings of allegiance and strong lines of communication between the citizens of these areas.

Southern Rural Action, has followed a practice of establishing a project in at least one county of each cluster area, knowing that each project will influence and move citizens in neighboring counties to action.

Many words have been used to describe the work of Southern Rural Action: Technical assistance, community organization, leadership training, economic development.

The work of SRA might properly be described as that which produces change—making things happen in a visible, concrete and tangible way. The approach is practical and direct, working with whatever happens to exist. Every community has some form of existing organization. SRA identifies an organization and utilizes it as the case group for economic development.

Local leadership emerges as a project unfolds. This leadership is given technical assistance in accordance with recognized needs.

The approach is deliberately simple. Without undertaking to give a community a complete health education, SRA will establish a bakery that produces nutritious bakery prod-

ucts, thus dealing with a health and an economic problem at the same time.

The SRA mode is a three phase process:

1. Deliberately select the community and an organization therein with which to work. Find the money necessary to purchase the tools of production. Train the people in the use of those tools.

2. Develop a mechanism through which the tools of production and the training afforded can be utilized to begin to solve immediate problems such as the need for food, an adequate house or an income-producing job.

3. Link the various projects in the various communities together in associations so as to strengthen each project and at the same time insure their continuous growth and development. Associations of this nature will be of great value in the problem solving, experimentation area. Significant economies to all involved can be reasonably anticipated.

## SRA OBJECTIVES

Southern Rural Action makes no pretense of its capacity to solve the economic problems of the rural South. Such an ambition would require a "Marshall Plan" similar to that which was employed after World War II.

SRA seeks to demonstrate that the economic, social, health, and other problems of the rural South can be solved.

SRA seeks in the immediate future to relieve human suffering to the fullest possible extent and to strengthen the spirit of hope through mass constructive people involvement.

In the more long range, SRA seeks to stem the tide of outmigration and hopes to reverse it.

## PRESENT STATUS AND NEEDS OF SOUTHERN RURAL ACTION, INC.

During the past six years Southern Rural Action has brought into existence eighteen enterprises. Within this group is to be found seven garment factories, four brick-crete factories, two rooftruss plants, one bakery, two silkscreen plants and two offset printing plants. Not included in this group are enterprises in their embryo stages of development that are producing cabinets, artificial marble and plastic products.

A natural outgrowth of these developments is a large number of projects and programs that tend to be a bit more social in nature, despite the fact that they also provide income producing jobs. In this group is to be found such things as home construction companies, water and sewerage associations, catfish farming projects, recreational centers, coin operated laundries, day care centers, credit unions and home owners associations.

So it is that Southern Rural Action has created a network of projects of varying kinds and in varying stages of development.

It is not anticipated that SRA will, in the near future undertake any major new ventures. The next twelve months will be given to strengthening those projects that now exist. In other words, the SRA program for this period of time will be that of going from phase II to phase III as set out above under the caption, "Operational Theory".

In some instances it will be a case of taking a single enterprise to a new and necessary level of development or expansion and in other instances it will be a case of forming a regional association in a particular area of interest.

## More Specifically:

If the investments already made in rural development are to be protected and if the future projections are to be realized, Southern Rural Action will need:

1. As a first priority, SRA will need funds to cover salaries and administrative expenses for a full administrative staff. Too often in the past has it been necessary for individuals to pay out of pocket legitimate administrative expenses as well as perform the work of two and three individuals with

all that that can mean in terms of reduced efficiency and physical-psychological wear and tear.

The stage of development into which SRA is now moving will not allow this kind of operation.

2. As a matter of second priority, SRA needs a solid technical staff to which it can guarantee salaries. To have such would make it possible to do a higher level of systematic planning than has been possible in the past. This staff will need access to some basic equipment and supplies.

The time is right to make a model of each of the existing enterprises. When this is done, other groups will observe and imitate. The forest fire effect that is to be anticipated, as a result of proper publicity is being deliberately held back by SRA until we have had a chance to do some necessary improving in each project.

## TRADE ASSOCIATIONS

The enterprises that SRA has established are young and fragile. This would apply to those that are clearly in the "black" as well as those that are climbing painstakingly in that direction. All of them need the protection and strength that can be afforded by some form of trade association. The formation of such an association is the logical next step for SRA.

Some limited experimentation with such an association has revealed a number of significant benefits, such as lending and borrowing of equipment, joint bulk buying of raw materials, joint contracting, central repair shop, joint marketing and sharing the costs of research and innovation.

SRA is ready to move into the establishment of associations in the areas of garment manufacturing, brickcrete manufacturing and the graphic arts field.

## TRAINEE STIPENDS

Most of the SRA enterprises can afford to expand and take in additional employees provided they are skilled. However, there is no surplus of skilled labor in rural America. The greatest barrier to expansion is the lack of capital to supply minimum training stipends to cover such things as lunches, transportation to and from work, cigarettes and child care costs. Such a training program will need to be supplied with adequate equipment and supplies. Immediate growth is dependent to a great extent upon funds for this purpose.

## MARKETING

A part of the original SRA theory was that if a successful project is established in an area of several deprived counties, that project will be observed and imitated, quite often without SRA's involvement.

The best way to insure that this does in fact happen is to insure that the existing factories are absolutely snowed under with contracts.

This can easily be accomplished through the creation of a cadre of trained manufacturers representatives. There is much evidence to support the conclusion that there is work available, we need only go out and get it.

## SUMMARY

It has taken six years to bring SRA to the launching pad on which it now sets. Perhaps this could have been accomplished in a shorter period of time, but certainly not in a different way.

Each progressive stage had to be gone through. Not one single step could have been omitted. Even the SRA budgetary problems which caused great difficulty can now be looked upon as valuable learning experiences.

## SIGNAL SUCCESSES STAND OUT

1. Five hundred and forty four individuals trained for employment in the garment industry. This training having taken place in eleven different communities resulting in

income increases for individuals involved from an average of \$16 per week, to an average of \$62.

2. Seventy-nine individuals trained to work in the construction industry resulting in income increases from an average of \$68 per week to an average of \$125 per week.

3. Four hundred, twenty-one homes built at an average price of \$11,000; fourteen churches, three factory buildings, and seven public buildings.

4. Two community water systems developed.

5. Nineteen factories established averaging eighteen employees.

6. Variety of service projects, such as day care centers.

Perhaps the greatest accomplishment of Southern Rural Action, though not measurable, are the effects that its programs have had on the attitudes and values of the people with whom it has worked.

All of the effort expended makes sense only when the people say in a real way, "its my community; I am responsible for what happens to it." Then, and only then can it

be expected that families in deprived communities begin to make the decision to invest in a medical education for a child, rather than buy first one used automobile and then another.

For those that need to see programmatic results expressed in dollars and cents, the following money flow breakdown will be interesting. This breakdown expresses the money flow in several communities that is the direct results of Southern Rural Action programs.

## MONEY FLOW BREAKDOWN

State/County	OEO	Farmers Home EDA Administration	Community enterprises	Private sector	New industry	New construction	HEW	Total
Georgia/Taliaferro	\$900,000	\$4,000	\$60,000	\$124,800	\$42,000			\$1,130,800
Georgia/Lincoln			3,000,000	70,000				3,070,000
Alabama/Wilcox	735,000		50,000	80,000		\$200,000		1,065,000
Alabama/Madison			240,000	15,000				255,000
Georgia/Hancock			120,000	7,030,000				7,150,000
Alabama/Perry			30,000	28,000				58,000
Mississippi/Sunflower	50,000		18,000	7,000				75,000
Georgia/Sumter			20,000	120,000		252,000	\$116,000	508,000
Alabama/Hale			140,400	8,000				148,400
Georgia/Mineral Bluff			429,600	9,000				438,600
Mississippi/Claiborne			12,000	56,000				68,000
Alabama/Choctaw			72,000	38,000				110,000
Mississippi/Bolivar			70,000	22,000		3,768,000		3,860,000
Alabama/Greene			84,000	111,000	\$350,000			545,000
North Carolina/Alamance		500,000		56,000				556,000
Southwest Alabama Farmers Cooperative (1967 budget)	400,000	75,000	800,000	30,000				1,305,000
Total	2,085,000	579,000	860,000	4,410,800	7,722,000	350,000	4,220,000	20,342,800

Note: Total money flow: \$20,342,800. Total money flow multiplier acceleration effect: \$61,028,400.

COMMON MARKET PLANS  
EXPANSION

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, I recently read a news report announcing that 16 European nations, comprised of members of the European Common Market and the European Free Trade Association, are close to forming a new trading partnership. This new merger, which gives EFTA nations access to low Common Market tariffs without giving them policymaking authority, is for the express purpose of protecting industry throughout Western Europe. If successful, it will create the world's largest trading area, encompassing 292 million people.

However, I consider it strange that foreign nations can make such a move without a word of protest from those who cherish the dream of a free trade world. In the United States such a step would bring howls of righteous indignation, including some from within this House. Those who would propose the move would be labeled antifree traders, protectionists flirting with the possibility of perpetrating an international trade war. Yet, foreign nations do it without a whisper of complaint from anywhere.

Mr. Speaker, I am inserting the news article, which appeared in the July 20 issue of the Standard-Observer, published in Irwin, Pa., into the RECORD for the consideration of my colleagues:

## COMMON MARKET PLANS EXPANSION

BRUSSELS.—If all goes as planned, 16 European nations will form the world's largest free trade area this week.

The idea is to protect industry through-

out all of Western Europe when the Common Market expands from six to 10 nations.

The area will embrace 292 million persons in the present six Common Market nations of France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg and in the four nations that will join in January—Britain, Denmark, Norway and Ireland—plus six other nations which will not join. The latter are Switzerland, Sweden, Austria, Finland, Iceland and Portugal.

These latter six all belong to the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), which was set up in 1960 in competition with the Common Market.

Three of the new Common Market nations—Britain, Norway and Denmark—are EFTA members and their defection to the market threatened their old EFTA partners with a loss of traditional markets.

For this reason, talks began early this year to set up the free trade area to give these nations access to low Common Market tariffs without giving them the right to join full members in making Common Market policy.

## TARIFFS MUST GO

Only a handful of details remained to be settled in talks this week. Common Market officials reserved Brussels's Egmont Palace for Saturday for a signing ceremony by foreign ministers of the 16 nations.

The treaty will obligate the EFTA and Common Market nations to eliminate their tariffs against one another's products—a few exceptions—during the next five years.

## COLLEGES OF OPTOMETRY INCREASE ENROLLMENT 150 PERCENT

HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, in these sessions when we hear almost a

daily litany on waste and inefficiency, it might make all of us feel a little better to know how a small investment of our tax dollars has paid huge dividends in better vision for our citizens.

Backed by the Health Professions Education Assistance Act, the Southern College of Optometry, in my district, and other optometric schools and colleges across the Nation, have increased their enrollment 150 percent since 1965.

Southern College of Optometry maintains clinical facilities which provide experience for its students, and provide needed services for many of our citizens who might not otherwise be able to obtain them.

The Federal investment is slight, but rewarding. The total funding for optometry schools and colleges in fiscal 1972 came to less than one-tenth of 1 percent of the total budget of the Bureau of Health Manpower Education, which funds them.

I think it is time we paid a special tribute to the Southern College of Optometry, and its sister optometric schools across the Nation, for their work in providing the trained vision care specialists that this Nation depends on so heavily for every facet of our daily living.

## NEIGHBORHOOD YOUTH CORPS

HON. PHILLIP BURTON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Speaker, what we are discussing today is another example of the callous disregard by this administration for the expressed will of the Con-



gress. Also and perhaps more importantly we are faced with another example of what was described by a former administration spokesman as "benign neglect."

This is neglect of those most in need of our concerns, the elderly, the poor, and the young.

In this instance, it is the young who are to be "neglected." The young people of our country who desperately need summer jobs are to be told that this vital program, the Neighborhood Youth Corps will be discontinued.

Last year in San Francisco, we had \$1.8 million in Neighborhood Youth Corps funds. This money provided jobs for 4,400 young people. We are told this year that this is to be totally eliminated and these young people will have to do without these needed jobs.

The educational future of many of our youth depends on these jobs. Without this summer employment, many will not have the funds to continue in school and will be forced to drop out.

Mr. Speaker, the school year is almost over, and we must move to insure that these jobs so vital to the future of our youth be restored.

#### SHORTAGE IN HEALTH MANPOWER

**HON. WENDELL WYATT**

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, the Health Professions Education Assistance Act was in response to the growing and critical shortage in health manpower, including the profession of optometry. Proposed funding cuts to the health profession schools mean, however, that within a very short time we will indeed be facing the very shortage of trained personnel which we were attempting to avoid.

Vision care is a primary health need in this Nation, as indeed it is everywhere. Optometrists provide approximately 70 percent of that care. Vision is vital to learning, working, recreation, emotional stability. Yet the 12 schools and colleges of optometry face virtual elimination of Federal support.

Many contend that the thrust of Federal support for higher education should go directly to the students. What does this mean in actuality? Tuition will rise and students will need more funds for their education. In addition, by depending on a loan system of support, we are encouraging students to establish their practices in affluent areas, the suburbs and central business districts. Certainly these are not the areas of greatest need.

The loan approach can also work to the disadvantage of students from lower income families. They are not always fully cognizant of the intricacies of banking, especially the loan process. Furthermore, they are saddled at the very outset of their career by great debts—that is, if they could even secure a loan.

The College of Optometry at Pacific University, in Forest Grove, Oreg., is the

only such school serving the entire Northwest of the Nation. Its finances are in a precarious state, for the entire university faces a tight financial situation.

The operating budget of the College of Optometry is financed by the Federal Government to the extent of 48.3 percent. The college cannot merely increase tuition as that would seriously discourage enrollment. The present course, I understand, is deficit financing, with enrollment gradually reduced by 1974. Over a 4-year period, enrollment will decline from 283 to 248 students. The faculty will have to be reduced.

Many of these optometry schools sponsor clinics, which primarily serve disadvantaged areas. This particular optometry school had planned to expand its clinical program to a new facility in Portland, which would have served the needs of the community's disadvantaged. Of course, with the proposed cuts in Federal support, this plan will have to be abandoned.

We are talking about reduced yet vitally necessary services to the people of Oregon, of the whole Northwest. The expenses involved do not represent a great percentage of the funds for the Bureau of Health Manpower Education, which funds such projects. In fact, of BHME's total 1972 budget, only 0.0808 was earmarked for optometric education.

Optometry is a valued and needed profession. We cannot abandon this facet of the overall health education program in this country. We cannot turn our backs on the health needs of the people of this Nation.

**HON. RICHARD ROUDEBUSH**

**HON. TIM LEE CARTER**

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, it is a privilege for me to be able to share with my colleagues the remarks of a former Member of this body on the occasion of the dedication of the Veterans' Administration mobile van, which was recently held in Richmond, Ky. That man, who many of you will remember, is the Honorable Richard Roudebush. Since leaving the Congress, Dick Roudebush has served outstandingly as Assistant Deputy Administrator of the Veterans' Administration for Congressional Affairs.

Dick Roudebush has a distinguished war record. He was wounded in action and he received five battle stars. In 1957, Dick served as national commander of the VFW. In 1960, he was elected to the Congress of the United States. I had the pleasure of serving in Congress with Dick Roudebush for 6 years. I miss having the benefit of his reasoned judgment and wise counsel in the House of Representatives. But it is most reassuring to know that he is now serving those who have so unselfishly served our great country in our times of need. The veterans of our country are most fortunate to have Dick Roudebush on the job for them.

His comments on the occasion of the dedication follow:

#### COMMENTS BY RICHARD ROUDEBUSH

It is a real pleasure to be here today to participate in the dedication of the Veterans Administration mobile van program in Kentucky.

I am honored not only by being here and meeting with those who have a keen and abiding interest in veterans' activities . . . but also by being allowed the distinction of representing the Veterans Administration at these ceremonies.

In the late 1960's . . . as servicemen stationed in Vietnam began to complete their tours of duty . . . it became apparent to the VA that past methods of communicating with veterans about their benefits would not be adequate.

And so, the VA started its outreach program and began contacting men while they were still in uniform and following up these contacts after they were separated.

The most innovative technique used . . . a Veterans Administration first . . . sent VA counselors to combat zones of Vietnam to talk to servicemen serving there, individually and in groups, about the benefits they would have coming to them and their futures as veterans.

Additionally, VA counselors in the United States began briefing servicemen at military separation centers and in military hospitals. In many cases . . . overseas and in this country . . . applications for benefits were taken on the spot.

A program of writing letters to veterans at home as soon as they were discharged was started. The letters . . . in addition to informing the veteran again of his benefits . . . tell him where his nearest VA office is located and invite him to visit or make a phone call as soon as possible.

If we don't hear from him, we send another letter six months after discharge.

With all this information being passed on to veterans while they were in service . . . and after separation . . . the VA continued to explore new ways of contacting the veteran in his own environment, new ways and making it easier for him to respond and avail himself of precious rights he has earned and that are valuable to him.

Last year, after a review of veterans' programs, President Nixon instructed VA to go live . . . to start the VA assistance van operation.

This was done in Texas last June and the program has been scattering and expanding since that time.

Today we inaugurate van activity in Kentucky. Today we will make it a little easier for veterans in this community to take advantage of benefits they so richly deserve and that their government wants them to use.

Not only has the response from veterans been good since the vans have been on the road, but response from those interested in veterans' affairs has been good. State and local officials have welcomed the vans and have contributed to their success by providing needed services and help.

State and local offices have been involved and so have veterans organizations and other agencies. This cooperation is present here today in Richmond, and we are confident it will be present throughout the Kentucky tour.

There are some 400,000 veterans in Kentucky and about 80,000 of them are young men and women who served during the Vietnam Era, veterans for whom the mobile vans were planned and to whom the greatest amount of mobile service is being provided.

Certainly all veterans . . . and dependents and survivors of veterans . . . will be welcome at this van and all will receive the same help and attention. But it is the Vietnam veteran who is today faced with problems of readjustment back to civilian life, and helping to solve these problems is the primary aim of this innovative program and those who staff it.

The Veterans Administration has three stations in Kentucky . . . the regional office in Louisville and hospitals in Louisville and Lexington . . . and spends some \$194 million a year in serving Kentucky's veterans.

The operation of this van may seem like a small addition to such a large operation . . . and it is, measured in dollars. But, I assure you it will be an important part of VA's mission in this part of Kentucky as it helps people who could not otherwise avail themselves of VA benefits.

Our schedule calls for fifteen stops in Eastern Kentucky during the rest of this month. I am sure that if an expansion of this schedule is needed . . . to spend more time in this area or to go into other parts of the commonwealth . . . it can be arranged either on this tour or in the future.

Dr. Carter, it is an honor to be here today representing the Administrator of Veterans Affairs and the Veterans Administration . . . and it is a pleasure to be with you and friends of yours in the Fifth Congressional District.

I appreciate your hospitality and I hope the mission of this van will be successful.

ROGER F. MARTIN

HON. DAN KUYKENDALL

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. KUYKENDALL. Mr. Speaker, the following statement by Roger F. Martin, general manager of the Air Line Pilots' Association, was brought to my attention by a friend who is a business as well as a volunteer associate of Mr. Martin's. Mr. Martin is president and chairman of the board of the Joint Action in Community Service, Inc. and speaks from several years of volunteer experience with this organization. I think my colleagues will be as interested as I am in the commendable work and effective results achieved by volunteers of this group. Therefore, I am inserting into the RECORD Mr. Martin's statement which was presented to the Senate Subcommittee on Employment, Manpower, and Poverty on May 3 of this year:

STATEMENT BY ROGER F. MARTIN

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee: We are pleased to have this opportunity to discuss with you the program of JACS, Joint Action in Community Service, Inc., especially as it relates to follow-up services to Job Corpsmen.

Our purpose here today is three-fold: (1) To acquaint you with the support services now being given to Job Corpsmen through a nationwide network of JACS Volunteers; (2) to register our support and the support of thousands of JACS Volunteers for the Job Corps program; and (3) to urge the inclusion of supportive services in whatever form the Job Corps may take in the future.

With me today are three members of the JACS Board of Directors who wish to share some of their experiences with Job Corpsmen and to express their feelings concerning the program. They are:

First let me tell you briefly about JACS.

JACS was created in 1967 by the Interreligious Committee Against Poverty, a coalition of religious leaders representing national Protestant, Catholic and Jewish organizations, in response to the need for community support for returning and relocating Job Corpsmen.

Drawn from social, service, civic, religious,

fraternal and other community-oriented groups, as well as educational institutions, labor organizations, business and industry, JACS Volunteers provide the personal assistance necessary to ease the often difficult transition from training to employment and responsible citizenship. The purpose here is to help a young person make the most of the opportunity available to him as a result of his Job Corps training.

Each Volunteer works with only one Corpsman at a time, until the young man is well on his way to self-reliance and stability. The Volunteer's assistance is personal and sustained—usually from six months to a year.

For Corpsmen without jobs—or those with legal problems, or in need of counseling, medical services or additional education or vocational training—JACS Volunteers can direct them to resource agencies and programs supplying these services in their area.

JACS Volunteers also dispense such taken-for-granted information as where to shop, where to look for decent housing, how to budget money, how to use the public transportation system, and more. Services, I might add, that have proven to be essential to the overall success of a Corpsman.

JACS Volunteers are taught to understand the language and value systems of impoverished neighborhoods; to be knowledgeable about the causes of poverty; and to relate in an adult, realistic fashion to the special needs of poor youth.

In short, the JACS Volunteer offers to be a trusted friend to a young man coming from the world of poverty who is now trying to make it on his own in the world-of-work. The Volunteer provides the vital follow-up necessary to ensure the success of Job Corps training. He helps make sure that the nation's investment in the Job Corps trainee is not lost.

A total of 35 paid staff members are responsible for administering the JACS program. This includes a national office in Washington, D.C., and eight regional offices located in Job Corps regional offices in New York City, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Chicago, Kansas City, Denver, Dallas and San Francisco.

The JACS Board of Directors still includes several of the original founders of JACS in addition to leaders of labor, business, industry, education, government and civic groups. These men are responsible for setting the policy and program guidelines for JACS.

To date, more than 15,000 persons have served as JACS Volunteers. While some volunteers have been with the program for a number of years, many serve for shorter periods resulting in an active volunteer force of approximately 5,000 persons at the present time.

There are organized groups of JACS volunteers in all major cities and most of the smaller towns and communities where Job Corpsmen have returned or relocated. The JACS staff and Volunteers have developed referral systems and methods of resource utilization which make it possible to provide most any service needed for former Corpsmen. Over 150,000 young men have been contacted and assisted.

As you can see, we are uniquely involved with the Job Corps program. We are adamantly in favor of full continuation of the program for the following reasons:

1. It is a total program of human renewal. The Job Corps offers much needed skill training; but what is equally important, it offers basic education, medical services, social adjustment counseling, and many intangibles that enable the beginning of a new life style for young people.

2. It is a residential program. As local community volunteers, we know the environmental circumstances in which these youths have lived. Even the best training program will not reach most of them if they

continue to reside in such deprived conditions.

3. The Job Corps is one of very few opportunities open to these youth. Opportunities which are growing more scarce every day.

4. And despite the inherent difficulties in any program of this nature, we consider the Job Corps a tremendous success. Thousands of young men and women are now producing in good jobs (and paying taxes) because of the Job Corps. They have replaced the despair of poverty with the self respect and promise of having earned their way into the American mainstream.

We firmly believe that the JACS program of support assistance has established itself as an integral part of the overall Job Corps program.

I would like to urge that serious consideration be given to the unique concept of an agency like JACS whereby a minimum of government funds or seed monies are combined with local citizen manpower. The volunteer support of the JACS program represents an estimated 10,000 man-hours per week which, if calculated conservatively at \$5.00 per hour, amounts to a citizen in-kind contribution of \$50,000 per week, or \$2.5 million a year. This means JACS generates nearly four times its own costs.

And aside from the economic factor, the special value of volunteers is widely recognized. A volunteer brings to a personal assistance situation all the contacts and associations of his daily life in the general community and the particular skill or expertise of his own walk of life. He can be more detached from structures and systems; he can relate to a client on a more equal basis; and his very presence as a volunteer underscores his commitment to the person he serves.

In addition, volunteer programs such as JACS have contributed to citizen interest in resolving many of the problems that create the need for manpower programs.

To conclude I would just like to point out that in his 1969 Inaugural Address, President Nixon spoke of approaching the limits of what government can do alone and said:

"What has to be done, has to be done by government and people together or it will not be done at all." It is the conviction of the JACS Board of Directors, staff and volunteers that the JACS/Job Corps partnership is a working example of this objective.

REAR ADM. DRAPER L. KAUFFMAN ENDS DISTINGUISHED NAVY CAREER

HON. ROBERT McCLORY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. McCLORY. Mr. Speaker, at the change of command ceremonies at the Great Lakes Naval Training Center on Saturday, May 26, my friend, Rear Adm. Draper L. Kauffman will be relieved as Commandant of the 9th Naval District, and Commander of the Great Lakes Naval Training Center by Rear Adm. James David Ramage. As a part of this ceremony, Admiral Kauffman will retire from his long and distinguished career in the U.S. Navy.

Mr. Speaker, I have heretofore commented on this subject in the House Chamber, and wish only to add that the ceremonies on Saturday at Great Lakes will be headed by a number of distin-



guished national guests, including Adm. Elmo R. Zumwalt, Jr., Chief of Naval Operations.

Mr. Speaker, I am privileged to be among those in attendance at this ceremony at which time I will extend personal congratulations and good wishes to Rear Adm. and Mrs. Draper Kauffman, with the hope that they will enjoy many years of health and happiness together and a rewarding retirement.

#### EDITORIAL COMMENTS WORTH NOTING

### HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, station manager George R. Torge, of station WBEN-TV in Buffalo, forwards to congressional offices editorial materials from his evening news programs.

On May 14, 1973, an editorial from the Denver Post, "Stop the Bombing in Cambodia," was aired, and on May 16, 1973, one from the Wall Street Journal, "Generals Should Stop Acting Like Damn Fools."

I was very much interested in the timely topics, and would like to take this opportunity to share these commentaries with my colleagues. They are thought-provoking and worthy of serious reflection:

#### STOP THE BOMBING IN CAMBODIA

Despite the claims of the Cambodian government, American officials in Phnom Penh told a New York Times correspondent last week that there has been no documented evidence that Vietnamese Communist troops have served in combat roles in Cambodia during the last three months.

The troops the United States has been bombing at Kampot and Takeo on the approaches to Phnom Penh are described by the American sources as Cambodian insurgents from a number of anti-government factions, including some Communists.

They are seeking to overthrow a dictatorial ruler, Lon Nol, who acquired his power through a coup, who has been damaged physically and mentally by a cerebral hemorrhage.

Why it is in the interest of the United States to bomb Cambodians who want to oust such a man, or why the United States is seeking to reconstitute his government are questions that do not prompt easy answers under these circumstances.

If our bombing were directed against Vietnamese Communists operating against troops of the Saigon government along the border of South Vietnam, it would still be difficult to reconcile with our policy of disengaging from the war in Indochina.

But our attacks are directed at Cambodians near Phnom Penh rising against an unworthy government. That is all the harder to justify.

The United States can only bring discredit on itself, intensified suffering on others and problems for its own society by continuing to bomb in Indochina. The bombing ought to be halted immediately.

#### GENERALS SHOULD STOP ACTING LIKE DAMN FOOLS

It all adds up. Which is why Sen. Proxmire doesn't miss a trick in his never-ending quest of waste in the Defense Department.

In the past, he has spotlighted incredible cost overruns resulting from the Pentagon's procurement practices, and has no doubt helped force reforms that save many millions of taxpayers' dollars.

By comparison his latest find is small potatoes, and he's not making a big deal out of it. But it does warrant the little lecture Mr. Proxmire delivered on the Senate floor last week.

It seems an Air Force major general, W. S. Harrell, retired from the service in February and Malmstrom Air Force Base in Montana celebrated the event in two days of ceremonies that included: a parade, a cocktail party, a banquet, a flyby of 12 F-106's, and 16 F-101's, B-57's, F-104's and T-33's.

According to the 51 page booklet of orders that was prepared for the occasion and distributed in 82 copies, both the parade and flyby required rehearsal.

Sen. Proxmire doesn't want to be a party-pooper, but quite properly raises an eyebrow over all this. Estimating the cost in the "tens of thousands of dollars," which seems about right, he notes there are 375 major generals in the Army, Air Force and Marines. "If all the other general flag officers of our military are treated equally, the amount spent annually for retirement ceremonies must be staggering."

The Senator also observed, wonderingly, that 100 men at Cameron Station spend 50% of their time making exhibits, bookends, metal photos, slide shows, display cases for medals, guns, and maps, pistol boxes, displays of ammunition, framed invitations, murals, Pentagon-shaped cigar boxes—all to be given at taxpayers' expense to retiring generals, admirals, and high-ranking Pentagon civilians.

It would be a different matter, of course, if one of his men passed the hat and said, "Hey, the general's retiring next week. Let's buy him a parade, a flyby, and one of those nifty cigar boxes shaped like the Pentagon."

#### MENTAL HEALTH RESEARCH: ANOTHER VICTIM OF THE BUDGET AX

### HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, President Nixon has proposed that the research training programs of the National Institutes of Health be eliminated. After January 29 of this year, no new commitments for NIH grants are to be accepted, and only those grants with continuing commitments will receive funds during the 1974 fiscal year.

The result of these actions, if Congress assents, will be to cripple medical research, impair medical education, and impede opportunities for advanced biomedical research training. The timing of these proposals is particularly unfortunate, as the financial squeeze upon medical education and research is pronounced.

At the hearings on the proposed budgetary reductions in health programs that I held on May 5, 1973 in Newton, Mass., I received particularly informative testimony on how these budgetary reductions will affect research and research training in mental health. The testimony was that of Elliott G. Mishler, Ph. D., associate professor in psychology, de-

partment of psychiatry, Harvard Medical School. Dr. Mishler is also director of psychological research at the Massachusetts Mental Health Center.

The testimony of Dr. Mishler reveals that his research training program in social psychiatry will be terminated as a result of the cutbacks. This situation is not at all unique. I can predict with some certainty that every Member of Congress will sooner or later find that the medical facilities and institutions in his district or State will be impaired and weakened as a result of these needless, short-sighted cutbacks. I do not believe that our Nation can afford to skimp on health care. I do not believe that medical research and education are expendable.

At the hearings I also received testimony from Dr. John B. Nelson, director of child psychiatry training at the South Shore Mental Health Center. Dr. Nelson also deplores the cutback in research, training, and medical education funds, noting that this will result in diminished health care manpower. In particular, Dr. Nelson notes the continuing scarcity of child psychiatrists, and comments that without adequate medical education and research training funds the scarcity of qualified child psychiatrists will "unfavorably effect programs for years to come."

Dr. Nelson also spoke to the broad question of national health insurance, and stated his view—one that I would like to emphasize as well—that mental health care must be included in any comprehensive national health insurance system.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to urge my colleagues to study carefully the testimony of Dr. Mishler and Dr. Nelson. For I believe that there is in this testimony lessons valuable to every part of the Nation. The lesson is that Congress must not allow health care programs to be sacrificed:

#### TESTIMONY OF ELLIOT G. MISHLER, PH. D.

I am currently the Director of the Research Training Program in Social Psychiatry. This is an advanced and specialized program that provides fellowships for research training to psychiatric residents and to young investigators who have already earned a Ph. D. in the behavioral or social sciences. In its present form, the program has been in operation for eight years, and in a modified form for five years before that. The program has been supported by a training grant from the Social Sciences Section of the Training and Manpower Division of the National Institute of Mental Health. A central aim of the program has been the training of researchers, within an interdisciplinary context, to undertake studies on the social aspects of psychiatry and of mental health problems. The annual budget of the program for this past year was \$82,470 of which about 60% was for stipends for trainees and the remainder for teaching and administrative costs.

During the thirteen continuous years of its operation, about 40-45 Fellows received training in the program. Fellows came from a variety of disciplines, including anthropology, clinical and personality psychology, education, mathematics, physiological psychology, social psychology, sociology, and urban planning, as well as clinical psychiatry. The continued support of the program over this long period of time is one mark of its success; as of now, it is the only program of its kind in the country. A wide range of studies have been undertaken by Fellows. In recent years,

this has included research on the relative effectiveness of different types of group therapy, on relationships between family processes and the development of schizophrenia, on patterns of personality development in black and white adolescents, on experimental approaches to schizophrenia and to the control of certain physical illnesses such as hypertension, on cognitive development in children, and on the effects of the physical environment on the behavior of pre-school and nursery-school children.

In addition to its training aspects, staff and Fellows in the program also participate in the training of psychiatric residents by offering teaching conferences in social psychiatry. This is the only formal aspect of the residency program in which the social aspects of psychiatry receive direct attention.

This program has now been terminated, as have all other mental health training programs, as a result of recent budget cuts. By chance, the grant period for the program runs until June 30, 1975. Under current directives, we will be permitted to continue but will be unable to appoint new Fellows and the teaching budget of the program will be reduced. In effect, this means that we will be able to operate next year in only a minimal way and that we will exist largely on paper in the following year.

Another type of training program that has been terminated is the Research Scientist and Career Development program. I, and many others, have considered this program to be one of the most important and critical ones for research in the mental health field. Under this program, young investigators who showed special promise and interest in research, received salary support for a five-seven year period during which time they could be relatively free of teaching, administrative, and clinical responsibilities. Potentially, this is one of the most productive periods in a research scientist's career but under the usual circumstances of an academic or clinical position it is very difficult for a young researcher to secure either the necessary time or the necessary funding for his work. The NIMH program met this need, although even at its best only a relatively small number of Fellows could receive support.

Several of the most productive scientists at the Massachusetts Mental Health Center have been receiving support through this program. Their awards have now been terminated, although again they will be permitted to continue through their grant periods; however, no new awards will be made. In one instance, a research psychologist whose work on the physiological aspects of mental and physical illnesses spans a period of almost fifteen years and who directs an experimental laboratory with a highly-skilled staff of technicians and professionals, was informed two months ago that his award would be terminated this June 30th. The personal costs of this arbitrary decision are considerable for him and his staff. The negative impact on scientific studies of these important problems is of equal magnitude. Over the next several months, this laboratory which was built up over a long period of time and includes many pieces of expensive technical equipment, will gradually reduce the amount of research underway and may cease operations entirely.

In my own research unit, a colleague on a similar award, will be terminated as of a year from June. This has had disruptive effects on her current program of research, has forced her suddenly to seek other sources of continued support and may eventually require her to give up a program of research that has developed over the past fifteen years.\*

Each program director and teacher in our institution would be able to report other instances similar to these. Much of the re-

search in the field of mental health, and of the mental health services provided, has been accomplished through training grants. By terminating training grants, in an arbitrary way and without any evaluation of their effectiveness nor of the implications of their termination, the actions of the federal government will have a destructive impact on research in mental health and thus on our knowledge and understanding of the causes and therapies of mental illnesses.

#### TESTIMONY OF DR. JOHN B. NELSON

Your interest in the health of our citizenry is heartening. I am sorry to be unable to attend your May 5 meeting. Please accept in lieu of my presence the following statement.

My concern about health care is broad. My knowledge is fairly narrowly focused on mental health, especially that of children. My experience includes 11 years of practice in child psychiatry, 5 years as Executive Director of a child guidance clinic and three years as a Director of a child psychiatry training program.

Our children need more and better integrated service for their mental health problems. Governmental efforts in HEW and various states including our Commonwealth show some promise of improving organization and integration. But, efforts will be hollow if manpower diminishes.

We must keep a steady flow of medical students (and nurses, social workers, and psychologists) entering the health fields. Continued governmental support of medical training is necessary.

Psychiatry and child psychiatry training has been supported since World War II by HEW. Child psychiatrists are still scarce and are poorly distributed. Removing training support at this time is serious since it will likely choke off the supply of these necessary specialists. Already unavailable to perform their multi-faceted leadership roles in mental health care settings any further diminution will unfavorably effect programs for years to come. The situation is the exact opposite of the present over-supply of engineers.

Criticism has been raised that training support has only created private practitioners uninvolved in the public sector. There is partial validity in that criticism. There is little reason for that particular inequity to continue. Trainees receiving support could quite correctly be expected to return an agreed upon amount of service in public institutions.

The problems of manpower training are inextricably intertwined with the problems of service delivery. The cut off of further development of the community mental health center's staffing grants is a case in point. We won't need any trainees if we are going to cut the life blood support of the public agencies mandated to be the chief care delivery providers. With neither a flow of trainees or expansion of our evolving system of community care the children and youth of our nation will be under served. The results of that form of undernourishment will plague us and our offspring a long time.

One last comment. There will likely be a national approach to health care funding very soon. Mental health coverage is an essential part of any such program. Vital will be inclusion of provisions for the support of psychotherapy and guidance so that a more realistic balance of approaches to mental health care will be fostered. This instead of some present insurances which really encourage the possibility of over-zealous use of electro convulsive therapy. This latter approach has been shown to have little value in the treatment of children.

Thank you for giving me this opportunity to present my thoughts. If I can assist further please let me know.

## EQUAL EMPLOYMENT IN STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Ms. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has proposed regulations for reporting and recordkeeping by State and local governments. Women in City Government United, an association of women employed in various agencies of the New York City government, have submitted a statement on the proposal, and I include its text at this point in the RECORD:

#### STATEMENT OF WOMEN IN CITY GOVERNMENTS UNITED

Women in City Government United is a confederation of women from New York City agencies concerned with the problems of sex discrimination in New York City government. Our membership crosses economic and racial lines, and includes women at every level of City government. Over the past several years, we have worked to end discrimination in such diverse areas as maternity benefits, pension benefits, health insurance, disability benefits, and hiring and promotion. We have made some significant progress particularly as regards the City's maternity policy. However, much remains to be done before we achieve equality for women employed by the City of New York.

Our most important weapon has been Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Under its authority, we have filed numerous class complaints against the City, and expect to file many more. To insure the maximum effectiveness of our efforts, it is important that the employment information reporting required of state and local governments be geared as closely as possible to their actual functioning.

Based on our experience with the City of New York we have the following recommendations on the proposed reporting and record keeping regulations for state and local governments.

#### 1. PUBLIC HEARING AND NOTICE FOR EXEMPTION FROM REPORTING REQUIREMENTS

In the event a political jurisdiction requests an exemption or delay from the EEOC reporting requirements an opportunity should be provided for interested parties to offer testimony on the request. This should take the form of a public hearing. Notice of such hearing should be made by publication for a week in the Federal Register and in at least one newspaper of general circulation in the political jurisdiction seeking the exemption. Direct mail notice should also be given to all parties with pending complaints or court actions against the political jurisdiction. Publication in the Federal Register alone would not be adequate since it is not routinely read by the affected employees.

Our experience with the City of New York has been that whenever we requested employment data we were told that it was too difficult to obtain. For over a year and a half, we have been awaiting the release of a city-wide employee census which has been continually delayed because of alleged difficulties in compilation. In the interim, WICGU initiated its own city employment surveys, and found that the City's claims of hardship were spurious and, we suspect, a mere stalling tactic. Incorporating a public hearing requirement into the new regulations will provide an important safeguard for local government employees.



## 2. REPORTING OF TRAINEES AND APPRENTICES

There is no provision in the proposed regulations for state and local government reporting of trainees and apprentices. This is probably the result of an incorrect assumption by the EEOC that local governments do not have employees in these categories. The City of New York has a system of trainee positions and is also experimenting with the idea of instituting apprenticeship programs. Since the EEOC has recognized the importance of access to entry level training in its reporting requirements for private employers, it is only reasonable to extend the same protection to public employees.

## 3. INDIVIDUAL AGENCY REPORTS

The proposed regulations only require reporting on a city-wide basis. It is important that data be reported on an agency-wide basis as well. Employment practices are as much affected by agency policies as city-wide policies. Since heads of agencies have a great deal of flexibility within the civil service system in determining who is hired and promoted. It is impossible therefore to correct sex discrimination within city government without examining each individual agency as a unit. Such a reporting requirement would be analogous to the policy which requires private employers to file an EEO-1 form for each individual establishment as well as a consolidated report. This need is not served by the proposed regulation requiring the reporting of employment data by function since in many cases these functions overlap several different agencies, each with a different employment policy. The result is that the employment policies affecting any one function will not be uniform.

We applaud your efforts to end sex discrimination in city and state government, and hope you will incorporate our suggestions so that the proposed regulations can be utilized to maximum effectiveness.

## GEORGIA "SPEAK-UP JAYCETTE COMPETITION"

## HON. BO GINN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. GINN. Mr. Speaker, competing in the "State Speak-Up Jaycette Competition," Mrs. Bonnie Rose Smith of Emanuel County, Ga., gave a convincing defense of our Nation's free enterprise system. I would like to call Mrs. Smith's speech to the attention of my colleagues, and include it in the RECORD at this point:

## JAYCEES CREED

We believe:  
That faith in God gives meaning and purpose to human life;  
That the brotherhood of man transcends the sovereignty of nations;  
That economic justice can best be won by free man through free enterprise;  
That government should be of laws rather than of men;  
That earth's great treasure lies in human personality;  
And that service to humanity is the best work of life.

I thank Almighty God for our great American heritage of freedom which is the foundation stone for so many blessings which we enjoy and cherish. Foremost among these is the recognition of the dignity and importance of man, the right of free choice enterprise, the ownership of property, the privilege to direct the policies of government,

CXIX—1063—Part 13

and the basic freedom which permits man to develop his capabilities and build a full and productive life.

The American people have, by exercising those God-given rights, built within a comparatively short period of time, the greatest country on earth providing the highest standard of living known to mankind.

In receiving these blessings we must accept the challenge to defend and advance them for those who are to follow us.

The American Businessman and Woman, with their family-type business enterprises, has been the foundation stone in the economic growth of this country. The preservation and strengthening of this pattern of free enterprise is the great hope for the United States to maintain a strong position of effective leadership in the world struggle for the minds of men.

A great responsibility rests upon our government in carrying forward the American heritage of freedom and providing a healthy and wholesome environment in which the business and farm enterprises of this country can operate. I believe that every energy should be directed to the ends.

In the Two Centuries of this nation's existence, America under a private and free enterprise system, has conquered communicable diseases, brought literacy to the masses, all but abolished starvation and provided essential and productive work for practically all who have the desire.

We have transported men to a heavenly planet. We have expanded the horizons of our citizens to an almost incredible degree, by giving them wheels and wings and electronic extensions to their eyes, ears, hands, and now even to their brains.

Private enterprise in America has made available to the average American, Luxuries that just a short time ago were beyond the reach of the wealthiest plutocrat.

But these material things of the Free Enterprise system are not the greatest of our achievements. The chief and most essential advantage of Free Enterprise is the word "free"—free as opposed to "repressed." Free as opposed to "Controlled." That Freedom is our Great Hope.

## TVA CHAIRMAN OUTLINES NEW CHALLENGES

## HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, in a special edition celebrating the Tennessee Valley Authority's 40th anniversary, the Decatur, Ala., Daily, printed comments from Aubrey J. Wagner, chairman of the TVA Board of Directors, on the present and future role of the institution.

He calls for continuation of the partnership with the people to create new patterns of living from the fabric of the urban industrial region the Valley has become.

Chairman Wagner's remarks were as follows:

## TVA AND THE PEOPLE

(By Aubrey J. Wagner)

Plans take shape for a pollution-free city of tomorrow, where children have green-space to play and to grow. Other communities built to the needs of a day long since past are reshaped to face new demands from a rapidly urbanizing society.

Thousands of rusting junk car hulks and

scores of pest-infested garbage heaps disappear from once-blighted landscapes. Students gather in outdoor learning laboratories, seeing and feeling the tangible relationships between man and nature in a way no desk-bound textbook can provide.

The heartbeat of a mountain man, miles removed in time and place from any modern medical care, is computer-analyzed and referred to diagnosis to a physician in a far-away city.

The unifying thread tying these seemingly disparate activities together is that they all are current examples of the four-decade-old, creative, cooperative partnership forged between TVA and the people of the Tennessee Valley Region.

Over those years, the Valley has become a national laboratory, a pathfinder for the nation in seeking and demonstrating new solutions to new and changing problems. At the core of this effort has been an unswerving belief in the absolute necessity for full participation and involvement by all levels of government, by private enterprise, and, most importantly, by the people of the region themselves.

As TVA observes its 40th anniversary, it pays tribute not to its own accomplishments, but to the hundreds of institutions and thousands of individuals who breathed life into this concept, who made it work in the past and who must make it work in the future.

The eroded land, the devastating floods, the desperate poverty that marked and defined the Valley of yesterday have yielded to this joint effort.

Local, state, and federal officials, businessmen and farmers, private citizens and public servants, all joined together as a regionwide team to electrify the Valley, to rebuild its farmlands and reforest its woodlands, to help create a balanced economy that includes industry and commerce alongside a productive agriculture.

Today, at a time when the dehumanizing forces at work in society seem to whittle down the importance of the individual, when lengthy tomes are put forth about man's loss of a sense of self-worth, when the space-spanning complexities of a modern day world seem to fragment and polarize rather than unite, the need to apply this cooperative partnership to the continuing task of improving the quality of life is greater than ever before.

We have reached a time when we must move together to create new patterns of living from the fabric of the urban-industrial region we have become. Only by bringing broad understanding and balanced perspective to bear on the tremendous variety of legitimate but often competing needs in today's society can we hope to meet the challenges ahead. We must concern ourselves with widening the options available as to where and how people may live, work, and play in the years ahead. We must continually balance the need for a healthy economy with a quality of our natural environment better than we have ever known.

Fortunately, the elements of past development have produced the broad guidelines of a direction for the future. Planned industrial growth is helping disperse population in the Valley, countering the national trend toward the forced concentration of people into sprawling, economically unmanageable and environmentally overwhelming metropolitan clusters.

The people who are filling these new jobs in the Valley still have access to the essential ingredients for satisfying living and working and leisure time environments. Acting in unity on this decentralized pattern, we have the opportunity to plan for and create a rural-urban mix of people and jobs and services on a regionwide basis. We have a framework within which we can cope with the complex problems raised by an inevitably urbanizing society pressured by an inevit-

ably growing population. The alternative to such planning is chaos, compounded of unfettered development and maximum adverse impact on the environment.

Through it all must run this central theme of balance, of a commitment to plans and programs which will provide the greatest good for the greatest number over the longest period of time. The principle extends to the whole spectrum of needs facing the region. It applies to the need for controlled water supplies and the need for scenic streams. It applies to questions concerning where trees will grow and which lands should remain in farmland in the urbanizing Valley of tomorrow. It requires continued pioneering to meet expanding energy needs cleanly, safely, and reliably.

It involves the development of new technologies for waste processing and recycling of resources and new techniques for education, health care, and recreation. It includes the need for comprehensive innovations to revitalize existing towns and create new ones.

A strong, cooperative beginning has been made in all of these areas—and many more. TVA continues its basic role of advising and assisting, of providing the tools which the people of the region can use to build a better life for themselves. But in the end, it is the people of the Tennessee Valley who must make the final decisions on the directions the region will take.

After 40 years, TVA's greatest achievement has been to help prove that participatory democracy is more than theory, that a people and their government can work together for a common goal. It is in the continuing strength of this partnership that we will find the measure of all of our efforts to build lasting quality into the total fabric of life in the Tennessee Valley.

### CHEMICAL WARFARE—III

#### HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, the racist nations of Portugal and South Africa are using American herbicides in the perpetration of chemical warfare against southern African citizens.

Following are Department of Commerce figures showing U.S. sales of herbicides to Portugal and South Africa from 1969 to 1971:

1969:		
Republic of South Africa.....	\$1,200,516	
Portugal.....	57,330	
1970:		
Republic of South Africa.....	2,735,596	
Portugal.....	343,980	
1971:		
Republic of South Africa.....	3,623,896	
Portugal.....	114,660	

As can be seen, herbicide sales have sharply increased.

The military use of these herbicides is in violation of the United Nations Security Council Resolution which—

Solemnly calls upon all States to cease forthwith the sale and shipment of arms, ammunition of all types and military vehicles to South Africa.

This resolution was adopted on August 1963.

The U.S. shipping of poisonous chemicals to Portugal and South Africa is also in violation of an arms embargo adopted by our Government in 1961.

In light of these disturbing facts, I will soon introduce "The Herbicide Export Control Act of 1973" and "The Chemical Warfare Prevention Act of 1973" in the House of Representatives.

The former proposal will halt the exportation of 2,4,5-T herbicides.

The latter will halt the exportation of all classes of herbicides to Portugal and South Africa.

I welcome the cosponsorship and support of my colleagues on these two pieces of legislation.

### GLOBAL GIVEAWAY

#### HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, the National Federation of Independent Business recently issued a commentary on this Nation's foolish and wasteful multibillion-dollar annual foreign giveaway program which I commend to the attention of every Member of Congress.

I include it for insertion in the RECORD at this point:

#### A GLOBAL I.O.U. FLOOD

If one can imagine oneself in a position whereby he has delinquent notes in every bank in town that have gone unpaid for months, or even years, and in addition, has placed himself in a judgment proof condition so the banks cannot collect, this is a start toward understanding opposition to any more foreign aid expenditures.

Then if one can further imagine going to these banks and saying you would like more money on personal I.O.U.'s because you want to give some gifts to brothers-in-law because they do not hold you in the highest regard and you want to change their attitude, then you can understand what the battle is all about.

Despite the fact that the United States hasn't the slightest chance of making good on the \$80 billion held by foreigners, there is still a drive to spend more on foreign aid. For a long time, voting through the National Federation of Independent Business, the nation's independent business people have called for an end to this give away.

The analogy cited above is pretty accurate. The United States has scattered paper dollars all over the world, and nobody holding them knows what to do with them. At one time, the United States said it would give up an ounce of gold for every \$35 but when the so-called "gold window" was closed, this world was denied this recourse. Of course this was largely academic, because with around \$10 billion left in gold, the U.S. could have paid off only 16 cents on the dollar.

As every business operator knows, whenever a business gets into that kind of a position, it's not long for this world.

Yet, there is this strange push to plaster the world with more I.O.U.'s.

Of course, there is a lot of intellectual sounding information released about reform of the monetary system somewhere in the

area of the International Monetary Fund, or the IMF. But this is all predicated on nations exchanging I.O.U.'s with each other.

Among some nations this perhaps could work where the amount of the I.O.U.'s are limited, and are only out for a short time.

But the U.S. is, unfortunately, not in that position.

Thus, throwing around the world more I.O.U.'s which is all further foreign aid expenditure would amount to, is somewhat akin to the local fire department pumping gasoline onto the flames destroying a building. But perhaps the fault is that the independent business people just don't understand the "new economics." Perhaps when they get into a financial bind, instead of trying to pay off creditors, they should take everything out of the cash register and hand it out to every bum and "con" man that comes down the street.

### MR. DILLON GRAHAM RETIRES

#### HON. LOUIS FREY, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. FREY. Mr. Speaker, a familiar and friendly face will be missing from the House press gallery when we convene next week.

I am speaking of Dillon Graham, an Associated Press correspondent who has covered House proceedings since 1947.

Mr. Graham, after being a member of the fourth estate for 44 years, is retiring this week and moving with his wife to Myrtle Beach, S.C.

Mr. Graham's byline has been a familiar one for these many years, beginning in Gainesville, Fla., where he was a reporter, sports editor, and city editor of the Gainesville Daily Sun while attending the University of Florida.

Mr. Graham joined the Associated Press in Atlanta, Ga., on January 15, 1929, and has been an AP man ever since.

In Atlanta, he was named regional sports editor and became one of the best known sportswriters in the South, largely through his colorful and accurate reporting of football and golf.

The Associated Press transferred Mr. Graham to Washington in 1934 to write sports here and 3 years later sent him to Charlotte, N.C., as bureau chief responsible for news coverage in the Carolinas.

Mr. Graham returned to Washington in 1947, where he covered the entire spectrum of national affairs from the special point of view of the Southeastern States.

Mr. Graham, in his many years in the fourth estate, has gained a reputation for being a hard working, aggressive journalist, the kind of correspondent who ferreted out the facts and reported his stories fairly and without bias.

Mr. Graham will be missed by his colleagues in the press gallery and by those of us who have come to respect his honesty in reporting.



# SMALL CITIES SCRAMBLE FOR FUEL, TOO

## HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, small cities are finding it increasingly difficult to obtain the gasoline and diesel fuel they need to keep municipal vehicles rolling. For example, the city of Marshfield received no bids at all on diesel fuel and is having to buy it by the tankwagon at rising market prices. Only one company bid for the right to furnish gasoline for city-owned vehicles for the first 6 months of this year, and city officials fear there may be no response at all when they put the July-December contract out to bid.

To show how relatively small cities are having to scramble for fuel supplies just like huge metropolises, I insert an article from the Marshfield, Wis., News-Herald of May 16:

### FUEL PROBLEM CONCERNS CITY

City-owned vehicles face the prospect of sputtering to a halt in the last half of this year if the city follows its customary bid and purchase procedures.

The city will ask for bids for gasoline and fuel oil supplies for July through December, and there is a possibility it may not get a response.

"If the last solicitation for bids is an indication, it doesn't look too good," City Eng. George Schneider said. "We had only one bidder for the first half of this year. In the last half of 1972 we had five. Before that we have run as high as nine, with usually six or seven."

The city received no bids at all on diesel fuel. Street Supt. Marcellus Jirschele said, "We're buying diesel fuel at market prices, a tanker at a time."

The city uses about 120,000 gallons of regular gasoline annually and an additional 8,000 gallons of premium. Vehicle consumption diesel fuel runs about 35,000 gallons.

Prices in the current bid period also differ sharply from the previous period. Schneider said that Mobil Oil, the only bidder, asked 13.7 cents for regular, up a penny; 16 cents for premium, up 1.3 cents. The city pays no state or federal taxes for fuels.

"The price for regular in the last bid period was the highest amount we've paid since 1959," Schneider said. "The price quoted for premium was the highest price we've paid since 1957."

If the city receives bids for gasoline for the second half of 1973, it is likely that prices will be even higher, Schneider said. "Chicago recently took bids on 10 million gallons of gasoline. They received one bid with a price 5 cents higher than previous, and the company would not make a commitment to furnish the whole supply."

The gasoline shortage may underline another advantage of living in smaller communities. Schneider said that the oil companies are more hesitant to bid on large quantities of gas.

"The state Department of Local Affairs and Development is working on a cooperative purchasing venture to see if savings can be achieved by the combined purchase of governmental units," Schneider explained. "In a recent conversation, they said that the

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

combined bidding of gasoline isn't feasible at this time.

"They didn't specifically say this, but I guess they feel that combining the requirements into a single, large bid may work to the disadvantage of the individual cities. They do plan to go ahead with cooperative purchasing of other supplies."

Marshfield's requirements are relatively small in comparison with large cities, but whether or not the city will receive bids on its gas supplies still remains a high-octane question.

## NEWSPAPER SALUTES TVA ACCOMPLISHMENTS

## HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the Florence, Ala., Times has concisely summarized the accomplishments of the Tennessee Valley Authority during the past 40 years.

The newspaper points out that progress throughout Alabama has been unmatched anywhere and today this region is the most booming part of the State of Alabama. Distractions can make little dent in the accomplishments of this vital institution.

I submit this editorial to the attention of all and include it in my remarks:

[From the Florence Times, May 19, 1973]

### HAPPY BIRTHDAY, TVA ON No. 40

The Tennessee Valley Authority is now 40 years old.

TVA celebrated its anniversary last week—and along with progress unmatched by such governmental agency in our nation.

We can say this without fear of contradiction. For there is no other agency like TVA, it's the only one of its kind in America today.

So how fortunate we are here in the Valley that a senator named George Norris, by some auspicious fate, was chairman of a committee of the Senate to which bills for the disposal of its properties were referred.

Sen. Lister Hill himself, one of the prime forces behind the formation of The Tennessee Valley Authority, once noted: "This issue was controversial and the properties were not located in his own state (Nebraska). But for George Norris there could be no hiding place . . . He was obliged to act on behalf of the people—the people of my state, the people of adjacent states far from the state he represented."

So beginning on May 18, 1933, TVA was launched. It was a depression year and the Valley of the Tennessee was poverty-stricken, isolated, eroded.

Today the Tennessee Valley is the most booming part of this great state.

And there can be no denying that the most single reason for this is TVA.

TVA stands alone as the giant of the natural resource development—embracing, in addition to its power system, flood control and navigation—programs of forestry, agriculture, tributary area development, recreation and others.

The TVA story is now completely one of prideful progress. Controversies have occasionally surrounded the agencies.

Dixon-Yates immediately comes to mind. And, of course, even at this writing, TVA is under attack by some environmentalists.

But such distractions make little dent in the great accomplishments of TVA. The agency continues to draw worldwide attention and is a model for underdeveloped regions all over the world.

Forty years of TVA—it makes one wonder where we would have been without it.

## HARRISON HIGH NO. 1 ON THE B-1

## HON. JOHN BRECKINRIDGE

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. BRECKINRIDGE. Mr. Speaker, today I rise to call attention to the accomplishments of several young people in my own Sixth Congressional District of Kentucky. The Harrison County High School chapter of the Air Force ROTC recently authored the winning essay on the national contest, sponsored by the Air Force Association, on the merits of the B-1 bomber. I would like to congratulate these young people, including their teachers and parents, and enclose an account from their school newspaper, *Ruffles and Flourishes*, of their reactions upon winning the prize.

Here follows the enclosed account:

### 108 UNITS COMPETE—B-1 ENTRY WINS NATIONAL CONTEST (By James Brown)

Sometime after lunch, Tuesday, April 24, Lt Col Bryan J. Sifford, Aerospace Education Instructor at Harrison County High School, received an important phone call from Washington, D.C. This call was to inform cadets of the HCHS Squadron that they were the national winners of the B-1 Contest.

A team of cadets of the Squadron participated in a contest entitled, "Why America Needs the B-1 Bomber." This contest, sponsored by the Air Force Association, was open to all AFJROTC units throughout the country (For more details, please see the story, "B-1 Contest Announced," in the November, 1972 issue of "Ruffles and Flourishes").

It is hard to say exactly how those cadets who worked on the team felt upon hearing the news. However, I, being one of them, can testify that we were all overwhelmed to say the least.

The Ky. 51st used videotape as the medium of production for the entry. The entry was put up against 107 other entries throughout the country. These were in various media of production and were both humorous as well as serious.

The HCHS Squadron used a serious approach to the problem. Speakers explained the need for the B-1 bomber in our defense system and the reasons behind this need, its position in the triad defense system, and the technical aspects of the B-1 itself.

Besides the Squadron's team, headed by Cadet Lt Col Rick Perraut, fellow students helped to make the production possible. John Lair produced and directed the film and Chuck Cooper helped with the camera work. The cadets are grateful for the work done by these people.

Speakers on camera were C/Lt Col Rick Perraut, C/Maj Rick Clifford, C/Capt Tod Owens, and Cadet 2nd Lts. Charles Knight and James Brown. Cameramen were C/Maj John LaBore and C/2nd Lt Carl Hackney. Other cadets of the squadron helped re-

search to obtain the necessary data for the production.

In order to finish the production by the deadline, it became necessary for these men to work both before and after school. With the announcement of the winner, everyone seemed to agree that it was well worth the effort.

Prizes include a \$4,000 scholarship, a cross-country trip for one member of the unit, a plaque, and other items. The tape will be shown at the Air Force Association's National Convention, Sept. 27-30, in Washington, D.C.

## ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS IS A SUCCESS IN SOUTHWEST

**HON. J. J. PICKLE**

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. PICKLE. Mr. Speaker, on March 15, when the House passed a bill extending the life of the Economic Development Act, I took that occasion to remark on the many benefits the program has brought this country. This week, I again rose to support the compromise version of this legislation.

As I said on both occasions, the EDA is not a program which can hope to be 100 percent successful because it was designed to take the risk of attracting business to underdeveloped areas, risks that private enterprise seldom take.

I did point out, however, that the program has been extremely successful in the Southwest, and I take this opportunity to present several case histories of EDA projects which have achieved their goals. These are by no means unusual in the scope of the problem or the degree of difficulty that was encountered.

The examples include projects designed to bring jobs into a county which lost 40 percent of its population in 10 years, a program to increase the living standards of the Mescalero Apache Tribe in New Mexico and the construction of a vocational school in an area where unemployment was as high as 24 percent.

Without EDA funds and direction, these areas and the people in them would still be struggling on the brink of poverty.

### SOUTHWEST AREA EDA PROJECTS

#### DUMAS, DESHA COUNTY, ARKANSAS

Direct grants—Industrial park; water storage. Two projects.

Total Grants: \$176,470,000.

Estimated New Jobs: 1,050.

Dumas, Arkansas is located in Desha County, which was designated for EDA assistance on the basis of population loss—almost 40% between 1950 and 1960.

In 1968, local leaders in Dumas raised money to purchase land for a 110-acre industrial park and donated the park to the city. EDA funds provided for the necessary public facilities. Since that time five firms funded locally and employing more than 1,050 people have moved into the park; the park has been expanded by 30 acres; the community has built a publicly owned marina and has constructed a \$1 million high school. Other manufacturers moved into the town and existing businesses expanded their employment.

As a result of substantial improvement in both unemployment rates and the levels of median family income, Desha County no

longer qualifies for designation under regular EDA criteria. And minorities have shared in the local economic progress. In this area where 40 percent of the population is non-white, over two thirds of the new jobs in the industrial park are filled by minority employees.

Local leaders attribute the increase in employment, in local sales of goods and services, and in rising local income to the stimulus provided by the EDA grants.

#### MESCALERO APACHE TRIBE, NEW MEXICO

EDA Funds: \$3,917,000.

EDA has assisted in building two sectors in the economy of the Mescalero Apache Tribe in New Mexico—Cattle Raising and Tourism. In 1968, EDA granted the Tribe \$144,000 to build 100 miles of fence on their cattle range so that the Tribe could make better use of its water and grazing land resources.

The Mescaleros own a herd of around 6,000 Herefords, which bring them \$360,000 in gross annual income.

Another \$212,800 Public Works Grant has helped the Tribe develop a "commercial park" to serve both Indians and tourists. Tribal members run a general store and a service station, both financed by EDA business loans; as well as a recreation area, Indian village tourist attraction, and arts and craft sales operations. Besides creating new sources of jobs and income, the commercial park offers goods and services that Indian families formerly had to travel 30 miles for.

In addition to the EDA funded projects, the Mescalero Tribe has been able to construct new housing, purchase a ski facility, establish a fish hatchery, and build a hospital and an elementary school with Tribal funds and other Federal aid.

Future plans include building a reservoir to provide water for industrial, agricultural, domestic, and recreational use.

#### ALEXANDRIA, LA.

Description: Water Project.

EDA Funds: \$5,315,000.

A new \$55 million linerboard plant in Alexandria was built by the Pineville Kraft Company after EDA provided a \$5.3 million grant to a \$12 million addition to the city's water system. Over 300 new workers participated in the plant's \$3.5 million annual payroll, and 10% of these are from the poorest parishes in the Kisatchie-Delta Economic Development District. Even more important to these parishes is the \$9 million spent annually by the company on wood supply contracts which provide 1,000 additional jobs, according to the District staff. The plant is presently (March 1973), constructing a \$6 million addition.

Alexandria, Louisiana, is a growth center for the nine parish Economic Development District, located in northcentral Louisiana. Six of the parishes in the District are eligible for EDA assistance because of high unemployment rates and heavy out-migration due to mechanization of agriculture.

#### PRYOR, MAYES COUNTY, OKLA.

Description: Industrial Park Water and Sewer.

EDA Funds: Total Cost: \$1,594,000.

Jobs: About 791 new.

Pryor, Mayes County, Oklahoma, is about 50 miles northeast of Tulsa, Oklahoma. The Oklahoma Ordnance Plant, five miles south of Pryor, was built during World War II and provided employment for practically everyone in the area. After the war, the Ordnance Plant was closed causing a decline in population and employment.

In 1961, the Oklahoma Ordnance Works Authority was organized under the public trust laws of Oklahoma to purchase the Oklahoma Ordnance Plant from the Federal Government. The 10,040-acre site was purchased by the City of Pryor to establish an industrial district to attract industry to the area and is now known as the Mid-America Industrial District.

Three grants totaling \$994,000 and two loans totaling \$477,000 were obtained from EDA to prepare the site for industry. A \$123,000 grant was obtained from FWPCA to assist in sewerage the area. Funds totaled \$1,594,000 and were used to dismantle and salvage usable equipment, rehabilitate usable structures, clear the area of debris and unusable structures and build water and sewer facilities and streets.

Several plants were located within the industrial site prior to obtaining EDA assistance for site development. These plants have already expanded and now provide 210 additional jobs.

Since EDA participation in the project began in 1966, 15 new industries have begun operations within the project site, providing 430 full-time and 12 part-time jobs. In addition, the Oklahoma Ordnance Works Authority staff has grown to eight full-time employees.

The total number of new jobs created by the project include 430 on the project site by new industry, 210 on the project site by the expansion of existing industry, 113 by the construction of new businesses in and adjacent to Pryor, and 38 by the expansion of businesses in Pryor. This amounts to a total of 791 new jobs at which people are now employed.

#### MOUNTAIN HOME, BAXTER COUNTY, ARK.

Direct Grant and Loan.

Water Treatment, Storage and Transmission Facilities, Sewer and Sewage Treatment.

Total Cost: \$2,710,000.

EDA Grant: 1,355,000.

EDA Loan: 1,355,000.

Jobs: 1,015.

An investment of \$2,710,000 (\$1,355,000 to be repaid to the Government) by the Economic Development Administration combined with local initiative resulted in a \$7.5 million economic development program to create over 1,000 new jobs in Mountain Home, Arkansas.

In 1966 EDA approved a grant for the construction of water purification and storage facilities, transmission mains, sewage treatment and collection facilities to serve a 500-acre industrial park and its industries. The project was completed in 1969 and provides water for Mountain Home and its neighboring communities. Nine new firms now occupy the park.

Since that date unemployment in Baxter County has dropped below 6%. The per capita income for the County has climbed from 21st to 5th among Arkansas' 75 counties.

An industrial development corporation, formed to undertake the industrial park operation and financing, assists in plant location. The City of Mountain Home has completed construction of a modern airport to provide freight and passenger service for the surrounding six-county area.

Over \$1,000,000 in local funds was spent to enlarge Mountain Home's hospital into a regional hospital to provide medical facilities for the increasing population. In addition, Mountain Home built a modern high school and two large shopping centers which created another 150 new jobs. Building permits in Mountain Home have doubled since 1968.

Most importantly, private capital investment in the amount of \$5,000,000 provided for the expansion and equipping of the area's industrial facilities to permit further expansion and increased employment for Mountain Home and Baxter County.

#### BROWNSVILLE, CAMERON COUNTY, TEX.

Direct grants and business loan Port improvements, grain elevator, water and sewer. Eight projects.

EDA Grants: \$5,187,000.

EDA Loans: \$517,000.

Estimated New Jobs: 820.

Between April 1966 and June 1972, EDA approved seven grants totaling over \$5 million and aided a privately owned company



with a business loan of \$517,000 in Brownsville, Texas. During the same period, EDA funded six additional grants for \$2,129,000 for neighboring communities of Brownsville in Cameron County. This was done in order to help the Brownsville area overcome problems of low income; low educational standards; dual language barrier; poor health and housing; high in-migration from the rural areas; seasonal unemployment among migrant workers which causes the unemployment rate to fluctuate from 6 to 18%.

Helped by the EDA grants, Brownsville has enlarged its cargo wharves and bulkheads, doubled its grain handling facilities and expanded its shrimp and fishing harbor by one third. Water and sewer improvements funded by EDA have vastly improved the city's health standards. Because of the water and sewer improvements, several commercial firms have decided to locate in the city.

GONZALES, TEX.

#### EDA Funds: \$120,000.

A grant of \$120,000 was made by EDA to the Texas Rehabilitation Center and the Texas Rehabilitation Hospital of Gonzales Warm Spring Foundation, Inc., Gonzales, Texas, for the rehabilitation and alteration of an existing vacant building on the grounds of the Center thereby enlarging the training and housing space of the center. The Center trains unemployed severely physically handicapped persons for competition in the job market. The handicapped condition of the trainees requires that they be full time residents of the Center, therefore, living quarters in addition to classroom and recreation space, must be provided for the students.

The new facility opened its doors during the first week of January 1973, and enrolled 35 students in its first semester. The courses have been arranged and are managed by the Central Texas College of Kaline, Texas. It is estimated that with the addition of this facility, the Center will provide the job market with 200 trained persons per year, a large number of whom will come from the poor minority citizens of the state.

#### THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE GREAT FAMINE OF THE UKRAINE

#### HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, May 27, the Ukrainian-American Congress Committee will solemnly commemorate the deaths of more than 7 million Ukrainians in the famine of 1932-33. They will be joined by Ukrainian groups throughout the world. The famine was one of the most tragic events in the 1,000-year history of the Ukrainian people. In 1 short year, almost one-fifth of the region's farmers starved to death because of their efforts to resist collectivization of their family farms by the government of the Soviet Union. In my home city of Detroit, more than 100,000 Ukrainian-Americans will recall the period of starvation and suffering that afflicted the "breadbasket of Europe." Five thousand persons are expected to participate in a rally and march, and memorial services will be held in the Ukrainian churches of Metropolitan Detroit.

On the anniversary of this manmade disaster, I join with all Ukrainians in mourning the dead of the great famine,

and reaffirm the traditional love of the Ukrainian people for their homeland, their heritage, and the ideals of freedom and dignity for all men.

#### SMALL BUSINESS LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS

#### HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. EVINS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, on May 16, I was pleased, along with many Members of the House, to attend the annual presentation of legislative proposals made to Members of the House by several small business associations.

These presentations were originated by the Smaller Business Association of New England—SBANE—of Waltham, Mass., nearly three decades ago to present specific proposals to enhance the economic posture of small business and encourage the development and growth of American free enterprise.

This year SBANE was joined in making the presentation by the Independent Business Association of Wisconsin—IBA—W—of Milwaukee, Wis., and the Small Manufacturers Council—SMC—of Pittsburgh, Pa. Small business has always received a warm welcome on Capitol Hill.

As chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Small Business and because of the wide interest of the Congress in the problems of small business and in the interest of 5½ million small businesses in the country who contribute to 40 percent of our gross national product, employing almost half of the work force of this Nation, I am pleased to insert in the RECORD excerpts from the highlights of the presentation made by these organizations.

#### The legislative program follows:

##### SMALL BUSINESS: AN AMERICAN CORNERSTONE

Small business is a quality-of-life issue.

Indeed, the survival and the strengthening of America's small business community is not primarily for the benefit of the small entrepreneur, although he will be one of the beneficiaries. The larger group of beneficiaries will be the American public which, because the small business has always been one of the cornerstones of the American economy, has tended to forget that the existence of a large, thriving small business community is one of the elements that adds great strength to the warp of the American social fabric.

Much of the present state of public opinion about American business is due to the emphasis on the large corporation. There is no way to avoid this emphasis. The most important labor union contracts are with major corporations. Government activities directed toward business usually play up the big names, as in Justice Department anti-trust suits against large corporations or in actions of the Securities & Exchange Commission. In the entertainment media, the executive suite of the large corporation is more often the setting than the front-office of a machine shop employing 50 workers.

At the time of the February, 1972 White House Conference on the Industrial World Ahead, Thomas W. Benham, president of Opinion Research Corporation, presented the results of a study his firm had done for the conference. It found a sharp decline in the

public's approval of business from 1965 to 1971. In 1965 some 47% of the public had expressed disapproval of business; in 1971, the figure had risen to 60%. In the same period of time, those who expressed "high approval" of business declined from 20% to only 11%. Furthermore, only 27% thought that competition serves to keep prices fair, and 62% were in favor of government controls to assure equity for the consumer.

#### THE LARGE GET LARGER

Certainly a large part of the public's impression of business is gained by the emphasis on the large firm. A recent Federal Trade Commission survey showed that in 1968 the 100 largest manufacturing organizations in the United States held a larger share of manufacturing assets than had the 200 largest only 18 years earlier. Yet, 95% of all the business units in the United States are still small businesses. They produce between 35 and 40% of the gross national product, and employ 44% of the workforce. There is actually no commonly accepted statistic on the number of small businesses. There are some 5¼ million full-time commercial small businesses in the country. But if the number of farms, professional businesses (such as doctors and lawyers) and part-time businesses are included, the number is about doubled. Small business performs many functions.

1. The small, independently-owned business forms the backbone of many American towns and small cities. The civic contribution of a local businessman, rooted to his community, with no intention and often no possibility of moving elsewhere, is incalculable. It is the businessman who knows he is staying who contributes the most to the social welfare of his town, in contrast to the corporation executive who moves in and out of ten different towns in maybe 15 years and has little time to plant roots in a single one of them.

2. The small business is still the place where inventiveness flourishes. According to one count, half of some 61 major inventions in this century have been the work of either a single individual or have come out of a small business. These include air conditioning, automatic transmission, ballpoint pens, cellophane, Cinerama, the helicopter, insulin, the jet engine, power steering, and zip fasteners. They include names like Lee DeForest, who invented the vacuum tube; Robert Goddard and the rocket; Ernest O. Lawrence and the cyclotron; Selman Waksman and Streptomycin; Alexander Fleming and penicillin; Edwin Armstrong and the FM radio; Edwin Land and the Polaroid camera.

Several recent studies have shown a relationship between the U.S. foreign trade balance and the introduction of new products in the United States. One in particular, done for the Commerce Department by Professor Robert Stobaugh and a group of colleagues at the Harvard Business School, demonstrated that the U.S. has traditionally been able to maintain a positive trade balance because this was the country in which most new inventions first came to market. Once any invention or new process is known, the U.S. tends to lose its at first monopolistic position in the field and then even its predominant lead. This process of the transfer of technology overseas cannot be reversed or stopped, the Commerce Department study concluded. The only thing that can assure a better U.S. trade picture is the continued introduction of new products in this country, ahead of their appearance elsewhere in the world. Since so many new products have been the work of the small or fledgling business firm, it is clearly in the overall national interest to defend and even foster the viability of such firms.

#### SUPPLIER TO BIG FIRMS

3. The small business, while often an end seller of its own products or services, is also

an important adjunct to the large corporation. Without the availability and flexibility of small business firms, the big would be even bigger and perhaps less efficient. As a single example, General Motors Corporation has 26,000 suppliers. Almost half of every GM sales dollar goes to these suppliers. Over 64% of those suppliers employ less than 100 people, and 89% employ less than 500.

4. The small business is ideally suited for certain kinds of products and services: manufacturing of products with limited market volume; products having a short production cycle (because of change in seasons or styling) and also low capital requirements. Here are included many items of clothing, jewelry, and shoes; products requiring very fast service, such as legal printing, photo engraving, or some specialty chemical firms that serve as converters of chemicals turned out by the large chemical manufacturers.

This is a decade in which America is dedicated to cleaning up its air and purifying its streams, to generally improving the quality of its life, which is already close to the top in terms of actual physical goods produced and distributed per capita. There is no more appropriate time in which to consider whether America's small businesses are also being given their breathing room in this hopefully better environment that is emerging. Because America's small businesses have diverse interests, limited funds with which to make themselves heard as a lobby, and usually no spare executive talent to do anything other than try to run the business, their position as a unique and major institution (when they are all taken together) is in danger of being overlooked.

#### 5 MILLION SMALL BUSINESSES COMPRISE MAJOR INSTITUTION

It is our position that the viability and prosperity of the over 5 million small businesses in the country depends in part on awakening the federal government to the fact that here is an institution which deserves some special attention at this moment in the country's history. This is not to request that the inherently inefficient be kept alive in resuscitators or by artificial injections. It is not to prevent the orderly evolution of the business system, which is always undergoing some change—it is not to repeat some of the mistakes of the Agriculture Department of a generation ago, in trying to keep alive a kind of farming that was destined to change with the times anyhow. What it does mean is that the particular problems of small business in a society dominated by macro-institutions need to be appreciated and enough attention paid to them to restore the situation to the status quo ante. Specifically, as the following four sections will detail:

#### TAXATION

We do not request a special system of taxation that would benefit small business but be unfair to others. We do ask that the tax treatment of small business take into account the particular problems of small business in accumulating capital, when the normal avenues of access to capital or credit that are available to large business are partially restricted or even closed to small business.

#### PAPERWORK

We want recognition of the fact that many small businesses do not have the staff or the sophistication to handle the increasing volume of paperwork demanded of them by the federal government. We ask the government to set up machinery which will monitor the creation of new reporting requirements by business.

#### PROCUREMENT

We fear that small business will see its relative position further eroded if there are not adequate measures to apportion to its share of the \$55 billion annual federal government procurement budget. We suggest specific steps which would increase the ability

of small business to get its share of federal procurement.

#### REPRESENTATION

In many units, departments, and agencies of government, small business needs a special representative. When decisions are being made that affect the business-government relationship, someone needs to represent the special problem of small business. Up to now, the advocacy role that was to be played by the Small Business Administration has not been effective enough. In addition to this kind of specific representation, small business also needs help from government in charting its course as a viable and growing institution in the American economy for the rest of this century.

Small business does not need to ask for artificial protection. It does need a kind of special concern lest its special problems go unrecognized in a society in which the giant institutions dominate the news and the decision-making process.

It is the small businessman more than the corporate vice president who is more often the risk-taker in our society today, who lays his personal capital on the line, who is the initiator, the innovator.

Thus, we find strong reasons for the federal government's insuring that the small business community has a chance to thrive on its own. At the very least, no actions of the federal government, as will be detailed in the following sections, should be such as to make the economic situation of the small business any more precarious than it is.

#### TAXATION

We strongly advocate the adoption of Senator John Tower's bill which would increase the present surtax exemption for corporations from \$25,000 to \$100,000. His bill would retain the present 22% normal rate on pre-tax income up to \$100,000, thus helping solve the internal financing needs of many small businesses. We are strongly opposed to any change in estate taxation which would result in the taxation of capital gains at death, in addition to taxation of the decedent's estate. Such a proposal, while having some basis in equity on its face, would strike in inequitable fashion at the small businessman, most of whose net worth is usually represented by a business built up over a lifetime. This would decrease incentives to build such a business, as well as make the continuance of the business after the owner's death more questionable.

#### HIGHER SURTAX EXEMPTION

The law which exempts corporations from the 26% surtax, in addition to the 22% normal profits tax which all corporations must pay, dates back to 1938. It was established at that time partly in recognition of the special difficulties small business faces in building up its capital. If the situation were to be restored only to its 1938 equivalent, the loss in purchasing power of the dollar in the intervening 35 years would require raising the exemption limit to \$75,000.

To a greater extent than with other forms of enterprises, the small businessman is forced to rely on his profits to generate new capital. Or, he is forced to reinvest part of his own after-tax drawings from the business, or to look to limited private placements.

A high income tax depletes the internal funds for additional investment on which the small business must mainly rely. Measures that permit increased retention of earnings, on the other hand, help to finance growth, ease the climate of borrowing, and foster the establishment and healthy expansion of small concerns.

If a hypothetical small business earned exactly \$100,000, its present taxes would amount to \$41,500. If the surtax exemption were to be raised to \$100,000 that same small

business would then pay income taxes of only \$22,000, giving it a 33.5% increase in after-tax income.

In both 1970 and 1971 there were over 10,000 business failures. Some of these represent new and perhaps poorly managed business firms which did not deserve to survive, at least not through special favor. Nor were all of them small businesses; the Penn Central collapse occurred in June, 1970. But many of these failures were directly attributable to the difficulties small businesses have in accumulating sufficient capital to be economically viable units. And, besides the firms that actually failed, many were led to seek a merger or to sell out for similar reasons.

This is an opportune moment to examine the surtax exemption, because in one more year, the former tax benefit of multiple surtax exemptions will have been phased out. Until 1969, large companies could take advantage of the multiple surtax exemption through the use of multiple corporations. They were slightly penalized in doing so by the imposition of a 6% extra tax on the first \$25,000 of taxable income. This reduced the actual tax saving on the first \$25,000 of income in each tax-paying unit from \$6,500 to \$5,000. The 1969 Tax Reform Act phased out the multiple surtax exemption over a five-year period which ends December 31, 1974. After that time, a controlled group of corporations will be limited to a single \$25,000 surtax exemption.

The purpose in phasing out the multiple surtax exemption was to end what many in Congress felt was an abuse of that part of the tax law. The phase-out was estimated to bring in an additional \$235 million a year in taxes, when fully in effect. While we would not criticize the end of the multiple surtax exemption in cases where it did encourage an abuse of the system, it has also increased the taxes of businesses which for very good reasons may have been run as more than a single corporate entity. Thus, we see this as an ideal time to consider raising the single surtax exemption from \$25,000 to \$100,000. It will not only make it somewhat easier for small business to accumulate capital, but will redress any inequity caused by ending the multiple surtax exemption.

#### CAPITAL GAINS TAX AT DEATH

With more tax reform in the offing either in 1973 or 1974, we find it necessary to take a strong stand against any proposal to tax capital gains at death. Although the proponents for this change in the tax laws have some debating points on their side, a change in this direction would have a disastrous effect on small business.

At present, incremental changes in the value of capital assets are taxed only at the time of a sale or exchange. At time of death, since there is no sale or exchange of property, but only its transfer to the beneficiaries of an estate, the change in capital values is not taxed. (However, since the estate tax is steeply progressive, assets that have appreciated in value are in effect taxed more than those that have not, although the computation of the estate tax does not actually make any separation of the assets in this regard.)

The value of the gross estate of many small businessmen is represented chiefly by the stock in their business. Where the business has prospered, and especially where it has been ongoing for a long period, the basis of the stock in it is quite low compared to present value. Already, the federal estate tax on an estate which consists largely of a family-owned business is a primary factor in forcing the sale of many such businesses. Especially when the business is not currently making a large return for its owner, at least on the basis of the increased value of his investment, the estate is sometimes forced to sell the business in order to pay the estate taxes. This situation would be multiplied many times if an estate were to have to pay both the present estate tax and also a capital gains



tax based on the increased value of the stock in the family business.

The estate of a small business executive faces a different problem from that of a person whose estate is composed largely of marketable securities. The paper appreciation of a business stock is normally locked into assets used in the business; it is illiquid. Furthermore, the stock of many small businesses is completely unmarketable, i.e., if there is not enough cash available to pay estate taxes, the entire business must be sold. There is no possibility of selling just some of its shares to the general public without going through the expensive process of an SEC registration, and this avenue is not even open to a business unless it is of some size. None of these considerations apply to the estate of a person who dies owning largely marketable shares of many companies; yet both would be affected by a decision to tax capital gains at death.

Finally, a capital gains tax at death would fall unevenly on two estates, as shown in the table below.

Assuming a capital gains tax at a 35% rate before the imposition of estate taxes at the same rates as they currently are, the increase in tax for the smaller estate would be 75%, against an increase of 38% for the larger estate . . .

#### PAPERWORK

We ask for recognition of the fact that the paperwork requirement thrown on small business by the federal government is in some cases the extra margin that threatens to drive a small business under, if the requirements are faithfully met. We support measures to reduce the number of reports required to be filed by small businesses. Specifically, we urge the passage of S.200, introduced on January 4, 1973, by Senator Thomas J. McIntyre.

The Congress and the Administration have been aware of the need to curtail the paperwork burden at three levels—government itself, business and the public at large. With this in mind, in 1942 it enacted a Federal Reports Act, which was amended in 1950. But the results, at least in terms of their effects on the operation of small business, have been disheartening. During 1972, Senator McIntyre's Subcommittee on Government Regulation of the Senate Select Committee on Small Business held hearings on the impact of the Federal paperwork burden on small business. Witnesses before the Subcommittee referred to the paperwork-redtape burden, "as the single most important element in the success or failure rate of a small business," according to Senator McIntyre. One expert witness from the Office of Management and Budget was not able himself to compile a "typical set of forms to be completed by a dress shop in one year's operation."

Moreover, the Internal Revenue Service is exempt from the OMB forms monitoring and paper reduction effort. But some 35% of all federal forms are generated by the IRS. The Social Security Administration, also a major paperwork producer, seemed to show too little concern at the effects of paperwork on the small businessman.

So we conclude that the present efforts of OMB are not significant enough, or there are too many agencies outside its purview, to stem the tide of paperwork.

The average small businessman spends some 200 hours a year completing forms, calculating and paying his taxes, and responding to various government questionnaires. Assuming he worked only a 40-hour week, this "compliance activity" would amount to 10% of his working time.

Therefore, we strongly support S.200, which requires that new forms and reports, and

revisions of existing forms that would result from new legislation be contained in reports of committees reporting that legislation to the floor.

We also support S. 201, introduced by Senator Robert Taft, Jr. which would change the Internal Revenue Code so as to "relieve employers of 50 or less employees from the requirement of paying or depositing certain employment taxes more often than once each quarter."

#### PROCUREMENT

The federal government spends in excess of \$55 billion on goods and services annually. The manner in which this spending is handled has a major bearing on the development of small business. Specifically, we support:

1. Establishment of a small claims court to handle claims up to \$50,000.

2. Establishment of a federal Office of Procurement Policy in the executive branch, which would coordinate and direct the government's procurement policies as they relate to the special needs of small business.

3. Mandatory subcontracting of a portion of the large contracts of prime contractors to small business.

4. Federal support of Research and Development efforts by small firms by specifically directing some portion of government R&D expenditures, the SBA to utilize the section 8A, powers and funds provided under the Research Applied to National Needs (RANN) program, and the creation of an R&D Information System for small firms.

5. Prohibition, except in certain unusual cases, of grantee use of federal supply schedules.

6. An increase in the limitation of small purchases that can be made without competitive bidding from \$2,500 to \$10,000.

#### OFFICE OF PROCUREMENT POLICY

2. We support the establishment of an Office of Procurement Policy in the executive branch. This office, which would be responsible to Congress, would have primary responsibility for the development of procurement policy in the government. The individual contracting agencies would still handle their own procurement. As matters stand now, the Department of Defense makes procurement policy for the military departments and the General Services Administration, under the Federal Property and Administrative Services Act, is supposed to do the same for the civilian departments. But there are numerous exceptions and restrictions on its powers. We feel, as did the Commission on Government Procurement, that many of that body's recommendations "designed to achieve more consistent policies and procedures will be difficult, if not impossible, to achieve in the absence of an effective focal point for procurement policy leadership in the executive branch."

3. Since 1967, the percentage of federal procurement going to small business has been declining. While we recognize the undesirability of setting up new rigidities in government, we also deplore the burden small business has had to bear because of this trend. Since a good part of the contracts small business has with government are through being the subs of a prime contractor, we support the establishment, at least on a test basis, of some kind of mandatory small business contracting on the part of prime contractors.

#### R & D CONTRACTS

4. Small business needs specific government help to get its share of research and development contracts. The Small Business Administration has recognized that R & D activity is highly concentrated. The four largest R & D firms in the United States do about 20% of all industrial R & D; some 100 companies ac-

count for 80% of the business. When it comes to federally funded R & D, the proportions are ever more askew. The four largest firms account for one-third of all the federal funded R & D work done by private industry. While many small R & D companies may lack the capacity to handle a government R & D contract, this is not the sole reason for the undue concentration of the business.

A part of the problem has been identified by the SBA itself as lying in the nature of much government R & D work. Small firms are most capable of handling basic or applied research. And, in fiscal 1971, (as an example), small firms got about a third of the Department of Defense's research-type contracts. Small firms are less geared to doing development contracts, and got only 3% of those awards from the DOD in 1971. But the DOD spent \$4.5 billion on those contracts that year, as against only \$90 million on research type contracts.

Our national priorities are and have been changing. This is evidenced, in part, by the Research Applied to National Needs and R & D Incentive programs, administered by the National Science Foundation (NSF). We believe, as the recognized source of innovation, that small business should achieve its deserved participation in funding under these programs. To assure this important national need, we propose that the SBA be allowed to use its Section 8A subcontract powers with small R & D firms. Under this a portion of RANN funds will be allocated to the SBA, with individual awards to be decided jointly with the NSF.

To further aid the small R & D firm, we propose a National R & D Information System to be run by the SBA. This system would provide advance warning of R & D procurements from all major departments, to small business. This capability, building upon procedures developed between SBA and DOD will give "the little guy" the same opportunity as big business, with its far-flung network of sales representatives.

#### BUYING FROM FEDERAL SUPPLY SOURCES

5. Grantees of federal funds should not be allowed to buy from federal supply sources. During a couple recent years, the federal government opened some of its supply lists to some state and local agencies and school districts that were the recipients of federal grants. By allowing them to "shop" at federal prices, which were obtained by virtue of the federal government's position of being a major purchaser and also by its not always pricing items out at their full cost, including overhead, the government took major business away from private suppliers. In November, 1972, the General Services Administration acted, following a request by the Office of Management and Budget, to stop this practice.

The majority of the Commission on Government Procurement have adopted a stand that where some governmental purpose is accomplished by a grant (this fact supposedly being demonstrated by that grant's paying for at least 60% of the program), then federal supply sources should be available, if requested, for use by the lower level of government in meeting the equipment and supply needs of that program.

Our proposal is somewhat different, and is in line with the dissenting position taken by five of the commissioners working on the government procurement report. Our proposal is that if all costs to the public are considered, including not only all economic cost factors but the "socio-economic effects on the community" and the commercial business sector in local communities, then grantees of federal funds should normally be required to make all purchases connected with the grant directly from private business. Along with the dissenting commissioners, we recommend a prohibition against the use of federal supply sources by grantees, "except where unusual circumstances dictate

and under express statutory authorization." In any cases where supplies are made available to grantees from a federal source, they should be charged on the basis of their "total economic cost" to the federal government.

6. Simplified procedures for government procurements should be applied to all procurements under \$10,000 as against the present limit of \$2,500. Under the present rules, both the DOD and civilian agencies must negotiate contracts or engage in formal advertising for items over \$2,500. While changing the limit to \$10,000 would be expected to make such business more attractive for small firms who cannot get involved in large amounts of paperwork for relatively small jobs, it would also be of immense benefit to the government. Formally advertised contracts under \$10,000 according to the Commission on Government Procurement amount to only .7 of 1% of the total dollars of military procurements, but 98% of total procurement transactions in DOD. This requested simplification of the rules would open up much small government business to the small business firm. We also suggest that the \$10,000 limit be periodically reviewed and raised, in line with the GNP deflator, consumer price index, or some such commonly accepted measure of the general change in price levels.

#### REPRESENTATION

Small business needs a representative in Washington.

It needs representation in two ways—specifically—on groups studying particular problems which relate to the business community; more broadly, small business needs some kind of advocacy role which would help reinstate its position as one of the cornerstones in the American socio-economic system.

The specific ways in which small business needs representation are illustrated by the recent Commission on Government Procurement. One of the commissioners was a representative of small business, as was one member of the commission's working staff. Small business should be represented on various Presidential task forces, on special commissions created by Congress, and on the various ongoing government-business advisory boards.

One reason for the laggard representation of the small business interest is that most businessmen in this category are not trained to think in terms of government relations and few have the time to get involved personally.

We agree with the recommendations in the Report of the President's Task Force on Improving the Prospects of Small Business that the SBA was to be responsible for identifying and analyzing "small business problems so as to be the voice and advocate of American small business". However, we think the challenge today is not for an advocacy role in the terms in which a lawyer would on an ad-hoc basis defend his client's interests in court, as much as for government through research to contribute to an analysis and definition of the problems of the American small businessman. Practical solutions are called for if the relative decline of small manufacturing business in the United States is to be halted.

The advocacy role we see for small business in Washington is similar to the role the Consumer Protection Agency plays for the consumer.

The advocacy of small business suffers because too many government employees and too much of the public business is equated with the stocks listed on the New York Stock Exchange. Broad treatment of business as if all businesses were large, well-staffed, very profitable, and expert at representing their own case in Washington through individual lobbyists or trade groups masks the serious problems facing small business. An example of this is the passage

of the Occupational Safety & Health Act, which was done with the highest intentions in mind but with disregard and lack of knowledge of its hazardous effects on some small businesses.

It is clear to us that there is considerable sentiment in Washington for helping small business. Its economic problems are at least partially recognized. It is beginning to be clearer that small business conforms more closely to the original ideas behind the U.S. free enterprise system than do some of today's giant corporations, who wield both economic and political clout. Small business is increasingly seen as a counterforce to the dehumanization process worked on many employees by the large corporation. Many of today's younger people would prefer to work and be identified with small business, but they need to have that choice available if their wishes are to mean anything. Thus, a new advocacy role for small business, set up by act of Congress, would strengthen the economic position of the small business community but more importantly contribute to building within American society the kind of business system that is more akin to the original risk-taking of traditional free enterprise and that at the same time strengthens the fabric of that society.

#### SUMMARY

Twenty years from now gross national product will have doubled—at least—if we can still extrapolate from the recent past. We know some other things about the future: the size of the labor force, based on the number of today's babies; the expected rise in personal income through annual hikes in productivity; the costs to the firm and indirectly to the purchasing public of consumerism and ecological concern. We also know that the large corporation will be still larger, except where anti-trust laws break up a small number of firms or where an industry defines its role too narrowly and misses the signals of change.

But we do not know what American small business will be like in twenty years. It has none of the protections that accrue to size or to widespread managerial talent. And, we submit, whatever America's wealth in another twenty years, it will be a poorer America if the small business community has not enlarged its role in and usefulness to this society.

It is because small business, somewhat like the consumer, is in totality a clear entity, in fact, a major institution in America, but in its single units not a potent or organized force, that we submit the above modest proposals as a means by which the federal government can use its authority to protect and even to encourage this very American and very deserving part of the U.S. economic fabric.

#### ADEQUATE PETROLEUM NEEDED FOR CONTINUANCE OF CHEAP FOOD

#### HON. CHARLES THONE

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. THONE. Mr. Speaker, adequate supplies of petroleum must be made available to American farmers if they are to continue to provide consumers with cheap food.

Yesterday, the Committee on Agriculture of the U.S. House of Representatives passed a resolution commending the President for designating agricultural petroleum use as the No. 1 priority use

under the administration's voluntary allocation program but asking that the President place the Secretary of Agriculture on the Interagency Oil Policy Committee.

There has been so much furor recently about food prices that some of my colleagues from urban areas may question my statement that farmers have been providing U.S. families with cheap food. This is certainly the fact, however.

The prices of food have not risen nearly as much in the past 20 years as almost any other product or service. One of the reasons for this has been the legislation that aids farmers in providing consumers with increasing supplies of food that is constantly improving in its appeal and its nutrition.

To emphasize the low prices of food today, I call to your attention this chart, titled "Food Too High?—Compared to What?"

FOOD TOO HIGH?  
COMPARED TO WHAT?

	Percentage increase	
	In last 20 years (1952 to 1972)	In last year (1971 to 1972)
Prices farmers received for food products <sup>1</sup> .....	11.4	8.8
Wholesale food prices <sup>2</sup> .....	29.0	5.6
Retail food prices <sup>2</sup> .....	46.5	4.3
Average hourly earnings:		
Industrial workers.....	129.1	6.2
Food marketing employees.....	147.8	5.6
Beef supplies:		
Production.....	133.2	2.7
Per capita consumption.....	84.6	1.6
Pork supplies:		
Production.....	20.5	-6.2
Per capita consumption.....	-6.5	-7.3
Farm costs:		
All.....	109.3	7.5
Labor.....	140.7	6.0
Farm machinery.....	100.0	7.5
Taxes.....	297.4	7.6
Feed.....	-8.8	2.2
Cost of living items:		
All Consumer price index items.....	56.2	2.4
Food all.....	44.8	3.1
Housing.....	62.8	3.1
Apparel and upkeep.....	42.3	1.3
Health and recreation.....	74.9	2.5
Transportation.....	53.9	.3
Physicians' fees.....	122.4	2.5
Dentists' fees.....	59.5	3.2
Semiprivate hospital rooms.....	370.2	5.5
Prescriptions and drugs.....	15.0	.2
All medical care items.....	121.8	2.4

<sup>1</sup> 1972 estimates or forecasts.

<sup>2</sup> Based on USDA computations. Farm output per man hour increased from 1950-70 35 percent.

Note: Disposable income per farmer is only 78 percent of nonfarmers.

#### THE BATTLE THAT SAVED SAIGON

#### HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, I wish to include in the RECORD an article which appeared in the March edition of Reader's Digest written by Philip C. Clarke, commentator and newscaster with the Mutual radio networks.

The article is noteworthy for several reasons: First, it confirms the remarkable success of Vietnamization, second, it refutes the arguments of those who contend that the Vietnamese are a weak



unmotivated fighting force, and third, it helps define a moment in history at which the North Vietnamese awakened from their dream of military conquest of the South.

"The Battle That Saved Saigon" is a compelling reading. I include it at this point:

#### THE BATTLE THAT SAVED SAIGON

(By Philip C. Clarke)

(NOTE.—Three days before Easter last spring, the North Vietnamese struck South Vietnam with a fury unknown to the Vietnam war since the Tet offensive four years earlier. They poured south, across the DMZ, smashed into the central highlands from Laos, crossed the border from Cambodia and, with an army of 36,000 men and 100 Russian-made tanks, raced toward Saigon, boasting that they'd be in the city by May 19, Ho Chi Minh's birthday. From one end of the country to the other, bases and villages fell before the savagery of their onslaught. By April 5, all that blocked them from Saigon was a ragtag band of 6800 South Vietnamese regulars and militiamen and a handful of American advisers holed up in Anloc, a once-prosperous rubber-plantation town of 15,000 astride Highway 13, which led to the capital, 60 miles to the south. Here is the story of the communists' thunderous assault on Anloc—and of the resistance that was to change the course of the war and make peace a possibility.)

The first enemy rockets and mortar rounds burst inside Anloc on April 8, sending up plumes of dust and debris from the red-dirt streets. The town was swollen with thousands of refugees, and those who tried to flee along Highway 13 to Saigon soon discovered that Anloc was surrounded by the enemy. Many who did not return to Anloc were shot or led away to serve in the communists' labor force. South Vietnamese relief columns, sent up from Saigon and the Mekong Delta, were cut off by murderous enemy fire.

The shelling continued on and off for the next few days, and Anloc became a virtual ghost town. Autos were abandoned, the slat-roofed marketplace was closed. Only soldiers—elements of the 5th Division of ARVN (Army of the Republic of Vietnam)—and a few wary civilians on urgent errands ventured into the deserted streets. With the flash and rumble of approaching battle, families had scurried out to gather up possessions, then disappeared. Anloc was going underground. Old, well-like shelters that had been built under the houses earlier in the war were enlarged, and new ones were dug.

In the early morning of April 13, Vo Tân Vinh, deputy province chief in Anloc, was awakened by the growl of a large engine. Thinking that Saigon's relief force had gotten through, he rushed to the window. There, barely 12 feet away, he saw a 40-ton Russian tank rumbling toward the center of town. With casual nonchalance, a machine gunner stood in the open hatch, whistling. Two leather-helmeted tankmen perched on the tank's top, and three soldiers dangled slipper-shod feet over the side.

Tanks vs. the LAW. More tanks lumbered into view—a dozen or more from the north, six from the south, another two from the west. Infantrymen, cradling Russian AK-47 rifles, rode along like hitchhikers. As prisoners later related, the lead tanks entered Anloc with hatches open and had no spare fuel because the crewmen had been told that the town already had fallen.

At first, panic and pandemonium broke out. As an American adviser put it, the tanks were driving around "like they owned the place." Then, on the second-story roof of a school, 15-year-old Binh Doan Quang, his thin frame clad in the black uniform of a militiaman, raised a three-pound rocket

launcher and fired point-blank at an oncoming tank. It burst into flames, and Binh Doan Quang let out a triumphant whoop.

Word spread fast: the enemy tanks could be "killed" by a single shot from a LAW—the light antitank weapon that fires rockets designed to burn through steel. The crescendo of battle rose in the dusty and smoke-filled streets as three-man "tank-killer" teams competed. "Hey, we got two tanks over here!" shouted a jubilant soldier. "Mark down three for us!" yelled another over his walkie-talkie.

By midday of April 13, the twisted, burned-out wreckage of 18 tanks littered the streets. On the approaches to Anloc, U.S. and South Vietnamese warplanes had accounted for at least a dozen more.

But the enemy now held the northern third of Anloc, and the real battle was just beginning. In Paris that day, Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, the chief representative of the Vietcong at the peace talks, boasted that "within the next ten days, Anloc will be proclaimed the capital of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam." For two days the North Vietnamese poured more artillery fire, tanks and troops into the town from all directions. Despite air support, Anloc forces wavered and fell back. On a knoll overlooking the southeast corner of town, Firebase Lamson was encircled, its 200 men and one howitzer cut off from reinforcements and supplies.

With relief columns still stalled several miles south of Anloc, the city's defenders looked to the air for everything from bullets and rice to blood plasma and batteries. Fatbelled C-130 transports and C-123 Loadmasters, forced to fly high by devastating enemy groundfire, parachuted tons of supplies. But more than two thirds fell outside the shrinking perimeter into enemy hands.

Late on April 15, Brig. Gen. La Van Hung, who directed Anloc's defenses with the help of 25 American advisers, sent an urgent request for an air strike to drive the North Vietnamese out of northern Anloc. A wave of B-52s responded, turning the enemy-held territory into a no-man's-land of ashes and earthen craters. How many civilians trapped behind the enemy lines died in the bombing will never be known. But the defenders had bought precious time. The communist ground attack subsided, while the North Vietnamese awaited reinforcements. But only two blocks separated the North Vietnamese salients pushing in from the east and west, and the defenders were in danger of being divided and cut to pieces.

#### HOUSE BY HOUSE

Then word came from South Vietnamese intelligence that if Anloc could not be captured quickly, the enemy intended to destroy it—"pound it into dust." And for three terrible months the town's huddled thousands came under one of the most devastating artillery bombardments in history: more than 78,000 rounds of rocket, mortar and high-explosive shells rained onto an area less than one mile square.

There wasn't enough room in the underground shelters for the civilian refugees. Some 2000 of them—men, women and children—jammed into St. Joseph's Catholic Church, its bullet-riddled wooden spire rising above the western part of town. During a noon prayer service, an enemy shell crashed through the roof and exploded near the altar. Forty persons, including the priest, were killed; another 200 or more were wounded. As survivors ran screaming from the carnage, they were caught by three more bursts in the churchyard.

By late April, Anloc was being pounded by more than 2000 rounds a day. "Anloc must be destroyed!" read a captured enemy order. Lt. Col. Edward B. Benedict of Union, N.J., a combat-hardened adviser who was there for the first 47 days, recalls: "The enemy pound-

ed and pounded. He'd hit and take a house, then reinforce at night, and next day take the next house and the next."

At first, said Benedict, some of the ARVNs broke and ran. "But there was nowhere to go, so they'd pull together after a couple of blocks and hold. The enemy would come at them, first with a barrage, then with a battalion. We'd wipe it out, but the enemy would return with another battalion, or company, or platoon, until he finally had a row of houses, then a block and two blocks."

An enemy commander, breaking in on ARVN's radio band, told Col. Tran Van Nhut, the province chief, that his headquarters had been located and suggested that he surrender. "Fine," Nhut replied. "Now that you know where I am, why don't you come and get me?"

Armored probes bit deeper and deeper into the perimeter. In a lightning 2½-mile thrust southeast of Anloc, two enemy regiments captured Hill 169, seizing its six 105-howitzers. Anloc's last outpost was gone, its battery of U.S. artillery in enemy hands.

Holocaust. By May 1, nearly half of Anloc's defenders had been killed; more than 1000 wounded awaited evacuation; only about 3500 effectives remained. With the town enveloped in enemy fire, barely a handful of reinforcements had gotten through. Anloc's artillery was down to just one gun. The last vehicle, a badly shot-up jeep, was running on its rims. One American adviser put the odds for surviving five minutes in the open at 50-50.

As the days slowly passed, sanitation became a critical problem. Most of the community wells had been destroyed by gunfire or contaminated by bodies. Dysentery and malaria were rampant. There had been several births, but in the fetid, overcrowded shelters, few infants survived. Some of the Montagnard children, who had known only the outdoor wilderness, suffocated in the foul confines, their passing scarcely noticed but for a mother's weeping. Shallow graves were hurriedly dug and seldom marked. Many bodies had to be reburied after exploding shells destroyed the original graves.

The hospital compound, overflowing with dead and injured, was shelled repeatedly, its Red Cross markings all but obliterated by enemy shrapnel. Once a shell blew up the hospital morgue, hurling the corpses into the air. One mass grave of dead from the hospital was stacked with more than 600 babies, including those of many unclaimed children. Early in May, in a single night, more than 500 civilians were killed or injured.

Visiting one overcrowded shelter, Col. Walter F. Ulmer, Jr., of Carlisle, Pa., senior U.S. adviser, broke into tears. "Children, women, old people were jammed into this hole in the ground, frightened, hungry, covered with filth and sores and flies," he says, "Some were bleeding and dying. It was the absolute limit of human endurance."

Amid the holocaust, fear sometimes turned to rage. During one street fight, six young women were discovered with small radio transmitters concealed in their blouses. Identified as Vietcong operatives, they were bound to a lamppost in the center of town and left to be killed by enemy shells.

4000 Rounds a Day. Because most parachuted supplies still floated outside the perimeter, a team of U.S. Air Force specialists devised an emergency "high-velocity" air-drop system. Small, 16-foot drogue chutes were time-fused to open at only a few hundred feet, dropping heavily reinforced supply bundles directly into the recovery area at 40 m.p.h. For the first time, more than enough food and ammunition was hitting the mark, and Anloc was saved from starvation and collapse.

As the enemy's shelling mounted to more than 4000 rounds a day, however, discipline and morale began to break down. On May 1, for example, under deadly ack-ack fire, Maj.

Kenneth A. Ingram, a 34-year-old U.S. Army veteran from Nitro, W. Va., arrived by helicopter. He had to fight his way through dozens of South Vietnamese soldiers trying to escape aboard the hovering chopper.

But deeds of bravery and compassion more than balanced such incidents. One veteran signal corps sergeant was wounded three times in one day, but refused to quit. He had been blown off a telegraph pole, shot out of a tree and ripped by shrapnel. Each time, he slapped on a new bandage, and went back out. Finally, General Hung ordered him evacuated on the next helicopter. Unable to get a good grip with his heavily bandaged hands, the tough little sergeant fell to his death, still in Anloc.

An ARVN captain made room in his artillery shelter for a pregnant widow and her four small children, risking his life daily to scrounge food and water for them. When the woman gave birth and both mother and baby died, the captain "adopted" the four orphaned children.

Taste of Victory. At midnight on May 10, enemy guns began blasting Anloc with the heaviest bombardment of all—8300 rounds of high explosive in ten hours, or nearly one every four seconds. "It was like an earthquake," remembers Major Ingram. "The bunker trembled and moved in the ground. All I could do was sit there and recite the Lord's Prayer and the 23rd Psalm."

At 5:30 a.m., the tanks rolled in, some 40 of them from all directions. But this time the defenders were ready. Scrambling from their bunkers and foxholes, tank-killer teams opened up with LAWs at close range. Then, in mid-morning, swarms of allied fighter-bombers and gunships, skillfully guided by forward air-control pilots dropping white-phosphorus smoke bombs to mark targets, darted through curtains of flak to rocket and strafe the enemy from near rooftop level. In all, 297 tactical missions were flown that day.

Tipped off to the climactic enemy assault by a POW, Lt. Gen. Nguyen Van Minh, Military Region 3 commander, and his counterpart, Maj. Gen. James F. Hollingsworth of Sanger, Texas, had appealed for more B-52s. Gen. Creighton Abrams, U.S. commander in Vietnam, told Hollingsworth: "You'll have 'em all!"

As the enemy infantry got set to attack, B-52s struck from bases in Thailand. The giant, eight-engine jets roared high over Anloc for 24 solid hours—one flight of three planes every 55 minutes. With unerring precision, they dropped more than 3000 tons of 500- and 750-pound bombs, pulverizing North Vietnamese positions as close as 2600 feet from the defense perimeter.

When it was over, an enemy regimental officer and ten men staggered dazedly from the smoking ruins of their headquarters and surrendered. Hundreds of others had died; more than 1000 were wounded. The back of the enemy attack had been broken.

Enemy shelling continued for more than a month, but with lessening intensity. Early in June, civilians began emerging from their dark holes to breathe the air, bask in the hot sun and walk in the spring rain which had come late to Anloc. Utterly heedless of still incoming artillery fire, they sat in the rubble talking, smoking and drinking coffee. Then, on June 8, a relief column entered amid wild rejoicing. The worst of the siege was over.

Only the skeletons of eight houses remained in Anloc. South Vietnamese intelligence estimated the enemy dead in the battle at 10,000, its wounded at more than 15,000. Anloc's defenders had lost nearly 5000 dead or wounded. The 7th Regiment counted 333 survivors out of 1200. In one militia platoon of 18, only three survived. The civilian toll will never be known with certainty, but the dead or wounded exceeded 5000.

Was Anloc worth the price? In terms of endurance and determination, the battle

marked a turning point. Saigon had been saved; South Vietnam endured; Vietnamization had passed a crucial test. Outnumbered nearly 6-to-1 and facing annihilation, South Vietnamese soldiers, with vital U.S. air support, had withstood a devastating siege. More significantly, perhaps, the North Vietnamese, their dreams of military conquest shattered on the perimeter of Anloc, had finally agreed to negotiate seriously. By refusing to surrender, Anloc's defenders had broken the enemy's offensive and helped to turn the tide toward peace in Vietnam.

## THE LESSONS OF WATERGATE

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following: My May 23, 1973, Washington report entitled "The Lessons of Watergate":

### THE LESSONS OF WATERGATE

Among the most important questions raised by Watergate is that of determining the real harm of Watergate and what should be done about it. One major harm, as I see it, is that Watergate deals yet another setback to the confidence of Americans in government and the integrity and future quality of the political processes in this nation. Any right-minded American must ask himself as he views the impact of Watergate on the already low status of politics and government in the nation today, how much erosion of confidence can our system tolerate and still survive?

For the immediate future, the appropriate course is to insist upon a careful and complete investigation of the Watergate affair and a full disclosure of the truth. The full story of Watergate should be told. There are lessons to be learned from it, as I suggest below, and, if the truth is not told, cynicism about politics and government will only fester and grow.

The independent prosecutor must be of unquestioned integrity and have the highest professional ability. He must be given the resources and the authority to conduct a thorough investigation, and it is necessary that this prosecutor be removed from the influence of the presidency.

Impeachment proceedings against the President, and references to them, should be silenced as premature.

There are important lessons to be learned from Watergate:

1. The presidency must be kept open. Watergate would not have happened had President Nixon conducted his government in public. He and future Presidents need to conduct a presidency open to the public, the Congress and the press. They need people around them who represent a broad philosophical base to ensure an interplay of ideas. They need contact with the best minds in America, and a cabinet composed of the ablest people in America. The presidential news conference must be re-established. In international affairs, the nation has moved toward opening constructive communication with our adversaries. Presidents must do the same at home to assure that their judgments are not hampered by isolation.

2. We must return to a government of shared powers, with Congress regaining its place as a co-equal branch of government, as contemplated by the U.S. Constitution. The aggrandizement of the presidency, and the concentration of power in that office,

must be resisted. This will not be easy, and it involves many steps, none more important than reforming the Congress so that it can exercise its powers responsibly.

3. A whole series of steps must be taken to protect the integrity of American elections. The presence of mountains of cash, unreported and spent with no accounting, was a common element in almost every aspect of Watergate. The steps include:

Sharp limitations on the size of individual gifts;

Overall limit on expenditures for a given race;

Complete reporting of contributions and expenditures;

The creation of a tough enforcement agency to ensure compliance;

The purpose of these and other steps would be to open up campaign practices and to make it more difficult for unethical conduct.

4. Finally, we must keep faith in the American political system. It has weathered some violent storms, and it will survive Watergate. At Watergate, some of the people within our system failed us and that should not surprise or discourage us at any time under any party. It is important to remember that the system did work, even if slowly:

A federal grand jury brought the first indictments.

A federal judge raised the first official doubts about the inadequacy of an investigation and expressed his dissatisfaction in open court.

The Congress, much maligned in recent days, kept the affair from being buried. Senator Ervin's investigating committee assured that Watergate would continue as a major public issue. Individual members of the Congress played significant roles. Senator Barry Goldwater demanded a full airing of the affair and other Republicans followed. Senator Robert Byrd of West Virginia asked some penetrating questions.

Although much of the press forgot about Watergate, at least a few papers and a few reporters were not intimidated. They kept digging in the face of harassment and other pressure, and they played their full role as the fourth estate.

If we have learned these lessons, even Watergate may have been worth it.

## OBJECTIONS TO SONNENFELDT CONFIRMATION MUST BE ANSWERED

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, the proposal, the Constitutional Oath Support Act (H.R. 6421) submitted earlier this year by Chairman ICHORD of the House Internal Security Committee and cosponsored by other members of the committee, is the product of extensive oversight hearings dating back to September 1970, into the Federal civilian employee loyalty-security program. Many Federal departments and agencies outlined their security requirements for Federal employment to insure that Federal employees be, in the words of the controlling Executive Order 10450, "reliable, trustworthy, of good conduct and character, and of complete and unswerving loyalty to the United States."



With this background in mind, it is understandable why I was especially interested in little noted hearings before the Senate Finance Committee on Tuesday, May 15, concerning the nomination of Helmut Sonnenfeldt as Under Secretary of the Treasury. His nomination was opposed by a former coworker of Mr. Sonnenfeldt's, John D. Hemenway, the first Foreign Service officer to obtain from the State Department a full-scale hearing concerning his selection out of the Foreign Service. It will be remembered that a hearing panel, after extensive hearings, voted to reinstate Mr. Hemenway who, they found, had been unfairly treated. State officials refused to reinstate Hemenway although he was tendered an apology along with reimbursement for legal fees, if such action was later deemed legally permissible.

Mr. Hemenway's prepared statement was accompanied by an affidavit from Mr. Otto Otepka, the retired State Department security officer who cited two investigations which he reviewed concerning leaks of classified material to unauthorized persons by Mr. Sonnenfeldt. Mr. Hemenway named other persons who, he claimed, had knowledge of Mr. Sonnenfeldt's misuse of classified information. The Senate Finance Committee chairman, Senator RUSSELL LONG, indicated that members of the committee would inspect Mr. Sonnenfeldt's Government security file in an effort to learn the relative facts in the matter, with the hearings to be continued at a later date.

Following is the prepared statement by John D. Hemenway concerning the nomination of Helmut Sonnenfeldt before the Senate Finance Committee on May 15, 1973:

ON THE CONFIRMATION OF MR. HELMUT SONNENFELDT

(Testimony of John D. Hemenway, 4816 Rodman St., N.W., Washington, D.C., before the Senate Committee on Finance, May 15, 1973, 9:00 am)

Mr. Chairman and members of the Senate Finance Committee, thank you for allowing me to address you today in the matter of the confirmation of Mr. Helmut Sonnenfeldt, to be Under Secretary of the Treasury. Mr. Sonnenfeldt has long been associated with the Department of State intelligence bureaucracy and the National Security Council under Dr. Henry A. Kissinger.

As I wrote to each member of this Committee on April 12, Mr. Sonnenfeldt is unfit for the high office for which he has been nominated and not worthy of the trust it represents. In the letter sent to you, I enclosed a sworn affidavit by Mr. Otto Otepka and some material placed into the Congressional Record several years ago concerning Mr. Sonnenfeldt by your colleague in the Senate, Senator Thurmond of South Carolina.

The letter cited above indicated that abundant evidence is available to show that Mr. Sonnenfeldt is unfit for this high office and not worthy of the trust. In order to progress systematically through the evidence known to me, I shall provide you with materials this morning establishing that:

- (1) Mr. Sonnenfeldt's professional judgment is faulty;
- (2) Mr. Sonnenfeldt's personal standards of integrity are unacceptably low;
- (3) Mr. Sonnenfeldt repeatedly has performed acts that violated his oath of office;
- (4) Mr. Sonnenfeldt's confirmation will place your Committee, Mr. Chairman, in the

position of seeming to condone illegal acts and violations of standards of conduct for Federal Service set by the Congress itself.

As an individual I am neither an investigator, nor am I uniquely qualified to sift out all of the material available concerning Mr. Sonnenfeldt. Today, for the use of your Committee, Mr. Chairman, I simply have pulled together a few details that have come to my attention over the years. It is clear that the Committee needs only to express an interest to discover that the material I uncover today reveals only the tip of the iceberg.

PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF SONNENFELDT

The Committee should know that I have a personal reason for attentively studying the career record of Mr. Sonnenfeldt. After a three year battle, the first independent Grievance Hearing Committee in State Department history decided unanimously (3-0) to have the Department of State tender me an appropriate apology for events leading to my expulsion from the career diplomatic service. It was also decided to restore me to the career diplomatic service from which I had been expelled. A highly inaccurate report had been cooked up to confirm my expulsion. It contained at least 140 identifiable untrue, misleading, or slanderous statements. Sworn hearing testimony revealed that Ambassador Parsons had said of Hemenway while the report was in preparation: "... I don't believe he can be 'bought off'—he has the bit between his teeth ... he goes back to the system itself, which he attacks." (That is, the foreign service system.)

One of those 140 untrue or false statements contained in the report written by Ambassadors Parsons and Penfield was introduced either by Mr. Helmut Sonnenfeldt or the two ambassadors falsely citing Mr. Sonnenfeldt. The chronology is as follows:

June 15, 1965: Mr. Sonnenfeldt wrote in an official report that Mr. Hemenway "... has uncommon potential for rising to the very top of the Foreign Service." In other, similar reports Sonnenfeldt's praise of Hemenway's work is consistent.

January 14, 1969: In an official report to the Secretary of State (Rusk), Amb. James K. Penfield and J. Graham Parsons write that Sonnenfeldt had told them that he "... did not regard his (Hemenway's) performance as satisfactory."

October 7, 1971: Under oath, Mr. James K. Penfield stated at the Hemenway Hearing before an independent State Department Grievance Hearing Committee—the first in history—that Sonnenfeldt indeed had made the January, 1969 statement; in conflict with earlier written statements cited in the Parsons/Penfield report to the Secretary of State (Rusk).

MR. SONNENFELDT'S "POOR" MEMORY

December 11, 1971: In writing, Mr. Sonnenfeldt claimed not to be able to recall the event. The point at issue, of course, was whether Parsons and Penfield had reported Sonnenfeldt's comment correctly. If they had, then why would Sonnenfeldt choose to lie about Hemenway's performance? If they had reported Sonnenfeldt's remark accurately, then the issue would be, on which occasion did Sonnenfeldt lie? Naturally, when Sonnenfeldt talked to Parsons/Penfield, he knew it was highly unlikely that Hemenway would ever be able to examine the Parsons/Penfield report, because it would be termed a confidential report written for the Secretary's (Rusk's) eyes only. The specific claim that he could not recall these events was made by Sonnenfeldt in the following manner:

"I am unable to make a specific statement concerning the accuracy of what is attributed to me in the testimony and in the brief written text you sent me because I simply can not recall the specific contents of my conversation with Ambassadors Parsons and

Penfield. This conversation took place almost three years ago and I kept no record of it."

Mr. Sonnenfeldt's plea that he is unable to remember is hardly credible. He is known to have an excellent memory. Moreover, it is not an everyday occurrence for two ambassadors to call upon you in behalf of the Secretary of State for the purpose of preparing one-time reports concerning a man you know which, in turn, leads to the first grievance hearing in the history of the U.S. diplomatic service. If you do not make a few notes afterward, you have made a mistake in judgment. I hope Mr. Sonnenfeldt does not make these mistakes daily.

However, if Mr. Sonnenfeldt really did not take notes and really can not recall such an episode, surely such faulty powers of recollection should be weighed by your Committee, Mr. Chairman, when you consider Mr. Sonnenfeldt's capacity to perform the much more demanding duties of Under Secretary of the Treasury, the post for which Mr. Helmut Sonnenfeldt has been nominated.

FEAR—THE REASON FOR A DECADE OF SILENCE

Mr. Chairman, only one thing disturbs me about my testimony today: I am the only person testifying. The materials I shall now take up have been known to many government officials who, as part of their official duties, must judge on the suitability of persons for high posts. Where are the officials of State, Justice, Treasury, and the other Foreign Policy areas of government who are knowledgeable. Your Committee, Mr. Chairman, might want to reflect on the reasons for their not coming forward today; why you must learn of these matters first from me, a private citizen, rather than from the officials charged with enforcing standards of conduct in our government.

The checks and balances of our government require that, for effective operation, the watchdog committees of the Congress must be kept properly informed. Without accurate and complete information, cover-ups not only are possible, they are inevitable.

In testifying here today, I had to ask myself just what evidence your Committee would accept. I have not attempted to delve deeply into such foreign policy questions as Mr. Sonnenfeldt's view of the use of US credits to shore up failing communist economies; Helmut Sonnenfeldt's view of the Berlin Agreement and the impending recognition of Communist East Germany; the wheat deal; or, his own role in foreign policy questions that, over time, will greatly affect US national interests. There are men more qualified to speak on Sonnenfeldt's role in those questions—but I believe that one does not have to probe into those areas about which honest men have honest differences of view. I believe that a more primitive form of evidence makes abundantly clear that Mr. Sonnenfeldt should not be confirmed today as Deputy Secretary of the Treasury.

Alexander Hamilton, in the *Federalist Papers*, foresaw the test to which the Senate would be put by the confirmation of such nominees as Mr. Sonnenfeldt. Hamilton wrote:

"The possibility of rejection would be a strong motive to care in proposing. The danger to his (the executive's) own reputation ... he would be ashamed and afraid to bring forward for the most distinguished or lucrative stations, candidates who had no other merit than ... of being, in some way or other, personally allied to him, or possessing the necessary insignificance and pliancy to render them the obsequious instruments of his pleasure. ..." (No. LXXVI of the *Federalist Papers*.)

Today I am a private citizen, but I have been an officer of the government for more than a quarter of a century. A public trust is at issue in the Sonnenfeldt nomination, which comes at a time when public confidence is needed in the effectiveness of our

Constitutional mechanisms, i.e., in the efficacy of a private citizen like myself appearing before this Committee to give testimony.

In the past men like Sonnenfeldt have been proposed for offices requiring confirmation because the Senate has not been rigorously exercising the independence of view foreseen by Hamilton. It is only right and proper that your Committee has available the information it needs to perform its constitutional functions.

Therefore, as I deliver this material this morning, I want you to know that I am prepared to testify under oath; further, Mr. Otepka is present in the Hearing Room this morning and is available, should his sworn statement raise any questions that need answers I cannot myself supply. I want to make it clear that I am not a disgruntled employee venting his spleen against Helmut Sonnenfeldt. But I am proud of my country, which I know well—its strengths and its weaknesses. Among 225 million Americans, there are literally thousands of citizens better qualified by training, disposition, and background to perform the duties for which Helmut Sonnenfeldt has been nominated. Yet Helmut Sonnenfeldt's services seem to have been nearly indispensable in the Bureau of Intelligence and Research, in the Department of State; Helmut Sonnenfeldt was indispensable to the National Security Council under Mr. Henry A. Kissinger; Helmut Sonnenfeldt was so badly needed as an FSO-1, evidently, that the law had to be violated to make him a "career" diplomat; and, today, Helmut Sonnenfeldt's services as a Deputy Secretary of the Treasury again seem indispensable. Why? What of the other 225 million Americans? It is a country filled with talent. I wonder, just in passing, what is the role of William P. Rogers and Elliot Richardson in these events, not to mention William B. Macomber, Jr. and Mr. Maurice Stans, both of whom seem to be implicated in the Watergate coverup.

#### COVER-UP WHEN SONNENFELDT ALLEGEDLY FACED PROSECUTION

The man before you today for confirmation was a very early beneficiary of a massive cover-up in the executive branch. It is a matter of public record that Mr. Sonnenfeldt was nearly prosecuted for improper activities. According to the *Congressional Record*.

"It was during Rogers' tenure of office in the US Department of Justice that Sonnenfeldt was in 'very serious trouble' because of alleged 'leaks of top secret and secret' classified information to foreign agents with whom he had frequent and close associations. An intense FBI investigation resulted in discussions about prosecution. No such prosecution ever took place because the State Department held that it was 'not in the interest of the US government' to have the secrets involved become public knowledge. Rogers agreed not to prosecute and Sonnenfeldt was saved from conviction under the espionage statute."—*Congressional Record*, vol. 116, pt. 25, p. 33726.

From my own direct personal knowledge I can not say whether the facts stated above are totally true or not. I can say that I have heard them from persons I have reason to believe are reliable and who enjoy the reputation for telling the truth and who were also in a position to know the facts.

The record should be easily obtained. The facts cited are easily capable of being verified. Surely your Committee, Mr. Chairman, and the members of the Senate Finance Committee will want their report to the Senate to include a report on the truth of such serious allegations.

From my perspective and the facts available to me, there is the curious and evident anomaly of Mr. Rogers, as Attorney General under President Eisenhower, not prosecuting Mr. Sonnenfeldt. Then, once again under Mr. Rogers, but this time as Secretary of State, Mr. Sonnenfeldt is brought into the highest

level of the career diplomatic service without ever having served abroad in that diplomatic service. The fact that Mr. Sonnenfeldt was fraudulently entered onto the rolls of the diplomatic service is discussed below. It seems evident that derogatory material about him was removed from his file so that a three-man Board would not hesitate to rubber-stamp his appointment.

I believe that there is abundant evidence to suggest the wisdom of rejecting this nomination. Recent events affirm that it is prudent to lay out all of the facts in the open, if only to set to rest significant and legitimate doubts. I do not personally have available all of the facts, but considerable evidence has come to my attention which supports the view that the Sonnenfeldt nomination should be rejected.

#### NUMEROUS INDEPENDENT WITNESSES AVAILABLE

Let me be quite specific concerning the nature of this derogatory information:

(1) You already have the sworn statement of Mr. Otepka dated 25 January 1973, long before Mr. Sonnenfeldt was nominated for this post.

(2) From State Department security sources, it can be established that Mr. Sonnenfeldt lied when interrogated about his own improper activities.

(3) Mr. Frank Niland, an employee of the Department of Justice, can provide information on the personal surveillance of Mr. Sonnenfeldt which was maintained for over one year. This was not the FBI of Mr. Gray, it was the FBI of Mr. Hoover.

(4) Mr. Stephan Kozak, formerly an employee of the Department of State Bureau of Intelligence and Research and a career US diplomat, personally witnessed improper and illegal transfer of information from Mr. Sonnenfeldt to unauthorized foreign nationals. He lives in Washington, D.C., at 2932 Macomb Street, NW. I personally know that Mr. Kozak can name and identify the individual who was the top liaison officer between the FBI and the CIA who investigated Mr. Sonnenfeldt. I also understand that this individual expressed the concern of both agencies about Mr. Sonnenfeldt's activities, that is, the FBI and the CIA were concerned about his abuse of sensitive materials.

(5) Miss Delores Wahl personally told me on February 26, 1964 the following: "Hal (Sonnenfeldt) was abusing our 'special material' last December (1963) and I had a fight with him about it." Miss Wahl is an employee of the Department of State having responsibility for materials of a particular sensitivity. (From document M-6 of the Hemenway Hearing, Department of State.)

In the light of the material cited above from the Congressional Record concerning possible prosecution of Sonnenfeldt, it is clear that, over a period of time, Mr. Sonnenfeldt had established a pattern of questionable conduct in matters pertaining to the handling of classified information. (However, the ability to "leak" does develop excellent contacts with powerful members of the press.) Once again, all of the facts are easily verifiable and capable of proof. FBI files should have the information.

This documented and public record was known to officials officially charged with the responsibility of judging the suitability of candidates for higher positions in the upper levels of the government service. Nevertheless, Mr. Helmut Sonnenfeldt was brought into the US diplomatic service laterally at the relative rank of "major general" (FSO-1).

#### BAD JUDGMENT; SONNENFELDT'S POOR "TRACK RECORD"

Senator Thurmond called it a "strange nomination" and, in addition to noting the violation of the career principles of the diplomatic service, he suggested the strong possibility of a violation of the Hatch Act. Senator Thurmond commented:

"I find it very disturbing that a top assistant in the National Security Council staff, responsible for formulating and advising on our international policy, should be chosen from a milieu which is antagonistic to the work of the President. (*Congressional Record*, March 26, 1970, S-4644.)

In briefing the head of state of an important Western European ally, several years later, Mr. Sonnenfeldt undercut the official policy direction of important US financial interests overseas. Instead of explaining that Sonnenfeldt had exceeded his instructions, the policy was amended to include Sonnenfeldt's mistake. In one instance a senior official directed that a memorandum of conversation be amended so as to wipe out exposure of the Sonnenfeldt violation of policy. The matter is still delicate enough to be sensitive, but it unmistakably bears upon Mr. Sonnenfeldt's suitability for the Treasury post. It also demonstrates how those wielding the power of the White House can abuse that power—but then that is nothing new these days.

In yet another matter reflecting on the quality of Sonnenfeldt's judgement, the respected journalist Mr. Willard Edwards of the *Chicago Tribune* reported on April 4, 1970, that:

"Prior to the Cuban missile crisis in October, 1972, Sonnenfeldt's associates recall, he solemnly advised that Russia would never place missiles in Cuba because such an act would endanger relations with the United States.

"They also recalled that Sonnenfeldt had predicted that Russia would not interfere in the Czechoslovakian uprising. The events of August, 1968, disclosed this judgment of Soviet intentions as erroneous as in the Cuban incident. . . ."—(Willard Edwards, *Chicago Tribune*, 4 April 1970.)

While I never have examined Mr. Sonnenfeldt's judgments in reports concerning the two episodes referred to above, I know of my own first hand knowledge that critical, hard intelligence was ignored by Sonnenfeldt prior to the Cuban missile crisis, even though it came from a tested source and provided advance warning of Soviet intentions akin to the pre-Pearl Harbor intelligence available to the U.S. This contention is capable of positive proof from a document of public record from the Hemenway Hearing at the Department of State.

#### RETALIATION FROM DR. KISSINGER'S OFFICE

On 17 January, 1972, shortly after I alerted Mr. Sonnenfeldt to the possibility of his appearing to testify at a Department of State Hearing, a high Defense Department official reported to me that Dr. Kissinger was "climbing up the molding" over the prospect of an attack on Sonnenfeldt. I am convinced that my request of Mr. Sonnenfeldt alerting him to the possibility of being a witness under oath was regarded as "attack", which it was not, of course. Mr. Sonnenfeldt's name was finally listed along with 30 or so others in an "Offer of Proof" dated 24 January 1972 which outlined what could be proved should the list of witnesses be called. Mr. Sonnenfeldt was one of these and some of the evidence reviewed today was presented as a hearing document. (Document X-4 of the Hemenway Hearing Record, US Department of State, contains the Offer of Proof.)

However, Dr. Kissinger's office aggressively alleged to the Pentagon that I had improperly informed a prominent newsmen and two Congressmen concerning a highly controversial policy decision made by Sonnenfeldt six months earlier. Specifically, in the name of the White House, Sonnenfeldt had taken action to deny US asylum to a Polish defector. Ironically, Sonnenfeldt, who was born in Germany and himself had to flee from Hitler, issued the order for denying US sanctuary to another refugee seeking the same freedom and protection. I believe that the decision was not only morally wrong, it



was a policy error. Of course, the error carried with it possible terrible consequences to the individual denied sanctuary.

Dr. Kissinger's office expressed concern to my superiors that Congressmen Derwinski and Crane, neither of whom I knew at that time, might initiate an investigation into the matter. It was an action taken only after I had raised the issue of Sonnenfeldt testifying at an independent State Department Hearing under oath. The newsman named by Kissinger's office knew nothing about the alleged "leak" in which he was supposed to be involved. He had written about Sonnenfeldt, however, and Kissinger's office evidently presumed that I had inspired that story.

With the foregoing as background, let me outline the route by which Mr. Helmut Sonnenfeldt comes before this Committee as a senior US diplomat of "career" seeking confirmation for an appointment that is not a part of the foreign service personnel and appointment structure at all, but a political appointment.

#### SONNENFELDT'S FRAUDULENT ENTRY INTO THE FOREIGN SERVICE

As you know, Mr. Chairman, the United States diplomatic service is called the "Foreign Service". (One wag has called it our "very foreign" service.) The three-man panel which examined Helmut Sonnenfeldt's qualifications to enter the Foreign Service as an FSO, finally nominated March 11, 1970, consisted of Margaret Joy Tibbitts, Howard L. Parsons, and Alan Fidel. Those three examining officers were offered files said to contain Mr. Sonnenfeldt's (1) medical records, (2) performance records, and, (3) security records. All of the written records were highly commendatory and favorable to Sonnenfeldt, who was also found by the panel to be highly articulate and who made a good impression. The panel found no adverse security information in the files whatsoever. This is virtual proof that the file had been "sanitized" or, if you prefer, "rigged". At the very least, the security file should have contained the allegations, refutation of the allegations, and the evaluation. All of the material contained in this testimony were known and should have been reflected in the Sonnenfeldt security file.

It is worth noting that, on February 19, 1969, the *Government Employees' Exchange* reported the disappearance of classified information from Sonnenfeldt's security file (page 11, col. 3.) I do not know how that newspaper got such information a year ahead of the events I cite above. The editor, Mr. Sid Goldberg is available for testimony, if summoned.

Obviously, with all the files favorable, the panel examining Sonnenfeldt could do nothing else than pass him. He was passed, unanimously into the diplomatic service he had publicly denigrated over the years before his civil service and Foreign Service colleagues, myself among them.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate that your Committee is concerned with Finance, not Foreign Relations. Many of your Committee members may not follow closely details of Department of State Administration. Presumably, if confirmed, Mr. Sonnenfeldt, now a "career" diplomat, will come to Treasury to look after the foreign policy aspects of US Treasury policy.

You should know that, when Mr. Sonnenfeldt was made an FSO-1, the Department of State was administered by Mr. William B. Macomber, Jr., who, in turn, was supervised for the Secretary of State by Elliot L. Richardson, then Under Secretary of State. Mr. Macomber is now US Ambassador to Turkey. (Macomber was in charge of the tragic failure to rescue our captive diplomats held hostage in the Sudan.) Macomber's confirmation as US Ambassador to Turkey was opposed by a number of persons for good and valid reasons. I was among them. Recently

his name was mentioned in connection with the Watergate cover-up. He is said to have facilitated making available State Department documents.

At the Macomber confirmation hearing some very knowledgeable spokesmen wanted to hold full hearings on Mr. Macomber's operations during the time he was Deputy Under Secretary of State. Mr. Mollenhoff wrote a remarkably discerning article on the strange reluctance of the pertinent Senate Committee to look into the improper activities in which Macomber was involved. The important labor organization AFGE also felt that a full scale hearing into Mr. Macomber's fitness for the office was in order. However, his confirmation was said to be "unanimous". And now it is clear that Macomber played a role in the Watergate, knowingly or unknowingly—that has still to emerge.

#### RICHARDSON/MACOMBER/SONNENFELDT: LINKED

No doubt there is some regret in the Foreign Relations Committee today that the Macomber nomination was reported out of Committee so rapidly.

Mr. Elliot Richardson, Mr. Macomber's immediate superior during the first years of the Nixon Administration in the Department of State, has been selected to play a major role in the examination of the illegalities of Watergate and to enforce the laws of the United States.

Both Mr. Macomber and Mr. Richardson played key roles in the unusual transfer of Mr. Sonnenfeldt from the civil service into the Foreign Service at the very high grade of FSO-1. This was done after Sonnenfeldt was already working for Mr. Kissinger as part of the staff of the National Security Council (NSC). It was clear then and it is even more clear now that, if confirmed, there is no intention of sending Mr. Sonnenfeldt overseas on assignment. It is also clear that, to become an FSO, Mr. Sonnenfeldt had to receive special favors and consideration under the law—even if the laws were not violated, which I believe was the case. As a minimum, documents were removed from the Sonnenfeldt file so that the three-man panel could, with a "clean" conscience, vote for his admission to FSO ranks. It was a fraudulent operation; however, it carried with it greatly increased emoluments for Mr. Sonnenfeldt personally.

Now Mr. Sonnenfeldt has been selected to work in an area of the government directly under your Committee's supervision. Even if your Committee believes there never was adequate grounds for criminal prosecution of Mr. Sonnenfeldt, then it would seem prudent to investigate thoroughly the circumstances I have just related before unanimously reporting the Sonnenfeldt nomination out of Committee. If Mr. Kissinger can be given wire-taps on former NSC staff members like Mr. Halperin, it would not seem right to deprive your Committee from having access to the wire taps on Mr. Sonnenfeldt which provide the basis for proving that he lied during official interrogations.

Personally, I am aware of no practical background or educational experience possessed by Mr. Sonnenfeldt that qualifies him for this position with the Treasury Department. I am aware of considerable disqualifying information.

#### U.S. GOVERNMENT CODE OF ETHICS

For 27 years, as an officer of the United States, I and practically all of my colleagues have tried to maintain high standards. I and they really have tried to live the *Code of Ethics for Government Service* passed by the Second Session of the 85th Congress (Concurrent Resolution No. 175):

"Any person in Government service should: . . . uphold the Constitution, laws, and legal regulations of the United States . . . and never be a party to their evasion . . . expose corruption wherever discovered."

It is alleged that Mr. Sonnenfeldt "leaked"

information to Mr. Nelson Rockefeller and to Mr. Kissinger before Mr. Kissinger joined the government. (See Congressional Record, vol. 117, pt. 26, p. 33790.) If this is correct, then Mr. Sonnenfeldt's extraordinary relationship with Mr. Kissinger becomes understandable.

Speaking quite personally, as a private citizen, like a lot of Americans, I regard high government office in the service of this Republic neither a reform school for officials who have erred nor as a fiefdom in which the very wealthy or very privileged can dispense favors oblivious of the real sovereign, the people.

Today the entire country is concerned with matters of accountability, confidence, responsibility and trust. Clearly, in order to do the kind of job the American people have the right to expect, the President must have dedicated civil servants upon whom he can rely. He too, has that right.

What does the Congress expect government employees to do when senior officers in the government and supervisors are not held accountable and violate their oaths of office?

Let us look one last time at the record—the public record—of Helmut Sonnenfeldt.

The record indicates that Mr. Sonnenfeldt has a pattern of violating his oath of office and the trust of that office.

The record indicates that Mr. Sonnenfeldt is not worthy of the trust.

The record indicates that Helmut Sonnenfeldt should not be confirmed by the Senate as Under Secretary of the US Treasury.

#### ABORTION AND THE SUPREME COURT

#### HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, in the continuing debate regarding the question of abortion following the Supreme Court decision of January 22, I think the following article by Dr. Andre E. Hellegers, director of the Joseph and Rose Kennedy Institute for the Study of Human Reproduction and Bioethics, Georgetown University, provides an interesting insight into the ramifications of that decision:

#### ABORTION AND THE SUPREME COURT

(By Andre E. Hellegers)

The Supreme Court's abortion decision opens up more problems than it solves, quite apart from the massive increase in abortion which may be expected. The essentials of the decision are the following: (1) The fetus is not a person in terms of the U.S. Constitution; (2) In the first 13 weeks of pregnancy, states may not prohibit abortions since this constitutes an invasion of a woman's privacy; (3) After 13 weeks, states may not prohibit abortions if they are thought necessary to preserve the woman's life or health. They may regulate in what settings the abortions can be performed. The Court defines the word "health" extremely broadly to include such entities as stressful circumstances—in brief, it follows the definition of the word "health" used by the World Health Organization to denote not just the absence of disease but the presence of a sense of well being. In practice it means there are sufficient grounds to perform an abortion on any woman who requests it, since the very request can be seen as a sign of distress.

The Court specifically refuses to determine when human life begins. It says it is

a matter of controversy which it need not resolve. At any given time only one of two possibilities exists: human life exists or does not. By not resolving this issue, yet permitting abortion, the Court seems to have adopted the principle that abortion may be performed even if they destroy human life. I believe this is the first time that a case regarding a doubt about the presence of human life has been resolved against the presence of possible life. Georgetown alumni may remember the old question of whether one may fire a rifle bullet through a closed door when one does not know whether there is someone on the other side. The answer was always no. The Court seems to say yes, as long as there is controversy about whether there is such a person behind the door.

Of course, the issue of when life starts is a canard. We know it does at conception. Producing babies in test tubes makes it crystal clear. For a separate test tube full of sperm or of ova to become a human life, one will have to wait until hell freezes over. Only by bringing the sperm and ovum together will one be in the baby-making business in a laboratory. Obviously, the issue is not when human life begins, but when we will assign any value to it—and protect it. The issue is a value and dignity issue, not a biological one. One suspects that the Court didn't have the courage to say that although true biological human life was present, one could still destroy it.

It is doubtful the Court will be allowed to hide behind this philosophically weak article. I suspect litigation may someday start about whether the live fetus may be used experimentally. Such a live exteriorized fetus cannot be said to interfere with maternal life, health nor privacy. The issue will then again arise whether it constitutes human life or not, this time not interfering with anyone's interest. One wonders how the Court will handle that one? Perhaps it will argue the young fetus may be used because death is imminent. But can it say so with adults close to death? Perhaps it will say it is still a fetus and not protected as a person under the Constitution, but will it dare say so of an eight-month fetus? Perhaps it will say the fetus cannot be used at all, but what will that say about abortion?

The experimental use of the live fetus may force us to think more clearly about what abortion really is. It kills humans.

### ALASKAN VERSUS CANADIAN PIPELINE

#### HON. SAM STEIGER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, one of the serious problems facing this Nation today is the shortage of fuels, a scarcity that began last winter in many Midwestern States with a natural gas shortage and which has now spiraled into a shortage of fuel oils and gasolines. The fact that farmers are in danger of losing crops due to fuel scarcity, and that major construction projects planned for this summer may be endangered is now apparent.

Despite this shortage, a great reserve of oil and gas exists in arctic Alaska. All that is needed to bring this reserve to market is a pipeline. Although the oil

companies with reserves at Prudhoe Bay are ready to build such a pipeline—camps and construction equipment are already in place and have been waiting for 3 years—court litigation and now an adverse court of appeals ruling on the width of a right-of-way across public lands puts the issue before Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to put in the RECORD a letter from our colleague LLOYD MEEDS. A pipeline through Canada is often cited as a more attractive alternate to the present trans-Alaska route, but Mr. MEEDS' letter points out a major uncertainty facing any MacKenzie Valley pipeline, the unsettled question of Canadian aboriginal land claims.

Members of Congress are well familiar with the many years of difficult work it took to enact the recent Alaska Native claims settlement. Northern Canada is now, in effect, where Alaska was in the mid-1960's. A court-ordered land freeze that has been in effect for 3 months, affecting all dispositions of crown lands, was extended last week by the Northwest Territories' Supreme Court in Yellowknife, N.W.T. In this action the court extended a major test case in aboriginal land rights until July. Any Canadian pipeline would run through the Northwest Territories for a considerable distance.

As our colleague points out in his letter, the question of aboriginal claims is just one more uncertainty faced by a Canadian oil pipeline, among many other uncertainties. These questions have already been resolved in Alaska. The Alaska pipeline could be in operation in 3 years if construction could begin this summer. A Canadian pipeline would take 10 years or more.

Mr. MEEDS' letter follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
Washington, D.C., May 10, 1973.

HON. SAM STEIGER,  
U.S. House of Representatives,  
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SAM: You will recall when I testified before your subcommittee on the rights-of-way question, I mentioned Canadian Natives claims to vast areas on Northern Canada. They may prove to be a great source of delay in constructing a Canadian pipeline from Prudhoe Bay.

Apparently, the Canadian Natives have just begun their fight for land claims compensation and settlement. It appears that they plan to use the pipeline question as a lever in securing that compensation. When we consider this strategy along with the fact that Prime Minister Trudeau's minority party is part of a rather fragile coalition, it is doubtful that the Canadian government would hurry pipeline construction in the face of vigorous Native protest. At present there is a freeze on the transfer of Crown land in the Northwest Territories.

My contacts in Canada indicate that it will probably take a couple of years to settle the Canadian claims issue. It could take longer.

All of this bodes ill for expeditious construction of a Canadian pipeline. I hope that you will consider this information in reviewing the need for new rights-of-way legislation and a trans-Alaska pipeline.

Aboriginal Native claims, which have been cleared away in Alaska, are but one more obstacle faced by a Canadian pipeline.

Sincerely,

LLOYD MEEDS,  
Member of Congress.

### PROGRESS OF THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON LIBRARIES AND INFORMATION SCIENCE

#### HON. JOHN BRADEMÁS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. BRADEMÁS. Mr. Speaker, I take this opportunity to call to the attention of my colleagues the first annual report of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science.

This Commission, Mr. Speaker, was created by Public Law 91-345, which was sponsored in the House by my distinguished colleague from New York (Mr. REID) and me.

As the Commission points out in the introduction to its report, Mr. Speaker:

Passage of the act signaled a growing awareness of a problem that has been felt in public and private sectors for some years. Various labels as the information crisis or the knowledge explosion, the problem is caused by rapid growth in the production of new knowledge and information and also by the rapidly changing information needs of society.

And yet, Mr. Speaker, President Nixon's proposed 1974 budget ignores the problems occasioned by the "information crisis" and recommends that Federal support for libraries be discontinued on June 30.

Mr. Speaker, the Commission also prepared a summary of their report which outlines six major areas of concern to the library and information science community. Those areas are: First, organization of library service; second, information needs of users; third, financing of libraries; fourth, adequacies and deficiencies of present libraries and information systems; fifth, applications of new technology; and sixth, improved staffing.

Mr. Speaker, while I would recommend to my colleagues the reading of the full annual report, I insert the summary of the report at this point:

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON LIBRARIES AND INFORMATION SCIENCE: ANNUAL REPORT SUMMARY, FISCAL YEAR 1972

Everyone needs and uses information. The development of library and information services adequate for the needs of the individual comes first in the working philosophy of the National Commission on Libraries and Information Science (NCLIS), a permanent, independent agency within the Executive Branch. In accord with its philosophy, the Commission has identified six major areas of concern and activity. They are:

(1) Organization of library service:

Priority has been given to understanding present patterns of library and information system organization and to the changes in these patterns that are required to meet current needs. Commission members have studied the reports and recommendations of earlier groups and have planned a series of regional hearings to gather information, ideas and suggestions. The development of a detailed plan for better patterns of organization hinges on the work to be accomplished in the other five areas.

(2) Information needs of users:

A Commission-sponsored study concluded that the literature in this area does not adequately specify the objectives or the criteria for the design of future information supply



systems. To correct this, the Commission has funded two studies. One will project the effects of 1975-1980 society on library and information system users and the other will identify user groups and associated information needs.

(3) Financing of libraries:

The Commission has issued a resolution advocating equality of access to and payment for public libraries and information facilities. A pilot study has begun to identify existing and potential local funding sources for public libraries.

(4) Adequacies and deficiencies of present libraries and information systems:

A Commission committee will provide an expert overview of the adequacies and deficiencies of current library and information systems. The Commission has asked the Association of Research Libraries to determine whether a single national center or system of regional centers should be established for users who need information not available locally. The current controversy over the "fair use" of copyright books and journals has prompted the Commission to record its view favoring early Congressional revision of the Copyright Act with safeguards for the user and the copyright owners. A committee of the Commission is studying the service functions of the Library of Congress to plan its role in future national information systems.

(5) Applications of new technology:

The Commission is a cautious advocate in this area. A committee is gathering background information for planning in this field. The Commission will assess the new forms of technology in terms of their utility to the user and the costs of changing long-established methods to newer ones.

(6) Improved staffing:

The Commission's focus on the user implies a serious concern with the number, quality and distribution of those persons who provide information services. The Commission is beginning to collect information and to assess the needs for training, retraining, continuing education, and curriculum development to assure the availability of qualified information service personnel.

The National Commission on Libraries and Information Science was established by Congress and the President in Public Law 91-345. The law recognizes the importance of libraries and information systems to the achievement of national goals and places on the Commission the primary responsibility for planning in this area. The Commission is to plan and to advise the President, Congress, state and local governments, and private agencies on the development of cost-effective services in this field. It is to assure the effective utilization of the nation's educational resources in working toward its goal.

The 15 Commission members, appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, met for the first time in September 1971. They established headquarters at 1717 K Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036, and named an executive director and staff. Telephone (202) 382-6595.

The Commission has initiated contacts with professional societies and public and private agencies whose views are considered vital to the Commission's planning. Representatives of these agencies have testified at Commission meetings.

The Commission has begun its work. The members and staff have organized for action and together have examined their charge with care. Important contacts have been made with other organizations, and the door is open for continued liaison. A philosophy, embracing the idea that Commission plans will be oriented toward the information user, has been enunciated. Studies are underway in several high-priority areas. Data from research done for others is receiving careful

review. Resolutions have been issued to express the Commission's concern for current problems. Plans are in readiness for a second year of activity.

In 1973 the Commission expects to define and delineate its selected priorities with care and continue the gathering of data and ideas needed for planning.

COMMISSION MEMBERSHIP

Frederick H. Burkhardt, Chairman; Andrew A. Aines, William O. Baker, Joseph Becker, Harold C. Crotty, Carlos A. Cuadra, Leslie W. Dunlap, Martin Golland, John G. Kemeny, Louis A. Lerner, Bessie Boehm Moore, L. Quincy Mumford, Catherine D. Scott, Alfred R. Zipf, and John E. Velde, Jr.

COMMISSION STAFF

Charles H. Stevens, Executive Director.  
Roderick G. Swartz, Deputy Director.  
Mary Alice Hedge Reszetar, Associate Deputy Director.

BOB STRAUSS, A GREAT CHAIRMAN  
AND SKILLED LEADER

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, I take great pride in speaking on behalf of the Democratic members in saying that the Democratic Party is indeed extremely fortunate to have Bob Strauss as our national chairman.

As former chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, and as present deputy chairman, I have worked closely with Bob Strauss and have come to appreciate his skilled leadership qualities, to admire his business and organizational professionalism and his ability to bring all Democrats together for the advancement of our ideals and winning elections.

I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues the introductory remarks made by the Honorable Donald Dawson, chairman of the program, and the text of remarks made by our eminent leader Bob Strauss at the Democratic National Committee luncheon, Tuesday, May 15, 1973:

INTRODUCTION OF CHAIRMAN STRAUSS BY  
HONORABLE DONALD DAWSON

I think the Democratic Party is extremely fortunate to have a man like Bob Strauss as its national chairman.

Through the years he has been a tireless worker and a skilled leader at the local level and the national level. His name is associated with the great names in the forefront of our party.

He has volunteered for the hard jobs. He has labored without seeking personal reward, but always with the party's good uppermost in whatever he did. As Mike Kirwan used to say in speaking of deserving Democrats—"he has passed the acid test."

As national treasurer he took over the impossible task of paying off the gigantic debt of the national committee. We are still beset with our financial problems but we are better off than some and better off because of Bob Strauss. No one could have done better. Perhaps, after all, it is a blessing in disguise not to have too much money.

Today he is our No. 1 man on party organization and again I say we are fortunate because he believes in bringing all Democrats

together for the advancement of our ideals and winning elections.

We need a leader like this—one who will listen to and honor those who have made this party great—one who will listen to those who will take over the leadership when their time comes and—to those who want to be heard and work in shaping the course we follow and in winning the victory.

He exemplifies the spirit of our club in bringing all Democrats together.

I am proud to introduce our dues-paying fellow member, Bob Strauss.

TEXT OF REMARKS BY ROBERT S. STRAUSS,  
CHAIRMAN, DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE LUNCHEON, NATIONAL CAPITAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB, DIRKSEN BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C.

First, let's get on to what is on everyone's mind—the Republican Watergate conspiracy. I believe in the Office of the Presidency.

I believe the President is always entitled to the benefit of the doubt, and I intend to continue to give it to this President.

We must also be unrelenting in demanding that all facts are determined and available to a concerned American public.

Continued investigations by cronies won't satisfy me and won't satisfy this nation. I am still perturbed that the special prosecutor for the Watergate Investigations will be chosen by, responsible to, and apparently supervised by the Executive Branch of Government, the same Executive Branch which is under investigation.

For ten long months a web of secrecy was drawn between the White House and the Justice Department on one side, and the public on the other.

Blame it on disloyal and dishonest White House aides.

Blame it on the tendency to isolation of the President.

Blame it on the abuse of Executive Privilege. Whatever reason, the public has been misled and deceived and now only through the fullest disclosure can we make certain that our institutions survive this incredible scandal.

We must also press on with our Civil Suit. The prestigious Senate Committee headed by Senator Ervin must also proceed with all dispatch.

Today we are all losers—Democrats and Republicans alike.

For the system by which we live and govern ourselves has been tarnished as never before.

It will remain so until the public gets the truth instead of deceit.

Facts instead of rumor, and  
Knowledge instead of suspicion.

Press reports indicate the White House is drafting a proposal for a bi-partisan Commission to study political campaigns and that a bi-partisan meeting was held this morning with the leadership on the Hill. Certainly everyone is for reform, but I am personally more than a little concerned that this Commission not be another delaying tactic and whitewash effort. The fact of the matter is that I as Chairman, and prior to my Chairmanship, as Treasurer, strongly supported the efforts of the Democratic leadership on the Hill to pass and make workable many areas of reform in the election process despite the almost constant negative attitude on the part of the Republican party.

I would hope without awaiting results of any new time-consuming studies the Republican Administration would join the Democratic leadership in supporting the reforms which have been fully debated in Congress, including post card registration, repeal of equal time provisions, campaign expenditure limitations and getting some Executive implementation of the Dollar Check-Off which was forced through over the opposi-

tion of the Republicans in the Congress and the President.

And while I am digressing let me say that in my judgment one of the most outrageous statements that has been made relating to this whole affair is Secretary Butz's description of the Ervin Select Senate Committee as a "political inquisition". I think he owes the entire Senate which authorized this Committee public apology at the very least and if, in fact, he doesn't devote himself to the plight of the farmer in this nation and the need for an independent and economical food supply rather than involving himself in matters which he obviously has no expertise, he ought to resign and let someone else get on with the job. The only confusion that exists about this whole thing in my mind is whether he should first apologize and then resign or whether he should resign and then apologize.

Yet, on the positive side we can say today, that the same system of government which was threatened, has never before demonstrated its inherent strength as during the last twelve months.

Never before have we had more reason to have confidence and faith in the American system of justice and democracy.

For we have witnessed a breakdown in the Executive Branch of unheralded proportions. High placed officials within the walls of the White House have engaged in illegal action and judicial obstruction to an extent that makes all Americans shudder.

Yet through the efforts of a brave and honest jurist, Judge Sirica the system began to function.

Through the efforts of an independent and conscientious legislative branch, led by Senator Ervin and his Select Watergate Committee that refused to buckle to Executive Privilege, a full and open inquiry is going on—the system is functioning.

And by the steadfast and responsible determination of a courageous press which refused to be intimidated by White House disclaimers and blasphemies, the system has indeed continued to function.

Yes, our system of checks and balances, of separation of power, under the severest test in this nation's history has functioned.

And because of all of these efforts the strength and credibility of the Executive Branch of the government will again be reinstated and protected for the future.

And out of this sordid scandal, hopefully we shall implement meaningful reform, including a system of public funding with strict and reasonable spending limitations to curb the senseless spiral of money in politics.

Truly, our system reformed will be our system preserved!

Providing the negative is always difficult, but I repeat, and I'm sure you will understand, that politics is indeed on honorable profession. That they don't "all do it" and that it is not "done all the time". The 435 members of Congress, the 100 Senators, their aides and assistants, and the Washington bureaucracy from the Cabinet level on down, are, with rare and infrequent exceptions, decent, law abiding and hard working men and women.

Of course, some in government and public service are more competent than others, some are more dedicated than others, and some a bit more concerned than others, but in the whole our public servants are decent and honorable human beings, Democrats and Republicans alike. I say to you today that honesty, decency and concern for justice does exist in politics, just as it exists in the same high proportion in business and in the professions and in the everyday life of mainstream America. So do not despair. Anomalies do not make the system. They rather serve to demonstrate the basic integrity of the system.

So let this party be demanding and stern but prudent and restrained. For once the full

truth is known, once the public is informed, shrill rhetoric will not be needed.

The American people will make their own judgments and I have every confidence in the public's ability to judge wisely and fairly.

And now let's turn our attention to constructive matters—where the Democratic party is right now and where we are headed in the future.

Some people have said that the Democratic party would never survive the turmoil and electoral defeats of 1968 and 1972.

Some have said that we would be permanently factionalized and that we would be incapable of uniting.

I say to you today that these people are wrong.

I say to you today that we are already on the road to unit.

I say to you today that the renewed and strengthened lines of communication between our Democratic governors, our distinguished Hill leadership, and the Democratic National Committee; as well as the spirit of cooperation and unity witnessed at the March meeting of the National Committee and the recent meetings of our party's reform Commissions, mark a new day for the Democratic party and for our nation.

We know what our disunity has caused.

It has given us Richard Nixon.

Four more years of soaring food prices.

Four more years of inaccessible health care.

Four more years of piously insensitive rhetoric.

Four more years of attempts to undermine and destroy the great social programs which have sought to ameliorate the problems of our people.

And four more years of Watergate justice.

It has been painful, but we have learned our lesson.

We are on the road to victory.

In general, I think we are tired of hearing, reading and discussing the more exotic and esoteric issues of our times as they are loudly debated and shrilly articulated almost to the exclusion of a calm and reasoned discussion of the very real problems that are on the minds of the people of America:

Concerns of better housing and full employment.

Of child and health care,

Of wages to keep up with rising prices,

Of fair taxes and farm prices, of clean air to breathe and fuel to keep us warm,

And neighborhoods to be made safe,

Problems to be faced, not demagogued. Problems to be solved, not shelved.

And, when that happens, Democrats will again be comfortable and secure with their party and proud and interested and involved in its future.

In the past we have failed to communicate on the issues that count most—the problems that hurt most.

We were reluctant to talk about crime for fear of being lumped with the law and order reactionaries.

There is nothing reactionary in guaranteeing to our citizens public safety—as anyone knows who lives and walks the streets of our cities, whatever their philosophical point of view happens to be.

Recently, I noticed that Mayor Charles Evers of Fayette, Mississippi, commenting on the senseless shooting of Senator Stennis, said, "It's got to the point that no one is safe anywhere, anymore." People believe just that.

I say to you that people who walk in fear are not free people. Just as political parties that are harassed, abused and spied on are not free parties.

The President's disregard for the social needs of the people makes it even more imperative that we meet these responsibilities more positively.

These are legitimate concerns of our peo-

ple, and therefore, legitimate concerns of our party. And as we are demonstrating that the Democratic party is ready to give them a high priority, we are regaining much of the confidence that was lost in the past few years.

In the light of this Republican Administration's recent conduct, aside from Watergate, the great programs of Presidents Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy and Johnson will even more dramatically show the difference between our two parties, and I want to see our political affairs in such shape that we can honorably and honestly be entitled to reaffirm our dedication to those programs that serve people—as they seek a fuller life—as they reach for a piece of America as it was meant to be.

We have spent much too much time and energy castigating each other. I say to you today, that our conservatives are not bigots, our liberals are not fools, our minorities are not selfish, our labor force is not lazy, our young are not irresponsible, and that our Democratic party is not leaderless or without purpose.

Let us remember that there is room for all in our party, and we are doing all within our power to encourage the broadest and most open participation of all our citizens in our party affairs.

We are the party of Jefferson, Jackson, Wilson, Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy and Johnson.

We have produced the greatest leaders our country has ever known.

We have a history of compassionate service to the people of our great nation.

We proudly live by, and love, the same constitution and laws of our land that we expect our people to live by.

We have much to be proud of.

The late President Kennedy said, "Only in winter can you tell which trees are truly green. Only when the winds of adversity blow can you tell which nations have courage and steadfastness."

So let us be firm in our resolve.

Let us redouble our commitment.

Let us be strong and let us unite.

For our system is not failing.

Our sights are not going to be lowered.

Our party has been troubled and torn, but we have weathered the storm, let us now begin anew.

#### TRIBUTE TO McCLUER HIGH SCHOOL BAND

HON. WILLIAM L. HUNGATE

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. HUNGATE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues the McCluer High School Band of the Ferguson-Florissant School District in Missouri, which has been selected as one of 25 bands from the United States to participate in the International Music Festival in Vienna, Austria, this summer.

We Missourians can be proud that the McCluer Band will be competing with bands from all over the world. They have also been chosen as one of five bands to give a concert on Austrian radio.

Friendly competitive events like the Vienna Music Festival are valuable in promoting international understanding, and the State of Missouri, through the McCluer Band, will be making its special contribution.

I wish the band every success, and I



am sure the experience of meeting people from other countries will be a reward in itself.

# MAX STANLEY ON AN EFFECTIVE UNITED NATIONS

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, at an information seminar on the United Nations for congressional staff members in New York in March, Mr. Max Stanley made some very pertinent comments on the importance of an effective United Nations.

Mr. Stanley sees clearly how very relevant and urgent the role of the U.N. is in the 1970's. He says,

After two decades of cold war and unilateral efforts to police the world, we must discover again our earlier belief in effective world organization to deal with international crisis and global problems. The gradual weakening of bipolarity and shift to greater decentralization of power—multipolarity—adds urgency to increased reliance on world organization. Failure to respond to this need again commits the world to the age-old game of power politics.

He also notes that there is a vast well of support for the United Nations among the American people. It is the responsibility of the leadership of our country to tap this well of support and raise the priority of multilateral diplomacy in our foreign policy. I believe the people are ready and willing to respond affirmatively if their leaders take the initiative.

The Stanley Foundation, of which Max Stanley is president, has for years been performing important and unselfish public service by sponsoring a full program of study, research, and education in the field of foreign relations. Several times each year the foundation brings together foreign affairs professionals and other interested persons for conferences in which many new ideas are exchanged. The annual Strategy for Peace Conference at Airlie House is an example which is well known to many of us.

Mr. Speaker, I insert Mr. Stanley's remarks of March 9, 1973, in the RECORD for the benefit of all our colleagues and as a tribute to his outstanding public service.

## REMARKS BY C. MAXWELL STANLEY

Ladies and Gentlemen, Tonight I yield to temptation and pose a challenge to my government regarding the United Nations. The temptation to do so is irresistible, given the nature of my audience. My challenge will hopefully reach the Department of State and the Administration through Ambassador Christopher Phillips and other members of the U.S. Mission staff who are present. It could indirectly reach Congress through your Seminar participants who come from the offices of Senators, Representatives, and Congressional committees. My challenge is an urgent one: making greater use of the United Nations now. Make greater use of its political functions to help achieve world peace and security, as well as of its more successful economic and social functions.

Welcoming you this morning, I gave three reasons why we had convened this seminar: (1) the United Nations is unduly and unfairly criticized; (2) the United Nations is generally misunderstood; and (3) the United States' commitment to the United Nations remains very marginal. These deficiencies would be quickly removed were our nation to respond to my challenge and make fuller use of the United Nations. It is in our long-term enlightened interests to do so as we pursue the goal of a sane world order capable of assuring secure peace with freedom, justice, and progress.

May I share with you some personal thoughts on the world's need for effective organization—organization that is essential to fill the global management gap.

1. *The world has many global problems.* Peace and security belong at the top of the list for they affect life itself. Economic and social development of the less developed nations is a continuing global problem. Exploding population and rampant pollution, threatening the quality of life, if not life itself, have more recently demanded the attention of the world. The current monetary crisis, a continuing controversy over tariffs, and ever present complications of trade, commerce, travel, and communication illustrate other global problems. These problems, and others you may cite, make up an awesome and urgent order of business for the world.

2. *Global problems defy national solution.* Experience demonstrates this: the state of the world speaks for itself. Nation states have striven diligently since World War II to cope with our global problems. They have acted unilaterally, bilaterally, and multilaterally through all sorts of treaties, alliances, and conventions to resolve problems. But few have been solved and few are on their way to reasonable resolution.

3. *Global mechanisms are needed to handle global problems.* It is fundamental that the mechanism used to cope with any problem must be established on a level equal to the breadth of the problem. We see proof of this every day in industry and government. No business would seek to solve country-wide problems in its branch offices. Nor does the United States solve its national, economic and social problems at the state level. The need for global mechanisms is supported both by logic and by the fact that nation states have been unable to effectively manage international crises and resolve global problems.

4. *Effective global mechanisms have a beginning in the United Nations.* It brings together 132 member nations and operates a host of specialized agencies under its umbrella. The United Nations has had a number of successes, mostly nonpolitical in nature. Conversely, it has recorded a number of failures, mostly political in nature and often involving great power confrontations. Some critical issues could be labeled "no shows," such as Vietnam which has not been taken up by United Nations, again due to great power confrontation. Despite its inadequacies, the United Nations exists, and has unused capabilities. Moreover, it is a significant foundation on which to build better world organization. But we must recognize these inadequacies and understand the reasons for them before we can move to strengthen the United Nations.

5. *The United Nations is what the nation states made it.* If it is inadequate, it is because the nations so decreed it when they wrote its Charter. (Remember, the United States had a major role in this action.) If it lacks power to act, it is because the nation states have not endowed it with power. If its resources are too limited, it is because the nation states do not finance it adequately.

If I may digress a bit here, it is interesting to note some important figures with respect to the cost of the United Nations: the U.N. budget for normal operations, including specialized agencies and the United Nations

Development Programme, is around \$900 million—approximately 10 percent of the budget of New York City and roughly equal to the cost of running the New York City Fire Department.

It is interesting to compare this figure with our contribution to the current arms race. In 1971 the world's arms race cost \$216 billion (probably \$230-\$240 per year now). For how much of this tab is the United States responsible? The United States' 1971 outlays were \$78 billion, or over 37 percent of the world's arms race costs.

It is equally interesting to note that for direct United Nations expenses we contribute about \$1.57 per capita (1970) whereas Sweden contributes \$9.40 per capita. Economy and fiscal responsibility are desirable attributes for the United Nations. Secretary-General Waldheim's stern attention to austerity and financial problem-solving is to be applauded. However, we should not let monetary concerns about the United Nations obscure the basic issue of its goal and importance.

To return from this digression, if the voting system of the United Nations is unfair, it was so arranged by the nation states. If the United Nations is bypassed and ignored at times, it is because the nation states avoid it. The United Nations was given precious little sovereignty. Hence, the United Nations can act only when the nation states, particularly the great powers, want it to act and concur with its actions.

6. *The United Nations is the only global organization we have today.* It is better than nothing, but it needs substantial strengthening. If the nations of the world will make greater use of it and broaden its resources, the United Nations will gain some strength. But revisions and changes in organization and procedure are required for it to become fully effective as a mechanism to handle global problems.

If you find from your observations here that the situation is as I have outlined, what should be done? My answer is simple: use the United Nations and, as weaknesses are revealed, strengthen the United Nations. No other answer makes sense if we desire to assure the "generation of peace" prematurely proclaimed by President Nixon.

Exciting events are occurring, highlighted by our withdrawal from the Vietnam War. China, now seated in the United Nations, is returning to the world community. European tensions have been lessened by the Berlin agreements and the West German treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland. Plans are being laid for a conference on European security and cooperation. President Nixon's visits to Peking and Moscow reveal hope for better U.S. relations with these powers. SALT I agreements have set the stage for SALT II negotiations and cooperative programs and trade are developing between the Soviet Union and the United States. The United Nations has initiated environmental activities and is preparing for conferences on the Law of the Sea and on population matters.

Although indications of improved international climate are most gratifying—and essential—many bold steps must be taken before a generation of peace becomes a reality. Humble beginnings must be carefully nurtured and enlarged if progress is to be made towards sane and safe world order. Good will with greater understanding between nations, though highly desirable, is not an end in itself. Enlarged international cooperation is essential but it must extend beyond bilateral research on domestic problems, to the building of foundations for a generation of peace: the establishment of adequate tools to manage international crises and solve global problems. The management gap must be closed.

This brings us back to the United Nations. In 1945, U.S. support of the creation of the United Nations signified both an acceptance

of a permanent U.S. role in world affairs and a recognition of the need for an international organization (the United Nations) as a vehicle to help perform that role. Now, after two decades of Cold War and unilateral efforts to police the world, we must discover again our earlier belief in effective world organization to deal with international crises and global problems. The gradual weakening of bipolarity and growing shift to greater decentralization of power—multipolarity—adds urgency to increased reliance on world organization. Failure to respond to this need again commits the world to the age-old game of power politics, now played with nuclear weapons. But nuclear weapons and missiles are making major war obsolete as an acceptable tool to gain national objectives. Nuclear arsenals do not guarantee security. The arms races cannot be won. Obsolescence of major war discredits power politics relying on military strength. Power politics may defer war, but it has no sound record of preventing it.

If increased international cooperation, through effective world organization, is the only reasonable option, upon whom rests the responsibility for achieving it? Upon the nations of the world, the member-states of the United Nations. Although the U.N. one nation/one vote system makes all nations equal, some are more equal than others, particularly the United States and the Soviet Union. As long as bipolar strength remains these two superpowers have a unique opportunity to lead the world to saner order. Hence, the extreme importance of developing greater understanding between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R.

Your bosses have the power to influence U.S. leadership toward such ends. Nothing is more important, for to quote Iris L. Claude:

*Only one thing seems to me reasonably certain: the future peace of the world depends more heavily upon the vigilance, far-sightedness, wisdom, courage, persistence, and power of the United States than upon any other factor. The founders of the League of Nations and the United Nations were on the right track, I think, when they undertook to make those organizations serve as symbols of an American commitment to active leadership in the quest for a just and lasting peace.*

I offer a final word to you who advise our legislators and monitor constituents correspondence. Despite the hate-the-U.N. letters your office receives, there is a vast constituency across the country that accepts the United Nations. They take the U.N. for granted. Their concerns are pragmatic: what does it do and how does it do it—not whether they are “for” or “against” it. Do not underestimate the interest and support that would surface if our government would give the United Nations much higher priority in foreign affairs and make maximum use of it. Now is the time to press forward to achieve a United Nations that can better serve mankind. Now is the time to think big, stand tall, and live up to our heritage. Until we do this in our country, there is little hope for a sane, sound world order, capable of enhancing secure peace with freedom, justice, and progress.

#### NATIONAL MAGIC WEEK

### HON. ANGELO D. RONCALLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. RONCALLO of New York. Mr. Speaker, fearing that I may be turned

into a rabbit by a constituent of mine who is 14 years old, a practicing magician and who urges my support, I hereby support House Joint Resolution No. 229 proclaiming the week beginning with the last Monday in October as National Magic Week.

#### OUR FOREIGN TRADE TRUMP

### HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, at a time when we are struggling with balance of payments problems and facing continued trade deficits, it is important that we recognize the true value to our economy of our farm productivity. The U.S. agricultural sector is in the position, while serving the needs of other nations, to directly contribute to correcting the imbalance in our trade picture. The lead editorial in the Chicago Tribune of Wednesday, May 16, very effectively summarizes and emphasizes the value of our farm exports:

#### OUR FOREIGN TRADE TRUMP

The voice of the American consumer is rising to challenge the national effort to increase agricultural exports. A recent opinion poll shows that 59 per cent of consumers favor cutting farm exports to curb the rise in domestic food prices.

United States exports of farm commodities [mainly wheat, soybeans, corn, and other live stock feed grains] have, indeed, risen sharply. In the marketing year ending next June 30, farm exports are expected to reach a record \$11.1 billion. That is an increase of \$3 billion in a single year. It boosts our farm exports to nearly double those of 1969.

Our policymakers believe the trend will continue. They reason that growing populations, technological advances, and rising levels of affluence are creating a steadily increasing demand for food. If this appraisal is correct, the United States is uniquely qualified to profit from the situation.

Our corn belt and Great Plains offer a combination of fertile soil, adequate rainfall, good crop weather, and productive management that is unmatched anywhere else in the world.

As our rural affairs editor, Richard Orr, pointed out in last Sunday's Perspective section, the effort to expand farm exports conflicts with long-standing domestic farm policy. For 40 years, the American farmer has had one hand tied behind his back to keep him from producing more than can be consumed. He has been restrained by a complex, costly, and largely unsuccessful system of acreage restrictions, artificial price props, and subsidies. Raising exports with the supply thus limited will, as consumers are aware, push prices up. The Nixon administration now asks Congress for authority to drop the controls and cut the subsidies, except in possible emergency periods—in other words to “turn farmers loose” to produce all they can for expanding domestic and foreign markets.

The objective is to raise the farmer's income, which still averages only 83 per cent of the nonfarmer's, and at the same time produce more food at reasonable cost. The latter objective would be achieved by lowering unit food costs thru expanded production.

There are other reasons why it is more sensible to increase supply than to limit exports. For one thing, exports benefit the en-

tire domestic economy. Our farm exports create thousands of jobs, on the farm and off of it, especially in transportation. They support other jobs in industries that provide farmers with goods and services. They also help to redress this nation's critical imbalance of payments.

In this connection, our business columnist, Elliot Janeway, describes America's ability to export basic foodstuffs as our “secret weapon.” We are going to have to import large quantities of oil, Janeway points out. Farm commodities are the hottest selling items we have to get foreign exchange to pay for the oil.

The United States has been underpriced and outproduced in such products as steel, automobiles, textiles, and a variety of other items it once depended on for foreign exchange. As a result, our balance of trade deficit last year soared to a startling \$6.4 billion. Without agricultural exports, the deficit and related international instability of the dollar would be much worse.

Farm exports already are playing an important role in keeping the United States solvent. They can play an even bigger role if domestic farm policy is changed to encourage rather than discourage production, and if Congress gives the President the new authority he is requesting to negotiate liberalized international trading rules with other nations.

America's farm exports are the best trump card we have in international trade—one we dare not fall to play.

#### VA MOBILE ASSISTANCE VAN DEDICATED IN HUTCHINSON, KANS.

### HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, on Friday, May 11, in Hutchinson, Kans., I was privileged to participate in the dedication of the Veterans' Administration mobile van operation which will serve Kansas veterans in the coming weeks. Twenty-nine communities in Kansas will be visited by the VA van and representatives of the Wichita VA regional office.

It is a meaningful effort by President Nixon to bring to the front door of our veterans information and help regarding Federal programs.

Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the dedication address by Richard Roudebush, our former colleague from the House and now Deputy Assistant Administrator of the Veterans' Administration, along with a fine editorial from the Wichita, Kans., Eagle regarding the outreach program:

#### REMARKS OF RICHARD ROUDEBUSH

It is a real pleasure to be with you today and participate in the dedication of the Veterans' Administration mobile van program in Kansas. As a representative of the Veterans' Administration in Washington—I have the dual privilege of being present for this occasion—and also the pleasure and honor of presenting this service to the veterans of this State.

By way of background—in the late 1960's—as servicemen serving in Vietnam began to complete their tours of duty—it became apparent to the Veterans' Administration—that past methods of communicating with veterans about their benefits—would not be ade-



quate. Thus the VA started the Outreach Program—and began contacting veterans while they were still in uniform and after release.

The most innovative technique used—and a Veterans Administration first—sent VA counselors to the combat zones of Vietnam—to talk to Veterans individually and in groups. Additionally—VA counselors in the United States began briefing Veterans on their benefits at military separation centers—and in military hospitals. In many cases—applications for benefits were taken on the spot.

A program of writing letters to Veterans at their home addresses immediately upon their discharge was initiated. The letters—in addition to reminding the Veteran again of his benefits—informed him of the address and telephone number of his nearest VA office. A follow-up letter is sent six months after his discharge.

With all this information being passed on to Veterans while they were in the service—and after discharge, the VA continued to explore new ways to contact the veterans in his own environment. In June 1972—following review of veterans programs—President Nixon instructed the VA to “go live”—and expedite the VA assistance van operation.

The result you see today—a means of visiting the veteran in his home area—so that he can more easily take advantage of the benefits he so richly deserves—and his governments wants him to use.

Not only has the response from veterans been remarkably good—but the response from mayors—county offices—State Government offices—and others—has been gratifying. These officials tell us—that they are very—very pleased to have a governmental agency come to their town or locality to help their local people.

We receive many requests from Congress—to assign these vans to a state—or to a specific congressional district.

As the mobile van travels throughout this State, we are confident it will complement the outstanding services and activities of the veterans' organizations in Kansas. Also, the Kansas Veterans Affairs Commission is well-known for its aggressive, effective operation.

Your director, Wayne Garrett, and Commission chairman, Morris Crouse, also assist in this effort.

The Wichita VA center strives constantly to reach veterans by offering dedicated service in their operations here in Kansas. You have three very fine VA hospitals in Kansas: Leavenworth, Topeka, and Wichita.

The success of all these efforts can be seen in the past services rendered to Kansas' 310,000 veterans, including nearly 69,000 Vietnam veterans, of which 42.0% actually saw service in Vietnam. We are proud—as we know you are—that 13,904 of these veterans are now taking advantage of their G.I. Bill benefits by attending colleges, training schools, and other school institutions.

To further highlight the extent of VA activity in this State, the agency spent more than \$137.6 million in Kansas last year, providing veterans benefits and services.

In the coming weeks, as this distinctive red, white and blue van (with its crew of dedicated, skilled VA benefits counselors), visits the cities and towns in this State, Kansas joins the ranks of 18 other States where our counselors have traveled the highways and byways, logging over 140,000 miles, seeing over 40,000 veterans, in more than 700 localities.

Congressman Shriver, on behalf of our Administrator, we certainly appreciate your being here and participating in the dedication of the mobile van operation in Kansas. And, as the U.S. congressman representing this district, we commend the service to you, and the veterans of this great state.

[From the Wichita Eagle, May 9, 1973]

#### A GREATER SERVICE

Those who live in sizable cities such as Wichita where a Veterans Administration center is located might wonder why the VA would put out money for a mobile office, but those who live in other communities understand.

In Wichita, it requires just a short drive across town or a local telephone call for a veteran or dependent to obtain information from the VA. But for rural Kansans and the many thousands of veterans who live in other communities throughout the state, the VA is not in easy reach. Now, via the mobile office, the VA will go to them. Employment and training advice and GI benefits information will be available from the mobile unit which is scheduled to visit 29 communities beginning with Hutchinson on May 11. The office will be staffed by advisers from the Wichita VA.

Veterans or dependents who are in need of information or assistance are urged to watch for announcements stating when the mobile office will be in their vicinity.

The VA is to be commended for initiating this service.

#### EDDIE POWERS

### HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, I note with sadness the passing of a longtime friend of mine whose loss leaves a big void in the Boston community of which he was such an integral part for so many years. Edward J. “Eddie” Powers held many official titles. He was president and general manager of the Boston Garden Arena Corp., an officer of the Boston Bruins hockey team, a trustee of several colleges, and a member of numerous civic organizations.

But perhaps more significant than his numerous official functions, Eddie Powers was a good friend to countless people in the greater Boston area and an inspiration to all who knew him and were associated with him.

I first met Eddie Powers over 30 years ago. Eddie started with the Boston Garden 45 years ago as a \$40-a-week accountant, and dedicated his life to his work, rising through the ranks until he became president and general manager in 1964 following the death of Walter Brown.

I have had the distinct privilege to have known Eddie Powers through many of these years, and I know he will be missed.

I would like to include in the RECORD at this point a fine editorial which appeared in the Medford Daily Mercury, which was Eddie's hometown newspaper, as well as an article which details some of his achievements:

[From the Medford (Mass.) Mercury, May 10, 1973]

#### EDDIE POWERS, MAN OF CHARACTER

Few men have as much love for their work as did Edward J. “Eddie” Powers whose 45-year association with the Boston Garden was ended sadly by death this week. The esteemed Medford resident earned a deserved

reputation as the nation's outstanding arena manager and at the same time was one of the best-liked and respected men in his business, one which oftentimes necessitates hard-nosed, cold decisions.

Starting as a young accountant with the Garden-Arena Corp., Powers worked his way up to assistant treasurer, treasurer and eventually president of the North Station sports emporium. He also was an officer of the Boston Bruins hockey team. It was he who was responsible for presenting so much more than just the usual sporting events at the Garden; the ice shows, the circus, rock-and-roll concerts, and a number of other forms of entertainment. The Boston Garden, over the years, has housed them all and most of those bookings proved successful because of Eddie Powers' acumen and foresight.

While the polished professional performances of the Bruins and the Celtics would thrill him, Eddie Powers was just as enthusiastic and interested in high school basketball and college hockey. He was a good friend of amateur athletics.

His work demanded his being at the Garden day and night, sometimes seven days a week. Nevertheless, Eddie Powers was very much a responsible family man and citizen. His pride in and love for Mrs. Powers and their three distinguished sons was evident. His contributions to his community were many, including his service on two college boards of trustees and his active participation in many worthwhile charitable and civic endeavors over the years.

Eddie Powers was a man of good instincts and high character in an unusual business. He achieved deserved success in his field and he occupied a warm spot in the hearts of the many and varied people who crossed his path. Men like him are missed.

[From the Medford, (Mass.) Mercury, May 10, 1973]

#### EDWARD J. POWERS: FUNERAL MASS FRIDAY FOR GARDEN PRESIDENT

MEDFORD.—A concelated funeral Mass was held in St. Joseph's Church Friday at 10 a.m. for Edward J. Powers, president and general manager of the Boston Garden and an official of the Boston Bruins Hockey Club, who died Tuesday at Winchester Hospital.

Powers, 68, a resident of 87 Whitney rd., was hospitalized about a month ago and was released. He had returned to the hospital recently for further treatment.

The funeral preceding the Mass on Friday will be from the Gaffey Memorial Funeral Home, 43 High st., Medford sq., at 9 a.m.

Interment will take place in St. James Cemetery, Haverhill.

A native of Haverhill, Powers had resided in Medford for many years and had been an employee of the Garden since its inaugural season in 1928. He started as a \$40-a-week accountant and became president and general manager in 1964 following the death of Walter Brown.

He was named a vice president and treasurer of the Boston Bruins in 1950 and also was a vice president of the club's farm team, the Boston Braves, when he died.

Powers was the second high level Bruins official to die this spring. Weston Adams, Sr., chairman of the board, died in March.

Powers was an auditor for a tool company before he took the job with the Garden.

He once said, “I read in the early fall that the Garden was going to open that December. I passed the construction site nearly every day and I thought to myself, “Gee, I'd like to work in that building.”

The Garden saw the birth of the Ice Follies in 1936 and Powers said, “If you ever told Garden directors back then that the ice shows would ever be a major source of revenue, they'd probably have said you were

crazy. Now ice shows are a basic part of the Garden bread and butter."

Powers was a trustee of Fisher Junior College and of Bentley; director of the International Friendship League, Boston Evening Clinic and the Downtown Ass'n, a member of the Board of Governors of Boston Madison Square Garden Club; past president, Bentley College National Alumni ass'n.

In Medford, he was a member of the St. Joseph's Holy Name Society and the Medford Council, Knights of Columbus.

Powers, a graduate of Bentley College is survived by his wife, Mary, and three sons, Dr. Edward J. Powers, Jr., a professor at the University of Texas-Austin; Dr. John P. Powers, a professor at the U.S. Navy Post-graduate school in Monterey, Calif., and Paul Powers, financial director of the Nashua Corp., Nashua, N.H.

A spokesman for the Garden said the family had requested donations be contributed to the Bentley College Scholarship Fund.

## SUPPORT FOR LEGISLATION PROHIBITING AID TO NORTH VIETNAM

### HON. DAVID TOWELL

OF NEVADA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. TOWELL of Nevada. Mr. Speaker, I wish to express my support for the bill introduced by Mr. SYMMS today which calls for prohibiting aid to North Vietnam, a bill which I enthusiastically agreed to cosponsor.

I would like to call your attention to a questionnaire which 32,800 people in my State answered. The question of whether the United States should provide North Vietnam with \$2 billion in aid turned out to be the hottest issue in this poll. An overwhelming 87 percent said "no" and only 7 percent answered "yes." Those undecided totaled 6 percent. If Nevada can be considered a microcosm of the United States and its thinking, then this sampling of opinion certainly demonstrates that most Americans have no desire to help rebuild North Vietnam.

The Communist allies of Hanoi who supported the long war must be made to bear the price of peace. We have our own rebuilding to do: Rebuilding the shattered and disrupted lives of our servicemen and their families.

The most disturbing thing to consider is the fact that any aid money sent to North Vietnam will be sliced off the income tax of every American, including former POW's who spent as long as 8 years locked up in Hanoi.

There is no way to justify aid to North Vietnam by citing the assistance given to Germany and Japan following the Second World War. In those countries, the dictatorships with whom we fought were replaced with free governments. But in the case of North Vietnam, we are not even sure yet whether the war is over, due to the many cease fire violations.

Faced with the problems of inflation, an unbalanced budget and a declining dollar, I am sure that the people of Nevada, as well as the people of the United States, share my view that sending aid to

North Vietnam would amount to adding one more log to the fire of fiscal irresponsibility.

Virtually every American was touched by the war in some way. Many lost friends and relatives. Some gave their own lives and others were paralyzed or disfigured. Is it reasonable to ask the American people to give anything more?

## NORTH SLOPE CRUDE OIL PIPELINE

### HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, the current fuel shortage in our heavily agricultural upper Midwest is the most serious of any section of the country and because of transportation difficulties, it will continue to be serious unless steps are taken to put crude oil into the area.

I have long favored an oil pipeline across Canada along the Mackenzie River to bring our North Slope oil into the upper Midwest instead of routing it across Alaska to Valdez.

On May 22, Gordon W. Haglund, president of the Consolidated Oil Co. of St. Cloud and a representative of the Northwest Petroleum Association testified before the Subcommittee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

For the benefit of my colleagues who did not have the opportunity to review this testimony, I would like, with your permission, to include Mr. Haglund's testimony in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

#### TESTIMONY BY GORDON W. HAGLUND

Mr. Chairman, my name is Gordon Haglund. I, and my partner, Gordon Adams, operate an independent, branded petroleum jobbership in St. Cloud, Minnesota. Today, I also speak for the Northwest Petroleum Assn., a trade association that represents some 1,100 petroleum jobbers in Minnesota and North Dakota.

We appreciate the opportunity to testify today concerning ways to bring North Slope crude oil to the lower 48 states. Our present energy dilemma dictates that we do not delay one day more than necessary, in deciding how this should be done.

Whatever decision is made, that decision must take into consideration the critical nature of energy supplies in the midwest. Not only is the well being of the midwest at stake, but since it is the midwest that produces most of the foods for the nation, it is imperative that competitively priced energy be made available to the area.

When the energy shortage hit last winter it was the midwest that was affected first, and most dramatically. Corn could not be dried, schools were closed, some factories were closed, while others curtailed their operations significantly and trucks that move the produce to market were threatened with lack of fuel.

A major contribution to our present supply problem is the fact that we are located on the very end of the line from the largest refining areas. This fact is manifesting itself in actions already taken, or announced plans of suppliers in our area. The wholesale volume of petroleum products previously made available through Triangle Refining, Bell Oil & Gas, Clark Refining and petroleum brokers

has already been withdrawn. Further, Gulf Oil Co. and Sun Oil Co. have announced that they will be leaving in the immediate future. In addition, the remaining suppliers have placed their jobber customers on allocation for only a portion of their needs.

To place these actions into a meaningful perspective, let us examine what this would have done to my market of St. Cloud, in the year 1971, if they would have taken place then. During that year, 110 million gallons of gasoline and distillate fuels were sold. Of this amount Gulf and Sun accounted for 16 million gallons. Add to this the gallonage sold by brokers, Clark, Triangle and Bell, plus the reduction of available product, because of allocation restrictions and we arrive at a conservative estimate of an additional 20 million gallons. This totals 36 million gallons or 1/3 of the total volume. This same situation is true to a somewhat greater or lesser degree throughout Minnesota and North Dakota.

We anticipate relief from these catastrophic deficiencies by the recently imposed federal allocation program. Sun Oil Co. has announced a postponement of their withdrawal by one year, and we are hopeful that Gulf Oil Co. will continue to make product available to the area. As welcome as these measures are, we prefer a return to a free and competitive market. The effectiveness of imposed controls has in the past proved to be effective only for a relatively short period of time.

From a Minnesota and midwest point of view, the Trans-Canadian route to bring North Slope crude oil to the lower 48 states holds special appeal. We recognize, however, that national interest is at stake and the final decision on how to bring the crude oil to market, must consider several matters, paramount of which appear to be the following:

- (1) What are the ecological considerations?
- (2) What are the economics?
- (3) How soon can the oil be brought to market?
- (4) How can the oil be made the most secure in case of a national or international disruption?
- (5) How will the energy needs of the entire nation be best served, not just the area which is the prime recipient of the crude oil?

Since I do not have any personal expert knowledge on which I can develop answers to any of these questions, I must rely entirely on others to provide them. I must admit that this can be rather trying, and more than a little confusing.

On the one hand I read that the Interior Department supports the Alyeska Trans-Alaska route, as they claim this route is superior to the Mackenzie Valley Trans-Canadian route. Then I read a feasibility study by the Mackenzie Valley Pipe Line Research Limited that directly contradicts many of the statements made by the Interior Dept. It is interesting to note that Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Research is a consortium of some 17 major petroleum companies, including such well-known companies as Cities Service, B. P. Oil Ltd., Gulf Oil of Canada, Mobil Oil Canada Ltd., Shell Canada and Texaco. I understand that this was a two year, \$7.5 million project.

Whereas, Interior estimates the cost of TCP at \$10 billion, the study puts the figure at \$3.4 billion for the pipeline to Edmonton. There it would link up with both the Interprovincial Pipeline, to continue into the midwest, and the Trans-Mountain Oil Pipeline, to take crude oil to the west coast. It was interesting to note that Interprovincial has already embarked on a 48 inch looping program out of Edmonton and anticipates that it would have a substantial portion of such a line from Edmonton to Chicago installed by 1975. The study further states that



Interprovincial has indicated that it would be prepared to complete this line to coincide with completion of the Mackenzie Valley oil line.

Another major contradiction between Interior and the feasibility study was the estimated time of completion. Interior estimates up to ten years for completion, whereas, the study projects four years, which includes one year for necessary U.S. and Canadian approvals.

If there is any validity to this study, and to other factors that bear on this matter, let us attempt to answer the questions that I posed earlier, based on choosing the Trans-Canada (Mackenzie Valley route) rather than the Trans-Alaska (Alyeska route).

*What are the ecological considerations?*

The study states that the TCP can be built and operated without major or irreparable damage to the arctic environment. A preliminary examination of records of earthquake activity revealed no areas of unusual concern along the proposed route. However, extensive studies were made, and the largest earthquake in the area, between 1899 and 1970, was located 75 miles from the route and had a value on the Richter scale of 6.7. This rating is negligible in buildings of good design and construction.

*What are the economics?*

As indicated earlier, the estimated cost in the study, of the line to Edmonton, was \$3.4 billion. The study further states that at a volume of 1.8 million barrels per day, crude oil can be transported from Prudhoe Bay to Edmonton on a 7 percent flow-through net income basis at a 30-year average tariff of \$1.15 per barrel. It can be delivered from Prudhoe Bay to the Chicago area for an approximate average tariff of \$1.55 per barrel, and to Puget Sound, on the west coast, at about \$1.40.

*How soon can the oil be brought to market?*

The study states that TOP can be designed, built, and in operation within a period of four years after a final decision to proceed, providing final governmental approvals are granted within the first year.

*How can the oil be made the most secure in the case of a national or international disruption?*

From a national defense standpoint, the proposed transporting from Valdez is not even logical. In the event of war, tankers with vital crude would be exposed to our enemy and could be dried up with a minimum of effort. The Mackenzie Valley route would offer easier security. The position that we would be too vulnerable to a foreign country, namely Canada. If the line goes through their country and they share in the ownership, needs further examination. Two facts stand out. First, much of the natural gas and crude oil currently coming into the mid-west originates in Canada, and second, everyone seems to support a new natural gas pipeline from the North Slope through this same Mackenzie Valley route.

We believe these facts require a mutually satisfactory accommodation that certainly could carry through to the crude oil pipeline. It has been expressed that the Canadian government would place impossible demands, during construction. In the area of treatment of northern residents, the feasibility study states that contacts with numerous government representatives, and reviews of available reports, have provided an assessment of the requirements and a basis for estimating associated costs. The study further says that it is concluded that the expected requirements are *not unreasonable*, and that at such a time as a definite project is launched, there should be no difficulty in complying fully with the governments' wishes.

*How will the energy needs of the entire nation be best served, not just the area which is the prime recipient of the crude oil?*

I cannot understand how any North Slope oil can be of any benefit to the nation east of the Rockies, if it is all delivered to Valdez through Alyeska pipeline? There are those who say that much of this oil would end up in Japan. It seems certain to me that it would, at the least, discourage secondary recovery from west coast oil fields and would also discourage west coast offshore drilling. This may already be happening in anticipation of Alaska oil. Touching on President Nixon's recent energy message, Los Angeles' Mayor Sam Yorty, in a speech in Anaheim, "found it paradoxical that while Nixon emphasized the necessity for developing offshore reserves everywhere else, he is requesting Congress to lock up the hydrocarbon reserves of the Santa Barbara channel, although these could be utilized without damage to the environment and with great benefit to California and the nation."

On the other hand, if the route chosen is Mackenzie Valley, crude oil would be made available to the heartland of the nation where present and projected energy shortages are the most acute. This would then relieve gulf coast material to all other areas east of the Rockies. According to the plan of the Mackenzie Valley Pipe Line Research Limited the west coast could also receive North Slope crude through the Trans-Mountain Oil Pipeline. According to this, it appears that the only one that would lose would be Japan.

Attached is a resolution from the National Oil Jobbers Council (NOJC), supporting the Mackenzie Valley route. NOJC is the national organization that represents some 13,000 independent petroleum jobbers (branded and unbranded) throughout the United States. This resolution was adopted by NOJC's Board of Directors at its last board of directors' meeting held in St. Louis, Missouri.

As indicated earlier, I cannot represent or defend the feasibility study by Mackenzie Valley Pipe Line Research Limited. However, with national energy matters receiving and deserving our highest priorities, it would appear that they demand that a full investigation and serious consideration be given to this study. We believe this can be done by approving the Arctic Oil and Natural Gas Act of 1973, which has been introduced in the House of Representatives by Congressman John Anderson of Illinois and Congressman Ruppe of Michigan. This appears to be a most reasonable and responsible bill that would give us six months to make a choice between Alyeska and Mackenzie Valley routes. It would appear to us that the far reaching implications of this decision dictate this complete, open minded position.

Thank you.

#### RESOLUTION No. 3

Whereas the national energy shortage mandates the speedy transportation of Alaskan crude oil to the "lower 48", and

Whereas in District II the shortage of energy impinges most severely because its geographic location denies its access to alternative world sources to which coastal areas have access, and

Whereas the shortage in District II is more than can be supplied from Districts III and IV, and

Whereas the nation has traditionally found and still finds a strong ally in our Canadian neighbor, an alliance buttressed by treaties and other joint enterprises for our common defense, and

Whereas large quantities of crude oil and natural gas flowed and currently flow into the Midwest from Canada, and

Whereas there is widespread support for a Mackenzie Valley pipeline to bring natural gas from Alaska to the Midwest, and

Whereas American oil companies have made and continue to make large investments in Canada, and

Whereas one of these investments is one of the world's largest networks capable of transporting substantial volumes of crude oil from Canada to the United States which the companies have recently enlarged, and

Whereas the Canadian Energy Minister has publicly stated his belief based on numerous studies that a crude oil line along the Mackenzie Valley would be environmentally safer than the Alaska pipeline, and

Whereas in the light of the delays to which the Alaskan line has been subject and will continue to be subject, a Mackenzie Valley pipeline will bring Alaskan oil to the area where it is most needed more quickly than it could be brought if an Alaskan line, a tanker fleet, and a line eastward from Seattle had to be constructed.

Now therefore be it resolved that the National Oil Jobbers Council and its officers carry to all appropriate executive and legislative agencies its strong support for a Mackenzie Valley pipeline to bring Alaskan crude oil to the "lower 48".

#### STATE INHERITANCE TAXES ON CIVIL SERVICE SURVIVOR ANNUITIES

HON. DONALD G. BROTZMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. BROTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, for the last several years, I have actively participated in the effort to see justice done for our Nation's retired civil servants. Today I am renewing that effort by introducing legislation which would prohibit States from imposing any sort of estate, inheritance, legacy, or succession tax on civil service survivor annuities.

The imposition of such taxes works a tremendous hardship for many, many civil service survivors. Typically, these taxes are calculated as a percentage of a figure derived by multiplying the survivor's monthly annuity by 12, and then remultiplying that figure by the number of years of life expectancy left to the survivor. Taxes are payable immediately upon the death of the civil servant.

The results of such a tax are onerous. The survivor benefit program is meant to assure civil servants that adequate provision will be made for their loved ones after their passing. State inheritance taxes subvert these plans by forcing many survivors to seek financial assistance only months after the death of their provider in order to pay off a large inheritance tax.

Despite their having lived on reduced benefits during the decedent's retirement, survivors end up in debt. Indeed, in extreme cases they are forced on to welfare. I do not feel this is in the best public interest and I am glad to see actions on the part of State courts to correct this situation.

The Colorado Supreme Court and the courts of several other States have ruled that such benefits cannot be made subject to inheritance taxes because the decedent at no time during his life owns or has any control over the survivor's benefit. I congratulate the courts for their wisdom in these findings, however,

I am concerned that a State-by-State litigation in this matter will provide slow and painful relief for civil service survivors on a national scale.

Mr. Speaker, it is the responsibility of the Congress to protect these survivors from the ever-increasing demand for more State tax revenue. They have suffered a reduced annuity throughout the retirement of the deceased so that they can enjoy an adequate income following his death, and I do not believe their benefits should then be taken away from them because of the States' need for more funds.

I believe the laws of the United States should encourage individuals to provide for their own retirement. Those who do so should not be penalized. These are the individuals who will not become public charges in their old age because of the fact that they deferred a portion of their incomes during their working years.

My bill would end the uncertainty surrounding the liability of survivor annuities for State inheritance taxes. It would establish uniform treatment for these people across the country without their having to use their hard earned and limited resources to do battle in one State after another.

I introduced this legislation in the last Congress, but no action was taken toward its enactment. I hope that the members of the Post Office and Civil Service Committee will see the importance of such legislation to the large number of civil service annuitants throughout the country and will work diligently for action on the bill in this session. Only then will the Congress be able to guarantee a dignified and just annuity to the survivors of our Nation's civil servants.

#### LEGISLATION TO PROTECT AND MANAGE OUR NATION'S NATU- RAL RESOURCES

**HON. JEROME R. WALDIE**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill that will provide a basis for a more cost-effective method to protect and manage this great Nation's natural resources under the authorities of the Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act, the Fish and Wildlife Act of 1956, the Endangered Species Act of 1969, and the National Environmental Policy Act of 1969.

Under the Fish and Wildlife Coordination Act, the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and wildlife annually assesses the environmental impact of over 6,000 permits under section 10 of the Rivers and Harbors Act which are under consideration by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. The Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife also annually assesses the environmental impact of over 500 U.S. Coast Guard permit applications for the alignment and construction of causeways and bridges in the United States. The Bureau

of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife also has a coastal surveillance program to detect violations of the Rivers and Harbors Act. Over 88,600 miles of tidal shoreline comes under the jurisdiction of the Rivers and Harbors Act. The Bureau has 50 biologists assigned to cover the shoreline, or an average of 1 biologist per 1,700 miles.

Under the regulations of the Department of Defense and the U.S. Coast Guard a set amount of time is allotted to practice and training, as opposed to maneuvers. Practice and training objectives could be met while providing assistance to or under detail to the Director of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, thus providing a more cost-effective method of protecting and managing the Nation's natural resources.

I include the full text of this bill in the RECORD.

H.R. 8101

A bill to authorize the Secretary of Transportation and the Secretary of Defense to detail certain personnel and equipment to the Fish and Wildlife Service

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That the last sentence of the paragraph headed "Propagation of Food Fishes" of the Act of March 3, 1885 (16 U.S.C. 743) is amended to read as follows: "The Secretary of Transportation is authorized to detail from time to time for duty under the Director of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, officers, men and/or equipment of the Coast Guard; and the Secretary of Defense also is authorized to detail from time to time for such duty officers, men, and/or equipment of the Armed Services."

#### RICHARD NIXON: THE CHANCES OF SURVIVAL

**HON. BELLA S. ABZUG**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Ms. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, this week's Time magazine includes as its lead story a discussion of the latest revelations regarding the administration. It covers not only Watergate but also the CIA's involvement with the White House "plumbers" squad, the Vesco case, and the involvement of John Mitchell, Maurice Stans, and G. Bradford Cook in it, and the wiretapping of Henry Kissinger's National Security Council staff.

I commend the item to all of my colleagues and include its full text at the conclusion of these remarks:

[From Time magazine, May 28, 1973]

RICHARD NIXON: THE CHANCES OF SURVIVAL

All of Washington and a great many people elsewhere in the nation were openly debating the question of whether President Nixon should or would quit the White House. Just weeks ago, when Nixon was organizing his "new American revolution" after one of the greatest election victories in U.S. history, the question would have sounded preposterous. Even now, the prospect evoked such a sense of national trauma that most Americans of both parties devoutly wanted to avoid it. But so widespread was the doubt about Nixon's involvement in Watergate, so widespread the

skepticism about the repeated White House denials, that a majority of Americans polled by Time believed the President of the U.S. to be guilty of deceiving the public and trying to hide his own responsibility.

Some of the talk about Nixon's being driven from office came from prominent Democrats. Said Senator Edmund Muskie: "I doubt if a majority of Congress would want to set impeachment in motion, but duty might lead Congress to do it." The majority of Democratic politicians, however, held their tongues and allowed the Republicans to fret and criticize in public. Conservative Columnist James Kilpatrick had already called Watergate "squalid, disgraceful and inexcusable." Crosby S. Noyes, a moderately conservative columnist for the Washington Star-News, surprised the capital last week by predicting that "when Nixon realizes the extent to which his authority has been shattered by these events, he will resign."

When the Watergate hearings finally opened under the glare of TV lights in the palatial Senate Caucus Room, the question-and-answer ritual seemed half-remembered from past confrontations. Then, with unexpected suddenness, James McCord Jr., one of the convicted Watergate burglars, tried to tie the scandal to former Attorney General John Mitchell and to Richard Nixon: "I felt the President of the United States had set into motion this operation." It was, admittedly, only hearsay testimony, and Nixon, through his press secretary, once again vigorously denied his involvement. Even before the hearings started, however, the week had brought news that cast further doubt on the President's own role and on that of his aides. For months the President had cited Counsel John Dean's investigation as having reassured him that no one in the White House was involved in Watergate. Now, Dean denied that he had submitted a report to the President and the White House admitted that Dean had never reported to the President directly but only to Presidential Adviser John Ehrlichman.

#### WIDENING WHIRLPOOL

Next it became clear through testimony from Lieut. General Vernon Walters, deputy director of the CIA, that White House advisers had tried to persuade the CIA to take the rap for Watergate or at least provide an excuse that would keep the FBI from thoroughly investigating one of its aspects. The circles of involvement spread from agency to agency, official to official. The Securities and Exchange Commission was afflicted last week when G. Bradford Cook, 36, its chairman for just 2½ months, resigned because of the "web of circumstance" that involved him in the Vesco case (see BUSINESS). A federal grand jury in New York, which had indicted Robert Vesco, John Mitchell, and Maurice Stans, said Cook deleted from an SEC complaint against Financier Vesco all references to the \$250,000 that Vesco donated to the campaign fund headed by Stans.

Even National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger, who had been completely removed from the Watergate whirlpool, seemed drawn into it. The White House confirmed that President Nixon had authorized, and Kissinger had accepted, the wiretapping of 13 Administration officials (several of them on Kissinger's staff) and four newsmen in an effort to determine who was leaking information about the SALT talks and the 1969 bombing of Cambodia.

Distinctions tend to get lost in a town of scandal and uproar. The White House wiretaps of Kissinger's staff, no matter how unpleasant, were different from Watergate. They represented an Administration effort to protect its own security against leaks that it rightly or wrongly considered dangerous to its foreign policies. Government wiretapping without a court warrant is perfectly legal in cases involving suspected foreign agents,



and it was considered legal by the Attorney General in domestic-security cases until last summer, when the Supreme Court banned the practice. Kissinger, never popular with White House Administrators John Ehrlichman and H. R. Haldeman, went along with the wiretaps, especially because he was told that similar taps existed during the Johnson and Kennedy Administrations. He stopped seeing reports of the taps after May 1970.

But it is the morass of Watergate that keeps threatening Nixon. Under what circumstances would impeachment become a real possibility? If it were proved that the President had been aware of a White House cover-up of Watergate—and thus had lied to the nation—impeachment would probably be brought against him, even though Presidents have lied to the nation before. In that event, Nixon might resign rather than subject himself and the country to the long agony of an impeachment trial.

How could his culpability be proved? In the absence of documentary evidence, direct testimony of accusation by John Mitchell, John Ehrlichman or H. R. Haldeman would probably do it, given their stature and known closeness to the President. The indictment and conviction of these men, even if they did not implicate the President, might make his survival in office difficult. On the other hand, even highly damaging testimony from lesser witnesses, including John Dean, would almost certainly be insufficient to dislodge him.

The majority of professional politicians in both parties interviewed by Time correspondents last week believed impeachment or resignation to be highly unlikely, though many of them reserved judgment until later in the hearings or until further indictments appear.

Some believe that boredom with Watergate may set in, or that the affair may result in a sympathy backlash for the President among people who may come to feel he is being hounded. But many observers see the damage of Watergate not only to Nixon but to the nation in another way. They fear that even without impeachment, the President's authority could be badly diminished and that he would have a difficult time governing—or leading.

In part, that is the case now. Many decisions throughout the Administration are being delayed while the White House staff is being rebuilt. Symptomatically, Wall Street had its worst slump in months, and the dollar took a bad beating on international money markets. Congress was continuing to assert its new-found truculence. In the Senate last week, the once hawkish Appropriations Committee voted unanimously to forbid any U.S. spending for any combat activity in either Cambodia or Laos.

#### BUSINESS AS USUAL

These votes imposed a handicap on Kissinger's current Paris negotiations with the North Vietnamese. They implied, furthermore, that Congress might not give Nixon legislation he needs to negotiate lower tariffs with the Common Market or the most-favored-nation trading status that he has virtually promised to Soviet Russia. On the other hand, many of Nixon's policies not only have broad support in the U.S. but are backed by both Chinese and Soviet self-interest.

At any rate, Richard Nixon went on with every sign of serenity in being President, doing business as usual and assuming an above-it-all posture. Indeed he appeared as isolated as ever, twice going out with only a few aides for Potomac cruises on the presidential yacht, the *Sequoia*. For the moment, he seemed in no mood to explain himself more fully to the public, as some of his supporters had suggested.

Almost casually Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler said the President was "aware" of

talk about his resigning but was determined to concentrate on what he had "to accomplish in the second term." Instead of watching the Watergate testimony on television, he relied on a daily summary prepared at the direction of the new White House chief of staff General Alexander Haig. Most afternoons and evenings he secluded himself in the Executive Office Building, where he was said to be preparing for next month's meeting with Soviet Communist Leader Leonid Brezhnev.

Privately, Nixon expressed sorrow for the "personal tragedies" of the people involved in Watergate—who, as one high Administration official put it, were "decent, highly principled men motivated by a misguided sense of loyalty"—but there was no sign that he considered the affair especially troublesome. At a black-tie dinner for Emperor Haile Selassie, a laughing, joking Nixon confided to his dinner companion, Mrs. Rogers Morton, wife of the Secretary of the Interior, that he believed history would regard Watergate as inconsequential in comparison with his accomplishments in foreign policy. Late in the week he flew to Norfolk to recite those accomplishments and defend his bombing policy before an Armed Forces Day audience.

Nixon may also rationalize Watergate in a broad context of American political skulduggery—of lobbyists' pressures and demagogues' tricks, of funds secretly raised and secretly disbursed. Specifically, he can hardly forget the election irregularities of 1960, when he was narrowly edged out of the presidency by John F. Kennedy. To some people, the issue was still in doubt days after the election. Kennedy held a lead of only 118,574 votes, and Republicans angrily charged massive vote stealing by Democratic officials in Mayor Richard Daley's Chicago and Lyndon Johnson's Texas—two places that could have changed the whole election. Nixon was urged by some associates to challenge the results, but he finally decided—in the interest of national unity, he said—not to do so.

It may well be, on the other hand, that Nixon is fully aware of the importance of Watergate but is following some strategy all his own. According to the theory that he outlined in his 1962 book *Six Crises*: "The easiest period in a crisis situation is actually the battle itself. The most difficult is the period of indecision—whether to fight or run away. And the most dangerous period is the aftermath. It is then, with all his resources spent and his guard down, that an individual must watch out for dulled reactions and faulty judgment." Which phase the crisis is now in, which phase Nixon himself is in, perhaps not even Nixon knows.

#### THE WAR MENTALITY

### HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, you may recall that on May 10 I spoke briefly of the necessity that Government officials respect our American Bill of Rights. I referred at that time to a pair of incidents that occurred on April 23 in Collinsville, Ill.

Since then a constituent has brought to my attention a column by Tom Wicker of the New York Times which touches on the same subject but goes beyond the scope of my brief remarks. I would like to share the column, which appeared in the San Bernardino Sun-Telegram on May 9, with our colleagues at this time:

#### THE "GOOKS" MAY BE YOU

(By Tom Wicker)

NEW YORK.—In Winthrop, Mass., last January 15 armed men burst into the home of Mr. and Mrs. William Pine, terrorized them and their daughter for what the family said was 15 minutes, then abruptly left. They were state police plainclothesmen, raiding the wrong house in search of a drug operation.

In Collinsville, Ill., late in April, armed and abusive men broke into the houses of Herbert Gigliotto and Don Askew, pushed their families around and cursed them, damaged their property, put them in fear of their lives, then left without apology or explanation. They were federal drug agents, acting without warrants and on faulty tips, although both families have been respectable and lawabiding.

In Washington, Myles J. Ambrose, the special assistant attorney general in charge of the office for drug abuse law enforcement, unwittingly suggested an excellent reason why these things can happen—and do happen more frequently than many people realize or will admit—in America.

"Drug people," Ambrose said, "are the very vermin of humanity . . . occasionally we must adopt their dress and tactics."

Well, in Vietnam, people fighting on the other side came to be known as "slopes" and "gooks"—such vermin of humanity that it was acceptable and understandable that they should be mowed down at My Lai and in countless free-fire zones, whether they were women, children, civilians or soldiers. They were all gooks. At worst, slaughtering them was a matter of occasionally adopting their tactics.

The crucial connection is that the mentality of conducting a "war on crime" has been developed here in America, and it is not much different from the mentality of conducting a "war on communism" or a "war against aggression" in Southeast Asia. In a war, the other side is despised; in a war, anything goes.

The war on crime has been justified and praised, from the White House on down, just as was the war on communism. So if constitutional shortcuts, massive applications of force, and frequent lies and deceptions were required merely to gain "peace with honor" in the one war anything less is not likely to be considered hard-nosed enough for the other.

The difficulty is that the mentality of war requires an enemy. Wars are fought by "we" against "them," by the righteous against the wicked. Of course, if it happens that the wicked are strong, the righteous must occasionally adopt their tactics. Vermin and gooks must be exterminated. If occasionally a hospital is bombed or a child napalmed or an innocent household wrecked and terrorized, the mentality of war is not much abashed. Generals may retire; narcotics agents are suspended; but the war must go on.

Eventually, in the war on crime as in any other war, "we" become indifferent to what happens to "them." This war, too, must be won. Some of "them" must be put to death. Some of "them" must go to jail for life, without hope of release. Some of "them" must be locked up before they have a chance to hurt some of "us." Safeguards that "we" support and even revere in ordinary times must be suspended or limited for the duration—but only for "them." "We" will not be safe until "we" crack down on "them," occasionally adopting their tactics.

"We" may, for instance, break into a doctor's office and steal the psychiatric records of "they," because "they" appear subversive and immoral and may hamper the winning of one of "our" wars—even "our" ability to wage it. At worst, this makes "us" understandable victims of righteous zeal. "We" may have committed excesses but "we"—as

that exponent of law and order, Ronald Reagan, said of those involved in the Water-gate excesses—"are not criminals at heart." Surely "we" had a duty to wage righteous war.

But it is hard to establish the limit, "We" wiretap "them" because "they" are criminals; so surely "we" must also wiretap "them" to find out if "they" are criminals, or just to make sure that "we" are not being undermined by anyone in the conduct of the war. The line between "we" and "they" blurs easily, and disappears.

So, as the Pines and the Giglotts and the Askews have learned, when "we" make war on "them," eventually, "we" will have no more safety than "they."

In fact, "we" may even be "they" because, in the mentality of war, anyone can become gook, slope or vermin.

Mr. Speaker, perhaps we are not yet civilized enough to adopt the position expressed by Camus—that there are no ends, only means—but I would like to think that we are at the stage where we can at least reject the mentality of war which Tom Wicker has described in his column.

## TOO MUCH ECOLOGY CAN HARM FOREST LIFE

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, a great deal of attention has recently been focused on our Nation's forest lands, in light of the growing lumber shortage.

Experts tell us that unless something is done to make maximum effective use of our timber lands, the United States may face a lumber shortage by the end of the century that could reach 20 billion board feet. To put that figure into perspective, that is enough lumber to build some 2 million new five-room homes.

The shortage we face today could become more acute if we do not continue to wisely use modern forest management methods that take conservation of the environment into consideration.

There is a distinct difference between conservation and preservation. Certainly both schools of thought are deeply concerned about the ecological balance in our forests. But by taking advantage of proper management techniques, we can conserve our renewable timber resources, provide outdoor recreation facilities for our people, and still produce the timber needed for houses, paper, and all the other wood oriented products. We can have our forests and use them too.

I ask that the following related news-clipping follow:

TOO MUCH ECOLOGY CAN HARM FOREST LIFE  
(By Frank L. Schneider)

There are 10 million acres of wilderness in the United States. Considering that less than one percent of the population ever enters these naturallands, that's enough, says one spokesman for the national lumber industry.

And, he contends, the ecologists' push for an additional 56 million acres of wild forests can only aggravate an already serious economic plight of lumber.

Hubert Walker of New Orleans, expressing his views on the lumber and wood products situation, said locking up American timber lands is detrimental to the whole lumber market particularly in times like now when demand for lumber is strong and supply is "extremely short." He is first vice-president of the National Lumber and Material Dealers Association.

Fervent dedication to the establishment of additional vast wildernesses, reserved for hikes and portages, sealed off from vehicular traffic and fire fighters and free from proper servicing and management is not in the best interest of preserving trees or the animals that live beneath them, said Walker.

Uncontrolled growth of timber that suffocates young growth is not good preservation practice, he added.

Walker's viewpoint on preservation and the stimulation of new timber growth is in full opposition with those of the conservationist and preservationist who scream for "rape" when forests lands are thinned or harvested. Proper forest management using efficient techniques and a properly funded National Forest Service can lead to increased timber production and supply, and lower costs and prices for lumber, he said in an interview.

Preservation offsets natural regeneration, he said, but management plants new trees, encourages greater growth volume, eliminates suffocation of young trees.

The National Forest Service should have sufficient funds to set up sales for timber and help local land owners develop their properties properly. These programs would be of tremendous benefit to forestry needs and the lumber market, said Walker.

President Nixon's recent decision to increase allowable timber cuts (by three billion board feet) from government lands is at least a move in the right direction during the current lumber situation, said Walker.

Since the government is the biggest holder of timber lands it is important that Walker's trade group and other building trade organizations convince federal authorities that the best interest of forestry lies with management and service and not with strict preservation that excludes any control and treatment of forests.

Of the major sources of timber the national forests hold more than half of this country's supply of standing softwood—that's the kind that produces lumber. This supply grows on 28 percent of total acreage devoted to timber growth but it provides just 26 percent of the cut. But private industry with 12 percent of the acreage produces 34 percent of the cut—"and their supplies are not depleting," said Walker. The production from industry is higher than that from other sources because of management, he said.

Privately owned timber lands hold 60 percent of the acreage, provide 30 percent of the cut.

"We are as acutely interested in the conservation of forests as the ecologists," Walker said, "but our approach is different." Intensified management that uses proper thinning techniques and harvesting and even clear cutting for some species is the industry way.

While clear cutting is a more drastic approach to harvesting, said Walker, and results in an unsightly scape for a while, it is the best method of treatment for some species of trees.

"The best way to preserve the forests is to use them," Walker said. A dense forest is not best for wildlife either. There should be occasional openings for rabbits and deer and there should be mature growth (nut-bearing trees) for bears and squirrels—a kind of harmony with young and old growth in the midst of spacing and light. A managed forest, Walker said, achieves these results

whereas a dense growth cuts off oxygen and prevents new timber starts.

The question Walker raises is how much wilderness should there be in America? How much space should be devoted exclusively to forests that offer nothing for people—no picnic areas, no views, no roads for driving—but only adventure for a few with the stamina and money to make the hazardous trek through a dense forest?

The preservationist insists that the wilderness assures future generations a glimpse of nature. But Walker says that simply is not true. And he explains about the Boundary Waters Canoe area.

This is a one-million-acre wilderness established in 1948 in northern Minnesota. The composition of this forest is similar to that of the original ones there before logging came to it in 1880. By 1925 the area was completely cut over. The loggers cut everything, mile after mile and as broad as they could reach. "Nothing like the practices of today, where clearcutting is limited to narrow strips and small patches," Walker adds.

Today the timber over much of this area is approaching maturity. The stagnating trees wait for natural death or destruction by fire.

Walker said the situation there is so bad that conservationists are proposing that a program of controlled burning should be initiated in mature and over mature pine and spruce forests within this wilderness. They make this suggestion in order to prevent the increasing transition of the woods to balsam fir, a species highly susceptible to disease. So the solution, as advanced by the conservationist, is a deliberate fire in a preserve where neither large out-board motors are allowed on the lakes or airplanes are allowed below 5,000 feet. That's what happens in an uncontrolled wilderness, said Walker.

But a managed forest is a multiple use area, accommodating timber harvesting, grazing and recreation for Americans. It has roads necessary and for people access. The Black Hills of western South Dakota is an example. The first timber was sold in 1848 when the hills gave forth their gold in the 1847 rush. About 1.5 billion board feet of timber stood there then, said Walker. Since then nearly three billion board feet have been harvested and there is an additional four billion feet of timber still standing.

Europe's forests have provided thriving stands for centuries because of the forestry methods Europeans practice that have influenced America's approach since the early 1900s. In the past, said Walker, "our forests have been renewable providing not only limitless versatility but, also endless bounty." But that bounty is no longer limitless, Walker said. There are too many people and too many demands on land use today for the U.S. to continue running its forests as in the past, he said.

Proposals that we simply lock up our forests to preserve them ignores the basic problem, said Walker. Trees, he added, respond to normal agriculture practices like fertilization, thinning, irrigation and insect control.

And there are many viewpoints on how we should use the forests today. Many are of the opinion that in the next 10 years trees will be in shorter supply than coal or oil. Two-thirds of the American people (according to a recent survey) believe that America is exhausting its forests. There is the feeling that once a forest is harvested it is gone forever, said Walker.

And so there is a big danger that "restrictions supported by an uninformed public" could very well bring on the shortage they fear is coming, Walker feels. His concern is heightened by a rash of law suits and citizens campaigns aimed at preventing timber harvests and even stopping construction of primitive roads into the forests—necessary for fire fighters and recreation seekers.



Are we really running out of trees?

Walker answers that. When Columbus came here there was something over one billion acres of forests. Five hundred years and 200 million people later, the U.S. has 758 million acres of forests or 75 percent of the original. "In fact our forests are now expanding, for we have some 13 million acres more today than existed a generation ago," Walker said.

Walker is among the few who have explored the wildernesses of America. For 10 days he hiked, climbed, canoed (and carried the canoe when the waterways stopped) in the vast acres at the Canadian and U.S. border. He has gone deep into it.

In the midst of this untouched spot Walker could appreciate the conservationist's intentions to preserve such natural wonder. As he made his way through the thicket below the towering trees whose great green domes allowed in just broken streaks of light, Walker was impressed by the awesome beauty.

He was also impressed with the mature trees strangling in overgrowth and the young timber suffocating in the deep, damp gloom.

Ten million acres of such beauty when forest products are in limited supply and costly is enough, Walker feels.

#### AIR FREIGHT IN THE PACIFIC: A FUTURE VIEW

#### HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, at a time when we are involved in reconsidering international trade policy in light of new economic relationships among nations, it is worthy to consider the tremendous potential of air freight in the Pacific.

Mr. Stuart G. Tipton, chairman of the Air Transport Association of America recently discussed this subject in his keynote address to the Second Annual Pacific Air Cargo Conference of the Hawaii Department of Transportation. In it, Mr. Tipton surveyed the prospects for growth in this segment of the booming industry. I insert his remarks at this point in order that readers of the RECORD may benefit from his well thought out and eloquently presented views.

#### AIR FREIGHT GROWTH IN THE PACIFIC

Aloha!

As you all know, this rich, meaningful word is far more than a simple greeting or farewell. It is also a term of affection.

Certainly I have a fondness and affection for these islands and this state. I welcome each opportunity that brings me here. And apparently I am not alone in this feeling.

The list of speakers who will follow me over the next three days at this Second Annual Pacific Air Cargo Conference reads like a veritable Who's Who in the air cargo industry and I am pleased to be among them.

As air cargo operations continue to grow at a rapid clip, I can report to you today that the U.S. scheduled airlines in 1973 are looking forward to the first one billion dollar freight revenue year in their history.

This billion dollar record comes about not only because we are carrying increasing volumes of traditional air freight commodities, but also because we are broadening our base by carrying new commodities—new commodities ranging from light switches to thousands of pounds of live eels.

This billion dollar revenue is from air

freight alone, and does not include revenues from mail and express. Air freight produced revenues of less than \$235 million only 10 years ago.

Air freight has come a long way, and quickly. Today it is a big business that must be viewed in big, positive and imaginative dimensions, as we move forward to meet increasing customer demands throughout the Pacific.

During the past decade, the U.S. scheduled airlines' air freight business, as a whole, has been growing at an average annual rate of 16.9 per cent. However, air freight over the Pacific has been moving ahead at an average annual growth rate of 31 per cent.

The Pacific presents a variety of air freight markets, including the important domestic market between Hawaii and the Mainland.

The Hawaii-Mainland market was once thought of in terms of pineapple and other fruit which tasted better to people in Chicago because air freight moved it from field to supermarket at peak quality. This is still true. But a number of other elements must be added to update the story:

Thousands of colorful Hawaiian sports shirts are exported from there by air and sold to American tourists in the Caribbean.

During the West Coast dock strikes in 1971 and 1972 air freight proved effective in moving household wares, hardware store items and other things that used to move exclusively by ocean shipping. A large part of this business has been retained.

A transport combination that sees some goods move by ship from the Orient to Hawaii and then on by air freight to the Mainland, is a technique that is giving many shippers the right combination of time and economy.

This conference is replete with experts from Hawaii's own Department of Transportation, the University of Hawaii and the airlines who serve the area. I will leave to them the detailed discussions of this expanding market and proceed to assume my role as keynoter.

I think there is no real difficulty in determining what the keynote of this conference is and should be.

The Pacific is the greatest air freight market of them all.

All of the study, all of the discussion, all of the cross-examination should be based upon the recognition of this great potential.

Let me add quickly that this statement, and the responsibility for making it come true, should not be reserved exclusively for carriers. Shippers and consignees also must be prepared to take bold, imaginative looks at their cargo movement in order to take maximum advantage of superior air freight service and thereby provide maximum customer service and profits.

I want briefly to discuss several questions all related to this theme.

(1) Why does the Pacific hold such great promise for major growth in the use of air freight?

(2) Is there efficient capacity available or on order to meet this growth?

(3) Can we of the airlines develop the strategy to sell this capacity?

(4) What are the impediments to the massive expansion of air freight and what is needed to eliminate them?

I have asked these questions in rapid-fire order. As a keynoter, setting the stage for a comprehensive discussion that will follow, I will give you a series of rapid-fire responses to these questions.

#### FIRST, MARKET POTENTIAL

Anyone who can calculate the span of distance across the Pacific, the time it takes to cover these distances by sea transportation, and the value of this time in customer service and profitability must conclude that the high speed jets, with their enormous flexibility, make the Pacific runs an ideal air freight market. In my view, not enough

attention has been given even yet to the cash value of time in the movement of freight. But this is changing and in the Pacific will change more rapidly than any place else.

#### SECOND, AIRLIFT CAPACITY

The airlines have on hand and on order adequate lift capacity to meet the foreseeable growth requirements of air freight movement throughout the Pacific. While we do not yet have our dream air freight airplane, we have vastly improved equipment and a lot of it. The older jets are good airplanes and the new widebodied ones are even better.

If we have been overly conservative in our projections—and this is always a possibility—I can assure you that additional equipment can be had for profitable freight business. Again, I want to underscore the great flexibility of airline operations—including the flexibility of scheduling to meet new market demands.

#### THIRD, MARKETING STRATEGY

I am confident that the airlines, facing up to the challenges in the decade of the 70's and 80's will, through conferences such as this, be able to sell available and projected lift capacity on a profitable basis. I feel certain that airline freight marketing people are going to get a big lift from innovative and profit-conscious shippers and consignees who will no longer be content with time-costly movement of their goods by surface means.

#### FOURTH, OVERCOMING IMPEDIMENTS TO GROWTH

Clearly, the full potential of air freight growth in the Pacific will be checked unless we are able to eliminate such impediments as trade barriers. The President has opened new vistas for trade growth by advocating the elimination of restrictive practices, and in Congress, Chairman Wilbur Mills of the House Ways and Means Committee, is leading the fight to assure fair and equitable treatment for American products and services in the world market.

In the remaining few minutes allotted a keynote speaker, let me suggest some guidelines for future air freight marketing in the Pacific.

The marketing effort must be selective, in terms of country and commodities.

The marketing must be geared to the value of the transportation service we are selling.

To be successful, the marketing will require a good climate for trade.

Again, to be successful, the marketing will require a large input of imagination on the part of airlines, shippers and consignees.

The need for selectivity in expanding our markets in the Pacific is obvious.

It would be strange, indeed, if the U.S. attempted to export wigs and double-knit fabrics to Korea. It is the other way around. Korea has become one of the world's leading producers of these two items and is exporting them to us. As Korea industrializes, however, a demand grows there for the importation of specialized equipment and industrial machinery. We are exporting these valuable goods to them, including parts that go by air, and we can sell them a great deal more of this equipment.

The odds against selling a U.S.-built television set in Japan would be long indeed, but not if the product were a multi-speed kitchen blender. The Japanese manufacture only a single-speed blender, yet many Japanese families want the U.S. models and are buying them in increasing numbers.

Let's emphasize the value of the service we provide—the movement of a shipment in ten hours from the shipper's door in San Francisco to the receiver's door in Honolulu, instead of seven or eight days minimum by sea. . . . The movement of a product from a plant in Los Angeles to a customer in Hong

Kong in 24 hours or less, as opposed to more than two weeks by the fastest container ship.

The most advanced transportation system, however, can be stymied as a tool for export growth by tariff and non-tariff barriers to trade. That's why I urge this conference to examine the importance of helping to create a good trade climate.

Let's take a look at the international trade climate as it applies to air freight over the Pacific. Last year, in this part of the world, freight moving by air accounted for a trade balance slightly in our favor. The figures: About \$1.5 billion of U.S. exports by air to our Pacific trading partners and about \$1.3 billion of air imports from them to the United States.

More than 50 per cent of this air commerce was between the United States and Japan. This is characteristic of Pacific trade, whether moving by air or ocean vessel.

Japan, after Canada, is the biggest market for U.S. exports. We sold Japan last year about \$4.9 billion worth of U.S. exports—more than 10 per cent of all U.S. exports.

The United States is Japan's biggest customer for that country's exports. Japan exported \$9.1 billion worth of goods to the United States last year, accounting for more than 16 per cent of total U.S. imports.

The 1972 U.S. trade deficit with Japan was more than \$4 billion, the result in part of an historic network of Japanese barriers against many kinds of imports.

I am hopeful this imbalance will be corrected and I can cite at least three good reasons for my optimism.

The Japanese are sure to realize that excessive imbalance of trade creates retaliatory restriction and that, by reason of their high standard of performance, they do not need import barriers anymore.

The U.S. Commerce Department's Office of International Commercial Relations reported this month that while many of the import barriers remain, Japan, over the past four years, has been reducing some of its formal barriers to imports—mainly by relaxing some import quotas and, to a lesser extent, by relaxing tariffs, licensing and deposit requirements and by making it somewhat easier for foreign companies to maintain sales offices in Japan.

This may explain why U.S. exports by air to Japan in 1972 for the first time in many years rose at a greater percentage rate than air imports to the U.S. from Japan.

The actual volume of Japanese imports into this country by air was still greater than the air freight flow in the other direction—by about a 60 to 40 ratio; but U.S. air exports to Japan were up 34 per cent, compared with a 25 per cent increase in air imports from Japan.

My other reasons for optimism concerning reduction in Japanese import barriers stem from recent developments in the United States I referred to earlier. One is the President's recently proposed Trade Reform Act of 1973 and the other is the intense interest this bill has aroused in the Congress.

This is far too complex a piece of legislation to be covered in detail in these remarks. The important thing in the proposal for this conference is that it would give the United States more effective tools for negotiating for the lowering or removal of import barriers erected by its trading partners.

Success by the President and Congress in giving the United States more effective tools in negotiating for the removal or lowering of import barriers erected by its trading nation partners could be the biggest stimulus for international air freight in years. Given such a new opportunity, the air freight industry can be a much more effective instrument for expanding U.S. exports.

But all the trade expansion in the world will not help us or our customers if we are unable to attract a larger and larger share of

this increased movement. Here enters imaginative marketing, the remaining point I urge you to concentrate on during this conference.

Imaginative marketing! How and by whom?

To answer this question let me tell you a story—a true story, a little story but a story with a big moral.

I came across the story when I found a strange looking specific commodity air freight tariff. It provided for the shipment of live eels at 57 cents per pound from Washington, D.C. to Tokyo.

Behind the tariff is a man who lives in Montross, Va., in the tidewater area where the Potomac River empties into the Chesapeake Bay and where the water teems with succulent eels. He learned that pollution had reduced the eel supply in Japan at the same time that demand for this Japanese delicacy was growing in that country.

The man in Montross was but a stone's throw from some of the finest eels in the world. He designed his own watertight container, approached a U.S. flag carrier serving both Washington and Tokyo. A deal was struck, a tariff was filed and that first year a few hundred pounds of eels made the long journey.

This year the airlines will fly some 70,000 pounds of eels from the East Coast of the United States to Tokyo.

As I told you in the beginning, it is a small story. Seventy thousand pounds of exported eels doesn't begin to compare with the more than one million dollars worth of machine tools and their replacement parts exported by air from the United States to Japan last year.

But I think the moral of the story is clear to all of us. Air freight marketers and shippers alike must join in the imaginative marketing. Both must exercise a high degree of ingenuity in finding the most opportune markets.

I urge you to emulate the man from Montross in seeking the right product for the right market. Here are a few suggestions of my own on products of growth potential for air export to the Pacific.

The Japanese are now entering a sports and leisure-time boom in which there is a growing demand for American-made equipment for skiing, bowling and camping.

Equipment and parts for generators, conventional and nuclear, is a promising area of growth in U.S. exports to many countries in the area.

Avionics and support ground equipment are also products for expanded export to Pacific markets.

Anti-pollution equipment presents one of the best of all sources of growth in exports from the U.S. to other highly developed nations. Much of this equipment is eligible for shipment by air, particularly the instruments used in detecting and measuring pollutants.

Other good prospects for air export growth in this market include material handling equipment, electronic measuring and controlling equipment and circuit-breaking devices. The latter means switches and we air ship a lot of switches to the Pacific each year—from big circuit breakers for industry costing \$10,000 each to thousands of the light switches that go on the ordinary household wall.

The airlines are also exporting increasing amounts of fresh tuna fish from the U.S. East Coast to Japan. The thought of exporting fresh fish to an island nation may sound strange, but I suppose it is not much different than exporting potatoes to Germany, which the U.S. does in significant quantities. There are opportunities also for a major expansion in air shipments of other foodstuffs to the nations of the Pacific.

As one who has spent most of his working life close to the airline business, I am accustomed to covering a lot of territory rapidly and that is what I have done this morning. I have not attempted a detailed discussion of the far-ranging challenges which confront this conference, but I hope that I have stimulated your thinking as you approach them.

In conclusion, let me raise and answer a further question—What is the long-range future of air freight movement in the Pacific?

I see no reason, if carriers, shippers and consignees are as imaginative as the gentleman with the eels, why the high growth rate of recent years cannot be exceeded in the Pacific year after year on a profitable basis for the air freight system and its growing ranks of customers.

Aloha.

## WORLD'S LARGEST WATER PROJECT

**HON. JERRY L. PETTIS**

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. PETTIS. Mr. Speaker, last Friday, I had the honor of attending the dedication of the California State water project at Perris Dam near Riverside, Calif.

Marking completion of the first phase of the world's largest water project—bringing water from the north over two-thirds of California to the dry southland—the project has taken 15 years to complete and cost more than \$2.3 billion. Benefits to be reaped by the State in power, water, irrigation, and recreation are incalculable.

This excitement and promise were fully felt at the ceremonies and I would like to share with my colleagues a fine recount of this great moment in California history. The following is a news account of the dedication which appeared in the San Bernardino Sun-Telegram newspapers:

10,000 ATTEND LAKE PERRIS FETE

(By Quentin Foley)

Lake Perris, terminus of the 684.5-mile, \$5 billion State Water Project, was dedicated yesterday as Governor Reagan opened the water gates.

By December the lake, about 15 miles southeast of Riverside, will be half filled and interim recreation facilities ready for public use, according to William R. Gianelli, director of the State Department of Water Resources.

When full, the lake will have 2,370 surface acres and 9.7 miles of shoreline. It will hold 39 billion gallons of Northern California water.

More than 10,000 people attended the dedication ceremonies to see Tony Curtis as grand marshal of the parade, the hot air balloons, rocketry exhibits, watch Art Scholl put on an acrobatic air show in his plane and see a sky diving exhibition.

Assisting in the fanfare were the De La Playa Mariachis, the 15th Air Force Band, the Brush Arbor and the Riverside Youth Band.

A dam 126 feet high and two miles long forms the lake, already stocked with fish. It will have catfish, bass, sunfish and trout, but fishing will not be permitted until the middle of next year or the year after to give the newly planted fish some growing time.

Boating, picnicking and swimming will be allowed this year. Development plans call for camping facilities for 444 family and trailer units, 300 picnic units in the grass area and



150 picnic units in the boat-in areas, plus a group of picnic units for 275.

The dam-reservoir cost \$31,366,954 and all the water stored there will be distributed by the Metropolitan Water District to three of its member agencies, the Eastern Municipal Water District, the Western Municipal Water District and the San Diego County Water Authority.

In late 1974, about the time the first phase of the recreational facilities are completed at the state recreation area, the lake will be full, making it the third largest fresh-water body of water in Southern California.

The \$5 billion State Water Project to bring Northern California water to the southland was started 14 years ago and there were many people present at the dedication of Lake Perris who have followed the project's progress since the beginning and who expressed pride at seeing it completed on schedule.

"The project we are dedicating today is one of the most daring, imaginative and difficult engineering feats ever attempted," Reagan said.

"It is the world's largest and most comprehensive system of water conservation and delivery.

"It is the only system ever to have been financed as a single unit.

"And it is the only system of its kind that included recreation as a primary purpose from the very beginning," he said.

He noted that while the project will benefit the entire state in one way or another, the costs would be largely paid by the people who benefit most directly those who use the water and the power the project produces.

Reagan pointed out the project's "massive recreational, agricultural and financial benefits" to the people of the state.

Gianelli reminded the audience, "and someday we are going to have the longest bike trail in the world along the shores of the 444-mile California Aqueduct."

Caspar W. Weinberger, secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, said:

"Our astronauts, on their way to the moon, reported they could visually identify only two of the works of man, the Great Wall of China and the California Aqueduct.

"Despite that notable linkage by size, however, there is a vital difference between the two projects.

"The Great Wall was built to divide people, to keep some people away from other people.

"Our State Water Project, of course, is designed to bring people and resources together," he said.

At first, MWD will use the water in Lake Perris in a mix consisting of 70 percent Colorado River water to 30 percent Northern California water. Later those percentages will be reversed, said Frank M. Clinton, general manager. MWD has planned a \$1.3 billion pipeline and filtration system for Northern California water distribution and utilization.

The State Water Project's ultimate capacity will be 4.23 million acre feet of water a year, and a single acre foot of water equals 325,000 gallons.

Power plants along the project generate 5.4 billion kilowatt hours of power, there are 21 dams and lakes, 20.5 miles of tunnels and 22 pumping plants.

#### CENSORSHIP IN PRESENT DAY U.S.S.R.

**HON. ROBERT J. HUBER**

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Speaker, it is often forgotten by the public at large that the U.S.S.R. still operates a closed society and the American television viewer is

only permitted to see those parts of Russia and Russian life that the Soviet state wants us to see. The difficulties of being a newsman in the Soviet Union are many and I feel that Mr. Irwin M. Chapman has described them very well in a recent article in *Dateline 1973*, published by the Overseas Press Club of America. The article follows:

#### WHAT IT'S LIKE IN RUSSIA

(By Irwin M. Chapman)

The world watched as Richard Nixon, his wife and his party waved farewell to Moscow and boarded their Illyushin-62 globe-spanning Soviet airliner.

The small group of Americans and Soviets who had been bussed out to Vnukovo Airport for the ceremony waved their little flags. The picture of the IL-62 filled our screens, as the anchor men and guest professors summed up the historic summit. Then the picture of the deserted VIP terminal building filled our screens, and the airplane was not seen again.

As we learned agonizing minutes later—and not from Soviet sources—one of the plane's four engines failed and the Presidential party had to change to a backup aircraft. As Soviet President Podgorny and Premier Kosygin rejoined Mr. Nixon, with much embarrassment of course, he reassured them that the same thing had happened at least once to his own Boeing 707.

But one thing would not have happened when the Boeing broke down, as all of the men in the network control rooms can testify: American television cameras would not have censored out the picture of the disabled Presidential airplane, but would have savored every detail. In Moscow, the American networks were relying on a pool picture provided (and not for free) by Soviet State Television.

It was a fitting valedictory for my three and a half years of covering the Soviet Union for ABC radio and television. During that time, I had spent more man hours—or so it seemed to me—writing memos about pictures that could not be obtained than writing scripts to narrate those that could.

The week I arrived in Moscow in January 1969, the Soviets sent up a manned space vehicle, Soyuz 4. How did I cover it? By watching television for taped replays after ninety minutes delay. And then narrating whatever picture excerpts the Soviets fed the Eurovision network. And that's how I covered every subsequent Soviet space shot for the next three and a half years. The Soviet Cape Kennedy remains off limits.

When we wanted the reaction of Soviet scientists and/or cosmonauts to the American moon landings (which I'm sure they had watched on live closed circuits), we were permitted to send out a Russian cameraman with a list of questions—but we were not permitted to go with him.

Finally, when a live cosmonaut was brought into Moscow for an interview on a later occasion, he parroted the official editorials, praising the courage of the American space men in their risky venture. "But you, personally, comrade cosmonaut, have felt the stresses and emotions of space achievement. Surely you must be living the emotions of the Americans today?" The cosmonaut again praised the courage of the American space men in their risky venture. He'd been warned about my reputation for trick questions.

I should go back a step and describe how the networks do their job in Moscow. When we first opened bureaus there a dozen years ago, we were allowed to hire a local staff cameraman, as we do elsewhere in the world. When the Khrushchev thaw ended, so did that privilege. One by one, the American bureaus lost their staff cameramen and were required to hire by the day from the Novosti (which means "news") Press Agency.

But having a cameraman did not imply the right to ship his film out of the country. Permission had to be obtained for each shipment from the press department of the Foreign Ministry—though hand-carried film was winked at in earlier days by the airport customs men.

Now Novosti had to be informed of each story request and implored to accept it (its work quota was not terribly high). As my years went by, the supervision became stricter. Four years ago, it was possible to call and ask for a crew for a series of commentary standuppers. Later, the subjects had to be spelled out in writing.

Of course, if Novosti made the film, Novosti informed the Foreign Ministry about it, and Novosti shipped the film. On August 21, 1969, the assignment desk cabled for a standupper on what the Soviets were saying about Czechoslovakia one year after the invasion. I did it in front of a movie house that was playing a documentary entitled, "Czechoslovakia: Year of Trial."

Novosti was supposed to get it onto a flight to Paris that afternoon, to be transmitted by satellite along with a film from the Austrian-Czech border by a colleague. His film got to Paris; mine did not. You don't think that cable from New York to Moscow ordering the story was a private communication, do you?

The tactic of delaying a film past its useful life was used three times during the next half year. The high point came on October 19, 1970. A standupper on Kosygin's possible visit to the U.N. arrived in New York blank, as though the film had been opened to the airport sunlight. That was the last standupper I did until Nixon landed.

I tried to do as many feature stories as could be arranged. My aim was the usual one: to try for a balanced picture of the USSR, to give the viewer the feelings he would have if he were there with me. To that end, I travelled more than 20,000 miles on Aeroflot domestic flights.

I filmed the Bratsk Dam, the world's largest; and the massive housing projects; and the working mothers' nursery schools; and the medical services that do indeed give every citizen the feeling that illness is no catastrophe.

But every story had a heartache all its own, mainly from the supervisor Novosti sends along to oversee the film crew. You film on a collective farm, and the supervisor—"coordinator" is the job title—whispers to the cameraman, "Keep the horses out of the picture." You film a farmer building a garden shed, but a request to film his neighbor proudly showing off his potatoes and onions is flatly turned down. The outside world must not be allowed to see anything that seems so primitive.

You film a champagne factory, but you absolutely may not show the yard full of crates of empty bottles, or the workmen loading them into a truck; this area is not automated like the bottling plant within. Then, when you do your on-camera close in front of the noisy assembly line, the coordinator has the line shut down, because he can't hear what you're ad-libbing.

And I haven't gone into the things that were denied altogether. I never got to the enormous automobile factory the Fiat company installed in a town renamed Togliatti. The third refusal was accompanied by the explanation, "It's not the Soviet side, it's the Italian side that won't invite reporters. Ask your Italian colleague." So I called my Italian colleague, from RAI, and heard the sound of colleague falling to the floor laughing. They let him into the plant a year later.

It was like the explanation I got for not being allowed to film at a school: "The children don't want you."

The coordinator would occasionally take issue with a script, though his job was mainly to report back what the correspondent said

(sometimes, I feared, garbled through the screen of suspicion). Doing a story on Siberia, I got my ear singed for a mention of the alcoholism problem.

"Where did you see alcoholism? Did we show you any drunks?" the coordinator demanded. In fact the local newspaper had just run a crusade against alcoholism, so the facts were publicly known. But a Soviet TV film would be a glorious travelogue; so should mine. This, incidentally, is what the Soviets mean by "mutual understanding," that their media concentrate on our past failings, and ours on their future successes.

I understood the Soviet mind a bit better when my Canadian colleague saw a Soviet TV documentary on his country. He recognized a shot of a deserted Nova Scotia fisherman's cabin, which the Russian narration described as workingclass housing. Surely the Western filmmakers would do the same if the Soviets were foolish enough to let them take the pictures.

Case in point: pollution. When the subject became fashionable around the world, the Soviets published decrees requiring factories to take anti-pollution measures. Month after month, I asked to film an example. I never could. The Soviets are now admitting the decrees have been widely evaded.

Of course, in fairness I should recount the time I got a phone call inviting me to film a coal mine. What's new about this coal mine? I asked. Nothing, the answer came back, but we haven't been able to allow you to do a coal mine before. I had visions of the miners whitewashing the walls for days before the invitation was tendered.

ABC Radio, I should say in all immodesty, was well served during the years I am describing. Since Khrushchev cancelled prior censorship of news dispatches, it has been possible to book a radio circuit without submitting the script in advance. You could count on periodic delays in getting through, and the Soviet post office never did install in its little studio a simple device for feeding tape recordings into the line.

But the telephone service between Moscow and New York was improved a couple of years ago, and can now be used for radio recording. So the delays could be waited out in your own office. And the main handicap with tape was fear of getting whoever might record "unofficially" into deep trouble, even if you didn't give his name on the air.

It became harder to make such contacts after the security agents started arresting them as soon as they'd said "Zdrastvuyete" to the newsmen. But this was a problem common to all Moscow foreign correspondents, not just the broadcasters. Like the problem of living behind the walls of a guarded ghetto. And having to ask permission to travel twenty-five miles from the Moscow city center, giving forty-eight hours' notice.

Which leads to the question everyone asks me about the Soviet Union: Isn't it getting better? More liberal? Freer? Of course it is, compared to Stalin's time. And those of my senior colleagues who revisit are perfectly justified in admiring that.

But it is not better, more liberal, freer than it was a half-dozen years ago. The writer's prosecutions signalled the turn-about, and there has been constant squeezing of the internal media ever since. They can't squeeze the foreign media as hard, but they try. Three years ago, there was no bust of Stalin over his grave in Red Square now there is.

The squeeze tightened considerably during the year preceding the Moscow summit, a year when U.S.-Soviet relations were poor. To me, this was a matter to report, not to be affected by. To the Soviets, the Cold War extended to every American doing business in Moscow, particularly journalistic business. (And today, when "business" is improving,

the tight lid on news coverage keeps getting tighter.)

Then came Nixon week, and the top people of our business, the executive producers and the field producers and the anchor men, saw for themselves what the Soviet Union was like to cover in the last third of the Twentieth Century.

The Soviets tried their best, as they usually do, to impress their visitors. They fine-tuned their facilities to prove they could feed color television pictures second to none. But this is no place to rub in their technical failures—which more often affected sound than picture—or their inability to provide the kind of dissolves and multi-channel fades American TV directors are used to.

The Soviets also set up a full-scale press center, with daily briefings and quick-time telephone and Telex services. And they gave every Soviet journalist for miles around a big expense account at the Intourist Hotel bar. But still the Soviets managed to rub most of the Presidential press corps the wrong way. It began when the American press planes arrived ahead of the President from Washington via Salzburg. A White House press aide had to inform the travellers on the airplane's public address system that filing facilities that were in place in the airport terminal that morning had unaccountably been pulled out.

While the President was in conference and out of sight, Mrs. Nixon became the center of news interest. But then KGB security agents did their best to keep newsmen clear of Mrs. Nixon, and keep Mrs. Nixon clear of any Soviet citizens she encountered on her sightseeing. Among those jostled or worse, aside from journalists, were Mrs. Nixon's personal translator (borrowed from VOA) and the wife of the U.S. ambassador.

But the main Soviet goodwill gesture to the American audience was to allow the networks and wire services to bring in their own cameramen. This was against the better judgment of the propaganda professionals, who are probably still telling the foreign-policy professionals, "I told you so."

The result was to give the audience a truer picture of the Soviet Union than has ever been possible before. Each of us who worked in Moscow tried to find a location, for example, where the real faces of real Russians could be seen, even something like this is a rarity to film.

One of my colleagues picked a railroad station at night, where country folks wait for trains South. Another filmed a farm village outside Moscow. My choice was the Sunday morning pet market, near Moscow's Taganka Square. It was a place I'd taken any number of visitors, and it is delightful.

To the outdoor pet market come collective farmers who grow rabbits or raise birds in their spare time, and kids who have tearfully to sell a puppy. They were all delighted to see the American camera crew. Parrot-trainers and goldfishraisers vied to pose for the camera—while the cameramen wanted them to ignore him and go about their normal business.

The jollity continued until two uniformed policemen appeared. It turned out that an annex of the 36th precinct was located in a back room of the pet market, and there the crew and I spent the next half hour. I was indeed allowed a phone call.

After a while, the colonel of police appeared and got on the phone. He described, though he'd seen nothing, how the foreigners had been photographing every piece of dirt and garbage in the marketplace, and disturbing the vendors. I denied both charges. When the colonel hung up, two representatives of the working class were shown in and did their public-spirited duty: they signed statements that the foreigners had been photographing every piece of dirt and garbage in the marketplace, and disturbing the vendors.

Then, while higher headquarters phoned higher headquarters, the colonel and I had the kind of instructive chat one can have in the Soviet Union with an honest citizen. I was again instructed in the narrowness of his education vision, and he was instructed in the openness of American television. It came as a surprise to him that America has drunks (a problem not unique to Russia), that they are occasionally seen on TV documentaries, and I would be glad to show the Skid Row of his choice should he visit America.

Finally, a man in nondescript civilian clothes came in and whispered something to the colonel. He made another phone call and then told us to depart. But not to take any more pictures. I told him that if the summit conference was a success, perhaps in five or ten years we would be able to film the pet market freely. He was skeptical. To tell the truth, so was I.

I later learned that the crew at the railway station had a similar experience with the militia. And another ABC cameraman I asked to film a group of men buying beer at an outdoor stall was stopped forcibly by two hulking gentlemen, one of whom flashed a red-leather ID card.

But a lot was filmed and shown. When Nixon week was over, I felt my Moscow bureau turning back into a pumpkin.

#### EDITORIAL CITES UNIQUENESS OF TVA

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in the Florence, Ala. Herald points out the unique aspects of the Tennessee Valley Authority's concept which has enabled the agency to follow a comprehensive program of power development to meet the needs of the people.

The editor, Mr. Oscar D. Lewis, has an extensive background and is a most knowledgeable student of government.

I commend his remarks to your attention:

#### PEOPLE IN PARTNERSHIP

This month marks the 40th Anniversary of the Tennessee Valley Authority, created in 1933 by the late Franklin Delano Roosevelt following the passage of the Hill-Norris Bill providing government ownership and operation of the Muscle Shoals properties.

The TVA, as the agency is popularly known, brought a great valley literally out of the kerosene age into the age of electricity. It emancipated the housewife of much of the drudgery of the farm and raised the standard of living of millions. It soon became a partnership between the people, state agencies and government endeavor having as its goal the harnessing of a great river for flood control, transportation, conservation and low cost hydro-electric power.

Today this power, produced by a multiple-dam and steam plant system, extends the partnership to approximately 2,300,000 homes, farms and industries through 160 local municipal and cooperative electric systems.

The TVA concept sets it apart as an independent agency, capable of minding its own business, comparatively free from political influences and free to follow a comprehensive program of power development to meet the ever-increasing demands of the future.



But this is only a part of the story. TVA has worked diligently on the local level in the development of industry that has dramatically affected the region's whole economy. Valley industries today employ five times as many workers as in 1933. Depleted lands have been and are continuing to be reforested. With TVA working with farmers and their extension services, improving farming methods and developing new fertilizers, agriculture in the valley and in the nation may look forward to a new day in the production of the nation's food and fiber.

## THE FALLACIES IN NBC'S "WHAT PRICE HEALTH?"

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, the recent NBC television program, "What Price Health?" was another in a long line of attacks upon American medicine.

This program did not even pretend to be objective. The overwhelming majority of those interviewed on this program were members of the committee of 100, which advocates an end to the private practice of medicine and its replacement with a system of national health insurance.

The program's commentator made such unsubstantiated statements as, "Good health is hard to find." He quoted equally unsubstantiated statistics charging that "2 million unnecessary operations were performed," not telling us what time period was being referred to. His conclusion, of course, was that Government control of medicine was probably the only answer.

Dr. Ernest B. Howard, executive vice president of the American Medical Association, has written a thoughtful and well documented letter to Mr. Julian Goodman, president of NBC, pointing out the bias and inaccuracies of this program.

To the charge that "Good health care is hard to find," Dr. Howard responds with statistics which were available to NBC but not used on the program. According to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 2,300,000 people a day—365 days a year—manage to see a physician. The U.S. Public Health Service says that the nearest doctor is only 17 minutes from the average door step, and in 1969—the last year for which data are available—20 million house calls were made, more than half of them to families with under \$3,000 annual income, the elderly or the handicapped.

At another point the NBC program states that:

If you go to an emergency ward, the average wait is five hours—and 14 hours is not unusual.

Here again, the U.S. Public Health Service found in its survey that people who phoned an emergency room for an appointment had to wait an average of 28.7 minutes; those with no appointment waited 8 minutes longer.

In his important book, "The Case for American Medicine," Harry Schwartz,

distinguished New York Times correspondent, reviews the available figures concerning the Nation's dramatic health care progress in recent years and concludes that:

Against this background . . . the question of how one can seriously speak of a health crisis recurs in the early 1970s. Perhaps the kindest answer is to refer to the revolution of rising expectations. A population exposed to incessant publicity . . . about the miracles of modern medicine takes for granted the enormous progress of the past and even of the present and wonders why anyone should be sick, or even why anyone should die.

The television program, "What Price Health?" was hardly an objective documentary discussion of the nature of medical care in our country at this time. As Dr. Howard points out:

"What Price Health?" was not news and it was not analysis. It was nothing more or less than a pitch for the Kennedy-Griffiths health insurance proposal.

Since NBC devoted its time to supporting a particular piece of legislation, states Dr. Howard, the American Medical Association is "justified in requesting equal time, and we do formally request it."

I wish to share excerpts from Dr. Ernest Howard's letter to Mr. Julian Goodman of NBC with my colleagues, and insert them into the RECORD at this time.

AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION,  
Chicago, Ill., January 10, 1973.

MR. JULIAN GOODMAN,  
President, National Broadcasting Co.,  
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. GOODMAN: This letter is to protest, formally and officially, what in our opinion is the frequent inaccuracy and the overall bias of your December 19, 1972 news special, *What Price Health?*

The preponderance of your consultants and spokesmen are all members of the Committee of 100, which is plumping hard for a piece of health legislation introduced into Congress by Senator Kennedy and Congresswoman Martha Griffiths.

As additional support for our protest, let me quote from a letter from Alex Gerber, M.D., who appeared on your show. After repeating many of his statements critical of some aspects of medicine, he writes to the *American Medical News*, "But I do apologize for my appearance on the program. Had I known in advance that NBC planned a highly biased and distorted view of medical care in this country, I would never have consented to be a part of it. Mirroring medical care through the eyes of unhappy patients paraded before a TV camera is irresponsible and arrant nonsense."

That is what one of your friendly witnesses had to say about the show.

Let me turn now to a discussion of *What Price Health?* and see if a demand for redress is merited.

As I understand it, your original purpose was to state some of the health problems that exist in this country and then discuss some of the major solutions offered. That indeed was a noble objective. But you failed miserably in your attempt to reach it. Instead, *What Price Health?* emerged as a virtually unrelieved plug for this familiar non-sequitur: the condition of Americans' health is so poor, the costs so inexcusably out of control, the instances of injustice so widespread, and the delivery system so inefficient, that rescue must come through a radical, federal, top-to-bottom overhaul—and that only.

As he concludes the program, Edwin Newman sums it up: ". . . the problem, as a national problem, cannot be solved in terms of economics, in terms of system organizations, in terms of the way medical care is delivered unless there is commitment by the national government, and unless that commitment comes relatively soon."

It is instructive to examine the sequence of inaccuracy and misstatement by which that conclusion is reached. We can begin with Mr. Newman's opening statement.

First, he says that health insurance is a rook. "For every ten dollars you spend, health insurance pays less than four."

What he does not say is that of the average person's annual hospital bill of \$64.63, 73.2% is paid by insurance, or that the average annual doctor bill of \$48.97, 48.1% is paid by insurance. (Social Security Administration data.)

Next, he says, "Good health care is hard to find." Really? Some 2,300,000 people a day—365 days a year—manage to see a physician. (HEW data.) The U.S. Public Health Service says that the nearest doctor is only 17 minutes from the average door step, and in 1969 (the last year for which data are available) 20 million house calls were made, more than half of them to families with under \$3,000 annual income, the elderly or the handicapped. NBC says further, "If you go to an emergency ward, the average wait is five hours—and 14 hours is not unusual." The U.S. Public Health Service found in its survey that people who phoned an emergency room for an appointment had to wait an average of 28.7 minutes; those with no appointment waited 8 minutes longer. If you accept the figures of the U.S. Public Health Service, health care would appear not quite so unavailable as you would have the public believe.

Your next question the quality of U.S. health care. You omit to mention most of the significant indicators. Do you say, for example, that our infant mortality rate has improved 25% in the last decade? (HEW data) Do you mention that our longevity is increasing? That life expectancy at birth has grown from 59.7 in 1930, to 62.9 years in 1940, to 68.2 years in 1950, to 69.7 years in 1960, to 71.1 years in 1971 (last available figure from National Center for Health Statistics, HEW).

Now, as a measure of quality you offer only one index: 10,000 malpractice suits in 1970. A look at the U.S. Public Health Service that year reveals 26,522,000 hospital discharges and 6,160 malpractice suits in which payments were made. That is 0.02% of the total. While one single case of malpractice is one too many, the fraction of two one hundredths of one per cent would scarcely support NBC's breathless indictment of a system "pretty far down on the list."

How risky is it to enter a hospital? The best figures seem to be a 1965 study made by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare rather than the HEW figures NBC cites which rely upon a sample of patient records from just 2 of the nation's 7,000 hospitals. The 1965 HEW figures list 28,792,000 hospital discharges with surgical complications (which generally are not "mistakes") in 1% of the cases and deaths due to surgical procedures (which may be in part mistakes) in 0.005%.

To further support his remarks on the quality of health care, Mr. Newman says, "According to Insurance Commissioner Herbert Denenberg of Pennsylvania, two million unnecessary operations were performed." Mr. Denenberg's admitted source is a book, *How to Avoid Unnecessary Surgery*, written by Lawrence P. Williams, M.D. The trouble is that there is no Lawrence P. Williams, M.D.

Neither the author's real name nor his credentials are known.

"Dr. Williams," whoever he may be, even offers his own disclaimer. He based his estimate (repeat estimate) of two million unnecessary operations on a comparison of surgery performed in the U.S. and surgery performed in England and Wales. He himself points out in his book (page 210), "It cannot be stated from these figures that surgeons in the U.S. operate too frequently or that the British do not operate frequently enough as several other factors are involved also."

Who, besides NBC, then, says there are two million unnecessary operations? Even the pseudonymous authority on whom you ultimately rely as a source says no such thing.

NBC makes precisely the same error with the international health comparisons. . . . "The U.S. ranks 22nd in life expectancy for men." The source of these figures is the World Health Organization and the Demographic Yearbook of the U.N. In the book itself, extreme caution is urged in using their own figures for comparison purposes, a fact to which we called your staff's attention last summer. Some nations, for example, do not include their entire population in the statistical universe; medical definitions (of a live birth, for example) vary country by country. The figures also reflect more on a nation's lifestyle or the genetics of its people than on the level of health care. Here in the U.S., for example, we kill 55,000 people annually on our highways. In fact, the most common cause of death of an American up to middle age is an accident of one kind or another. Such effects of lifestyle are reflected in the U.S. longevity figures, and they are going to stay whether we double the number of doctors or cut it in half.

If you wanted to go the shaky route of international comparison, you would have been more fair had you taken groupings of European nations, groupings that would be comparable to the U.S. in size and racial diversity. Using the Common Market countries as a whole or the European Free Trade Association nations you would have these results:

Overall death rate	
Common Market.....	10.7
EFTA .....	11.1
United States.....	9.4
Infant death rate	
Common Market.....	21.6
EFTA .....	22.5
United States.....	19.8

Source: (Statistical Office of the European Communities, 1970 data)

On the matter of tripled income, Mr. Newman is, of course, right. What he does not say is "since when?" 1850? 1900? 1950? Last year? It is probably safe to say that any category of wage earners has experienced a tripling in the wage rate over some period of time. Social Security Administration data indicate that average physician income is \$40,500 a year and that the work week for him (or her) is 62-63 hours. Adjust that to a 40-hour week, and the equivalent is \$26,000. That is still a lot of money. But do you contend it is not commensurate with the length of education and training required? Do you say it is out of line with the responsibility entailed? Is it out of line with a national network commentator's salary?

Mr. Newman again returns to the subject of money near the end of the program, saying "... we pay doctors about \$14 billion ... Much of that money is used to influence legislation. The AMA, the drug companies, the insurance companies all maintain powerful lobbies in Washington. The consumer does not."

How does that statement square with the facts as published last August in the Con-

gressional Quarterly? The AMA spent \$114,800 on lobbying activities in 1971, much of it to support the Health Care Insurance Act, the Medicare bill which would ease if not eliminate the very cases of financial hardship which you highlight throughout your program.

As a percentage of the overall \$14 billion paid to physicians, \$114,800 comes out to something less than 0.001%. That would seem to be closer to "little" than your word "much."

On the subject of cost, I would question another statement made. You say, "... cost ... had driven millions of Americans into bankruptcy and despair." You again conveniently neglect to specify over what period of time. What is the truth? We don't know and we doubt that you do either. There are 167,000 personal bankruptcies filed a year (Statistical Abstract). What proportion of those are connected with medical care is impossible to determine authoritatively. A survey by the Brookings Institution placed the figure at either 11% or 28%. Even granting the higher figure, it would take more than 20 years to reach the first million.

When you say "millions" (2,000,000 at a minimum) have gone bankrupt because of the cost of medical care, do you mean to go back to 1492, 1776 or when?

Intellectual dishonesty is a serious charge to make. But there are streaks of it in *What Price Health?*, especially in the handling of your case histories. As one possible example, you might review the concluding part of the interview with the victim of the heart attack. As Mr. Park's voice drops under, we lose most of what he is saying. But as Mr. Newman says, "After some months of anguish Medi-Cal finally did agree to pay the balance, but only a one-shot basis" we hear, just barely audible, a snatch from Mr. Park ... "they saved my life." Having covered this testament to physicians with his voice-over, Mr. Newman then relapses into silence as Mr. Park continues his complaint about costs.

The case of Barney Hennig also merits examination. This man lives some 32 miles from a Veterans Administration Hospital. His barrier to medical treatment, assuming his condition of poverty was as stated, was this, "If I go to Veterans Hospital over there, it's like, see it takes gasoline." This places a strain on credulity. Had he no friend who could give him a ride? Could not your own film crew, after duly recording his plight, have offered him 25 or 30 miles of transportation? Wasn't the problem, rather, his own neglect and stubbornness?

In covering the case of Kurstin Knapp, the four-year-old girl with the bad heart, NBC drops all pretense of journalism for blatant exploitation. You abandon fact for fiction.

Mrs. Knapp, when she opens her narrative, says, "When they brought her home I listened myself and I heard like a squirting sound in her chest, and then I knew there was trouble with her heart."

That statement strongly implies that Mrs. Knapp made the discovery of heart trouble herself, that there was no previous medical care involved, presumably because of its cost. The truth is that the child—a "blue baby"—was delivered by a Doctor Ryan, a general practitioner who referred Kristy to Dr. Stuart Nickel, a pediatrician. Dr. Cathel A. MacLeod, a specialist in cardiovascular diseases, helped give treatment, and his medical opinion, in 1969, was that it was medically advisable to wait until the child was older to perform the necessary corrective surgery.

On November 8, 1972—some five or six weeks before your air date—J. L. Ankeney, M.D., a 51-year-old thoracic surgeon of 2065 Adelbert Road, Cleveland, Ohio, performed heart surgery on Kristy at Children's Hospital.

In commenting about the case, Dr. An-

keney said he agreed with Dr. MacLeod's original recommendation. He also said, "At all times this child was eligible for state aid."

*What Price Health?* makes the point that during the period of Mr. Knapp's lay-off, the life of the child was jeopardized by the unavailability of funds for necessary surgery. This is not true. Elizabeth Apelin, M.D., medical director of the Crippled Children's Service for the State of Ohio confirms Dr. Ankeney's statement that at all times Kristy was eligible for care under Ohio state programs for crippled children or under Title B of the Social Security Act.

Either through employer-financed private insurance or through a government program, Kristy Knapp's heart operation was provided for. This is not to deny the Knapps may have suffered emotionally because of their daughter's congenital ailment, or that they were entirely free of some degree of financial pressure. But that is not what you said.

What you said was what "one or two people" (never identified) said to Mrs. Knapp, "Well, if you can't afford to pay for it, if you can't afford to live, you die." You used that quote during the interview. You used it during the opening montage. You super-ed it on the screen, and, in case anyone missed the point, NBC pulled the final stop by setting the quote to theme music. Your opening line of the song is, "If you can't afford to live, you die."

What is your basis for the statement? The only support offered to your viewers for the indictment—and a very serious one it is—is that Kristy Knapp's life was threatened because her parents could not afford an operation. To be sure, the Knapp family's worries may have been genuine.

But were NBC's motives? That is hard to believe. You say that Kristy's life is in jeopardy because her parents cannot afford an operation needed "as soon as possible."

What did happen? Kristy got her operation well before you went on the air. She is back in Children's Hospital again and may need another operation. The hospital, incidentally, is part of the Western Reserve University medical complex, practicing the "gee whizz" medicine you specifically say at the end of the program "is not getting to" the Kristy Knapps of this country.

Was a severe financial strain placed on her parents? No. Kristy's heart condition was covered from birth.

Why was this not brought out on your program? You updated the case of Barney Hennig. You told your audience that the heart condition of Mrs. Lowrey had caused her death since the time of filming. Why did you not give your audience the facts of Kristy's experience subsequent to filming?

Was it because the true facts gave the lie to your statement, so forcefully trumpeted in word and song?

At this point in time this country could use good information and intelligent discussion of our many problems, among them health care. What sort of contribution was made by *What Price Health?* Virtually none. It relied instead on the "horror stories," the demonology made familiar first through Senator Kennedy's congressional hearings in early 1971, repeated later that year during Senator Kennedy's nationwide health roadshow, and repeated a third time in Senator Kennedy's book this fall. As a news special, *What Price Health?* was therefore hardly newsy. But it was special, for it plugged one special view and relied on one special technique.

What sort of time did you grant to proposals for change in the health care system other than the Kennedy-type approach? You gave Secretary Richardson 49 words to discuss the Nixon health proposals. You gave us none. Instead, the question you chose (from the 31 put to Dr. Russell B. Roth) was



about health care as a right, a question that almost always traps the respondent in a verbal tangle from which he cannot emerge in a few seconds or minutes. By so doing you omitted any real discussion of the two principal alternative health proposals.

How much truth is there in this current article of radical chic, the health care "crisis?" I have indicated that Americans' life span continues to grow, that the infant mortality rate continues to go down. Possibly a better index of improving health comes from the U.S. Census Bureau figures on disability days—the number of days an average person is restricted in his everyday activities because of a health problem. That index too shows continuing improvement, from 15.6 days in 1960 to 14.6 days in 1970. Do you cite in the course of your show one single fact that indicates the U.S. health is improving? No, you ignore them.

So how justified is the overall thrust of your show? Heaven knows we have some problems in health care. The AMA acknowledges them, and we are working, especially in the financing area, to promote solutions to the problems—solutions that will keep us out of the inhuman, depersonalized inefficiencies of welfare and public housing.

You in television news are worried now about what may or may not happen to your freedoms. But perhaps your problem lies not in the White House but in your own news room. If *What Price Health?* represents the standard of your journalistic quality and integrity, I would say you have good reason for concern.

*What Price Health?* was not news and it was not analysis. It was nothing more or less than a pitch for the Kennedy-Griffiths health insurance proposal. Because it was, we are justified in requesting equal time, and we do formally request it.

Sincerely yours,

ERNEST B. HOWARD, M.D.,  
Executive Vice President.

## BROWN VERSUS BOARD OF EDUCATION

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, 19 years ago, in 1954, the Supreme Court, under Chief Justice Earl Warren, issued a decision of unusual courage and extraordinary foresight. Brown versus Board of Education will always be remembered as the first and foremost ruling outlawing segregation in the public schools.

However, we must do more than just remember this landmark decision. We must understand and fulfill it.

School segregation violates the moral, legal, and intellectual capacities of the American people. For too long, Congress, the President, and the American public have reacted hysterically in dealing with this area of concern. This has got to stop. This issue should not be a political football to be emotionalized or distorted. The goal of school desegregation is to afford every individual in this country a fair and equal chance to be educated and to become a contributing member of this society.

During this 19th anniversary of the Supreme Court's historic decision in

Brown versus Board of Education, we must recommit ourselves to the eradication of the racism and discrimination that exists not only in our schools, but in our Nation.

## THE OEO'S HISTORY OF FAILURE

HON. ROBERT J. HUBER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Speaker, the Detroit News has undertaken an investigation into alleged misappropriation of OEO funds and has found over 100 examples of graft, theft, embezzlement, and nepotism involving amounts as high as \$875,000.

The cases amounted to a total of more than \$3.8 million in OEO funds over a period of four years.

I insert an article which appeared in the Detroit News on March 27, 1973, in the RECORD.

The article follows:

TWENTY-FIVE MILLION STILL LIVE IN POVERTY:

THE OEO'S HISTORY OF FAILURE

(By John E. Peterson)

WASHINGTON.—When the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) was set up as the command post for President Johnson's "war on poverty" in 1964, its announced goal was to help the nation's 25 million poor become self-sufficient.

Today, after OEO and a dozen other federal agencies have spent nearly \$200 billion in efforts to upgrade the poor, 25 million Americans still have incomes below the poverty level.

Even many of its supporters are conceding that the anti-poverty program has failed to meet its main objectives and an investigation by The Detroit News has turned up widespread abuses.

Nevertheless, the Nixon administration has come under fire from Congress, a number of civil rights leaders and thousands of anti-poverty workers for its decision to dismantle OEO and transfer only its most effective programs to other agencies.

These critics have depicted that decision as cruel, cold-hearted and, in words of one, "further evidence of callous insensitivity toward minorities."

Some observers see the criticism as valid but others charge that some politicians—particularly those with large urban constituencies—seem to have used the issue to court votes among the poor.

"A lot of congressmen know better," said a black OEO official who has been with the agency since the Johnson administration.

"I know because I've sent them case after case where none . . . I mean absolutely none . . . of the millions funded for particular programs ever trickled down to poor blacks."

"Most of it ended up in the pockets of friends or relatives of politicians or with radical and militant groups the politician was trying to appease."

Anti-poverty workers (nearly 200,000 are employed by OEO-funded agencies) are hypocritical, the black official said.

"A large number already have used thousands of dollars in OEO funds to charter buses and come to Washington to protest the cutbacks," he said. "And more rallies are being planned."

"The anti-poverty program has become like all bureaucracies. Its chief concern now is

not helping the poor but perpetuating itself."

A Mexican-American who works as an OEO administrator in Los Angeles said:

"Sometimes I really believe that most of the social workers we fund at local levels are out to unionize the poor . . . to set them up as a separate class, so they (the social workers) will always have jobs."

While some good programs have been implemented and well-publicized, OEO files contain examples of alleged misuse of funds, graft and embezzlement.

OEO officials blame much of the waste there is on lax accounting procedures at the local level and a lack of following up OEO inspection reports by middle-level officials.

"There was not a conspiracy at the top to hamper inspections," said Howard R. Phillips, the 32-year-old Bostonian appointed by President Nixon to oversee OEO's dismantling.

"But we, as an agency, have been remiss in not following up the findings of our inspection people."

Phillips has received some criticism because of his expressed enthusiasm for his dismantling job.

"All I said was that I was really going to enjoy this job," he said, "and all of a sudden the media was painting me as Attila the Hun."

"What they left out, however, was the main reason I'm enjoying this job . . . and that's because taxpayers and the poor are getting ripped off. We've got a hell of a lot of people using federal anti-poverty monies to line their own pockets and/or radicalize the poor and use them for their own purposes."

"The idea behind the anti-poverty program was to help the poor out of poverty and not set them up as a class apart."

When Phillips talks about persons enhancing their bank accounts with funds meant for the poor, he could cite, among others, these cases—all documented during the course of a three week investigation by the News:

The finance officer of a rural Kentucky health center took for himself more than \$18,000 in funds meant to help the poor meet medical bills.

More than \$250,000 turned up missing in an OEO Community Action program in Delaware County, Pa. Subsequently, OEO inspectors and General Accounting Office (GAO) investigators found that the program's board chairman had hired members of his family in OEO jobs.

The director of a Chicago-based OEO health project used federal funds to finance a private group attending a conference in Los Angeles about the People's Republic of China. OEO investigators are still attempting to audit \$210,000 in grant funds, which the director transferred to a private bank account.

The director of a South Duxbury, Mass., community action council was found to have illegally increased his salary by \$6,000 a year, taken \$1,600 from the program to buy a new car and illegally used a government credit card to make \$5,000 in personal purchases.

An Atlanta employee of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) received \$150,000 in OEO funds to serve as a consultant on black business problems, while still earning \$12,500 a year as a full-time HEW employee.

A wealthy Montana attorney received more than \$20,000 in salary and fees from a community action council on an Indian reservation to act as a "tourist specialist" and "economic consultant."

The attorney also was employed to represent the reservation in legal matters and was closely associated with a management consulting firm receiving an OEO vocational training contract from the community action council.

Community organization in Chicago received an OEO grant of nearly \$1 million for an attempt to "deallenate" two rival youth gangs.

A subsequent OEO investigation showed that recruiters for the program had encouraged hundreds of youths to drop out of school so they could receive government stipends. An audit of books also indicated the theft of more than \$200,000 through payroll forgeries.

In addition to these specific instances, the News' investigation found nearly 100 other examples of possible graft, theft, embezzlement and nepotism involving amounts ranging from \$682.50 to more than \$875,000.

Together, the cases amounted to more than \$3.8 million in OEO funds over a period of four years. OEO officials claim they have hundreds of other such cases in their files.

"A lot of these reports were never acted upon when they came in from the field," said a high-ranking OEO administrator. "Many carried memos that dismissed them as 'nickel and dimes cases' and 'isolated instances.'"

"But when you add up all those isolated instances, of course, what you have is graft and kickbacks and theft and waste involving billions of dollars."

The average administrative cost of a federal program is 30 to 35 cents on the dollar, the official said, but the average administrative cost of OEO programs often runs twice that amount.

"The poor, in most cases, just haven't been getting anywhere near what they should have from these programs," he said.

"And you have to remember the cases we're talking about don't even come close to rivaling many of the ones still under investigation. What you have is the tip of the iceberg."

But Phillips and other federal officials say they are even more troubled by the hundreds of examples of misuse of federal funds for political purposes uncovered in OEO files during the last year.

"We aren't turning our back on the poor," Phillips said. "Our expenditure on the poor for the fiscal year beginning July 1 will be slightly higher than last—\$30.4 billion, compared to \$30.1 billion."

"But we are—and I think quite properly—cutting back on funds used for 'politicizing' the poor. I want to emphasize that very few cases involve Republicans or Democrats . . . that almost all have concerned radical groups like the SDS (Students for a Democratic Society), Black Panthers, etc."

Phillips is particularly critical of OEO-funded lawyers who, he said, have attempted to "radicalize" the poor.

"Whatever has been fashionable with the New Left," he says, "has been either preceded or followed by legal service activities in those same areas."

## WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, one of the military innovations early in World War II was the establishment of the Women's Auxiliary Army Corps—WAAC—later to become known simply as the Women's Army Corps—WAC.

This wartime creation, which had the customary allocation of doubters at the outset, became an important ingredient of the military establishment and had its counterparts in the other services.

Among the candidates selected to attend the first WAAC Officer Training School was Anne McIlhenney Matthews, then the star investigative reporter of the Buffalo, N.Y., Courier-Express.

Mrs. Matthews has taken a reflective look at those early days for the distaff military. Then, she has proceeded to spell out in sympathetic detail the development and expansion of the WAC as an integral part of the modern-day Army.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks, I include the text of Mrs. Matthews' interesting, sympathetic and timely column about the organization of which she was a charter member:

[From the Buffalo Courier-Express, May 22, 1973]

### WACS HAVE COME LONG WAY

(By Anne McIlhenney Matthews)

It was 31 years ago May 14 that four very fidgety and apprehensive young women entrained from Buffalo's Central Terminal for Des Moines, Iowa. After several grueling examinations at 90 Church St. in New York City they had been selected from some 30,000 applicants to represent New York State at the very first Officer Training School of the WAAC.

The extra A meant auxiliary (Women's Auxiliary Army Corps) but that was soon changed to WAC as members of the skirted Army became a component of the regular Army, having made themselves invaluable in many and varied and some very dirty (they ran their own motor pool) jobs.

The Buffalo quartet was comprised of Mrs. Frances Holbrook, Barbara Adair, Rita Fink—and stupid me. Rita Fink was a home economics major and was slated to do a grand job supervising Army mess installations.

Me, I ended up as a conducting officer for war correspondents, in between times typing out news releases, so it was just a case of exchanging one typewriter for another (at far less pay) although I did see a lot of war torn scenery from Algiers, up through Italy with the Fifth Army, then to following the Overland invasion troops onto the French beachheads, then to Paris and Berlin.

A lot of us bit on the bait that we were to staff posts so that agile and eligible men could be sent overseas for combat. I wanted to do enough work to send at least five. Guess who was one of the first WACs sent overseas? You guessed it—me, as a public relations officer to brief newsmen and four others to become top secretaries to top generals, beginning with the Casablanca Conference.

### STORIES OF EARLY TRAINING

There are many stories about the early training of the first 400 WACs—all of them bad. We were issued shoes that didn't fit, mud-colored heavy rayon slips and panties, and summer uniforms when Des Moines had a blinding snowstorm. That's a sample.

Including World War II and those following, 150,000 WACs have served in the United States, Europe, the Southwest Pacific, China, India, Hawaii, Southeast Asia, the Philippines and Alaska.

By 1948 they had proved so valuable that President Truman established the WAC as a permanent component of both the regular Army and the Army Reserve.

American women have been fighting alongside men since the Revolution. Mrs. Mary Hays earned the name "Molly Pitcher" by carrying water to the men on the battlefield at Monmouth in June, 1778. When her husband, Capt. John Hays, collapsed, she joined the fighting.

In today's Women's Army Corps, more than 16,000 women are performing hundreds of different jobs in the Army. They work right alongside men in such places as weather sta-

tions, photo labs, air control towers and communication centers.

### PAY, BENEFITS SAME AS MEN'S

Today, the pay, promotion opportunities and benefits are the same as the men's, which means that a recruit starts at \$307.20 a month and should go to \$342.30 when she makes a grade of E-2, usually in about six months.

On top of this are free housing, food, medical and dental care and 30 days paid vacation a year—a nice package even for the most discriminating Women's Libber.

Although the Women's Army Corps has grown rapidly in 31 years, the Army is looking toward even greater expansion. For the current recruiting year, it wants almost 50 percent more women than originally scheduled. By 1978, the recruiting goal will double to 24,000.

### What Is A WAC?

Militaristic Female? Feminist? Adventuress? "Liberated Woman"?

In all probability, today's WAC is a little of these. And she's a member of the United States Army with a heritage of 31 years of dedicated service to her country.

### WHO IS A WAC?

Who Is A WAC? She is a modern, proud young lady who believes in herself, her abilities, her future and the future of her nation. She is not a "square." Instead, she is trying to make the world a better place. She is busy doing a job, seeing the world and meeting its people. She is involved and does not need to picket or make signs and write slogans.

Where is she from? She may be from a small town or a big city. She loves people and fun. She is neat whether in her uniform, a stylish pantsuit or a classic cocktail dress. Her life is definitely not dull. She performs a useful and interesting job during duty hours and does it well. Her off-duty time is hers to use as she pleases. She may choose to further her education by attending Army-sponsored classes on post or at nearby civilian colleges.

If she enjoys sports, there are teams on post she can join. She might play tennis, bowl, golf, swim, hike or maybe ride horseback. If she is not sports-minded, there are bridges and chess clubs, hobby shops, recreation centers, service clubs and libraries for her enjoyment.

How does she live? A WAC lives and works in a "man's world" yet she is every inch a woman and proud of it. Although she wears a stylish uniform to work, she has plenty of opportunity to wear feminine frills. She has been taught the proper application of makeup and there is a beauty shop on post to keep her in the latest style. There is more than ample opportunity for meeting young men. Her dates range from "doing the town" in nearby civilian communities to participating in planned activities on post.

### TRAVEL OPPORTUNITIES

Her annual 30 days of leave may be used to go home, visit friends or just be a tourist. If she happens to be stationed overseas, she has an extra advantage because travel opportunities are numerous.

"Liberated Woman?" We hear a great deal these days about the "liberated woman" and discussions of exactly what this means. It hardly seems doubtful that today a young lady in the U.S. Army does indeed qualify as a "liberated woman."

A young woman who joins the U.S. Army may choose, and be guaranteed, the kind of training she wants before she enlists. There are more career areas open to her than ever before. She may choose from varied lists of jobs in administrative, communications, medical, technical or other specialized fields.

She can be a court reporter, a medical records clerk, a chaplain's assistant, an X-ray technician, a clinical psychologist, a teletype operator, a data processing programmer



and systems analyst, a photographer, a journalist or a linguist interpreter.

The sky's the limit. In fact, if the sky is her bag, she may be an air traffic controller or a weather forecaster. If she likes to blow her own horn, she can even be a member of the Women's Army Corps Band.

What is her future? In all likelihood, the young lady does not intend to make the Army a lifelong career. Like many of her predecessors, she may marry and have a home of her own while still in the service. When she does make the transition back to civilian life—whether as a wife or to pursue a career—she will do so as a mature, poised and self-assured young lady.

# CONGRESSMAN HOWARD HAILS DOMINICK V. DANIELS, CONGRESSIONAL CHAMPION OF SENIOR CITIZENS

## HON. JAMES J. HOWARD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. HOWARD. Mr. Speaker, during my five terms in the House I cannot recall any Member of this House who has worked harder for senior citizens than our friend and colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey's 14th District (Mr. DOMINICK V. DANIELS). Recently the respected Joseph McCaffrey devoted his nightly radio broadcast on radio station WMAL, Washington, to Mr. DANIELS and his "Bill of Rights for Older Americans" and other legislation which the able Hudson County, N.J., Congressman has pushed through the House.

Mr. Speaker, I would like at this point to insert Mr. McCaffrey's broadcast into the RECORD so that all Members of the House may have an opportunity to read what one of the most respected members of the electronic press fraternity had to say about our good friend and colleague, Mr. DANIELS.

The broadcast follows:

### BILL OF RIGHTS FOR OLDER AMERICANS (By Dominick V. Daniels)

The Gentleman from New Jersey, Dominick V. Daniels, has proposed a "Bill of Rights for Older Americans."

This is it:

*The Right to Health:* to provide full access to medical care in America.

*The Right To Live with Dignity at a Decent Standard of Living:* adequate Social Security benefits that recognize increased costs of living.

*The Right To Work:* opportunities to continue in useful and constructive endeavors in private industry or community service.

*The Right To Travel:* local and national transportation services that recognize the needs of older Americans, as well as reduced fares.

*The Right to a Secure Pension:* passage of the Daniels' Bill to provide vested and portable pensions and to insure that funds are available to provide annuities.

*The Right to Shelter:* elimination of discriminatory tax systems which burden older persons on fixed incomes and the development of additional low and moderate income housing designed for older persons.

*The Right To Be Safe at Home and on the Streets:* an end to law-and-order rhetoric and a new emphasis on reducing robberies, muggings, assaults and rapes perpetrated against all Americans. The beginning

of real support for police by providing modern training, salaries and equipment, as well as increased manpower to put law enforcement where crimes are committed—on the street and in the housing developments.

Dominick Daniels has been hailed on the House floor by the Speaker Carl Albert, for his work as chairman of the Select Subcommittee on Education where he was responsible for the enactment of 8 major measures into law. Said the Speaker: "Though the number is impressive, the fact that this was done without a dissenting vote in Subcommittee, in full Committee and on the House floor is amazing. Not content with these accomplishments, he continued to be instrumental in guiding four bills into law in the next Congress."

"Dominick Daniels is also an innovator. I have seen him get action in areas that had remained untouched for many years. The Construction Safety Act was vitally needed in an industry infamous for its on-the-job fatalities, but it had previously failed to pass because of bitter opposition between the trade unions and the construction industry."

"Under Daniels' leadership, it became the strongest safety law in the nation, and only months later, he went on through numerous drafts to write the basic Senate and House Occupational Health Bills, which became the most comprehensive safety law in history. Dom Daniels is the man who helped push through the Youth Conservation Corps, despite the opposition of the Administration."

So spoke the Speaker of the House in praise of New Jersey's Dominick Daniels. An attorney, Daniels has been a member of Congress since his first victory at the polls in 1958. He not only serves on the Education and Labor Committee but also is a key ranking member of the Post Office-Civil Service Committee.

# RADIO STATION WKRS AND LAKE COUNTY BAR ASSOCIATION OBSERVE LAW WEEK

## HON. ROBERT McCLODY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. McCLODY. Mr. Speaker, a great variety of activities are undertaken during the observance of Law Week, designed to emphasize the underlying principle of our society that we are indeed a nation of laws—not men.

A most significant innovative program was undertaken during Law Week 1973—May 1 to 7—by radio station WKRS at Waukegan, Ill., in cooperation with the Lake County Bar Association, which contributed to widespread public information on the subject of the lawmaking process of our legislative bodies.

Under the direction of Larry Leonard, director of public affairs of WKRS, representatives of 15 area high schools served as members of the House of Representatives of the Illinois General Assembly—meeting in the chambers of the Lake County Board. The State Senate consisted of adult listeners who participated in the lawmaking process by telephone.

Mr. Speaker, while most of the issues which were discussed by means of the radio, television, and electronic support facilities were appropriate for a State legislative body, a number of the legislative proposals had direct national signif-

icance suggesting the need for attention by the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, one such measure which attracted wide attention would have restricted the importation of foreign handguns, including components which might be assembled in this country—a measure having a direct connection with the legislation dealing with the so-called Saturday night special.

Another measure called for the elimination of the electoral college—and the popular election of the President—a proposal which I have sponsored in the past and in which I have a continuing interest.

Mr. Speaker, I am informed that this program described as an electronic general assembly attracted wide interest among the listeners of station WKRS, and was most informative in describing the legislative process which operates in our State legislative bodies and in the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I extend my congratulations to my friends, Fritz Sorenson, vice president and general manager of WKRS, and to the station's public affairs director, Larry Leonard—also well known for his adroit handling of the popular talk program, "Viewpoint." I am confident that my colleagues and the nation as a whole can benefit from this successful experience in behalf of Law Week, 1973, and in support of our great national institutions of representative government and of free speech.

# FORGOTTEN AMERICANS COMMITTEE OF KANSAS, INC., POINT UP COMPLEXITIES OF MIA INVESTIGATIONS

## HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, May 23, 1973

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, there is continuing concern among POW and MIA families regarding the efforts of our Government to secure a meaningful investigation and full accounting of those Americans who remain Missing in Action in Southeast Asia, particularly Laos and Cambodia. Some Americans still may be Prisoners of War in Laos and Cambodia.

The Forgotten Americans Committee of Kansas, Inc., has been one of the organizations in the forefront of the prolonged efforts to alert the public to the POW/MIA situation in Southeast Asia. I recently received a letter signed by Mrs. Ann Howes, president, and Miss Maureen Smith, vice president, of FACK, regarding the situation as it relates to the POW/MIA investigation in Laos and Cambodia. They have voiced their personal concerns regarding recent actions by the Congress which may have a bearing on the success of the ongoing investigation.

At their request, I am including excerpts of their letter to me in the RECORD, in order that all Members of the House

may have the benefit of the views of this important Kansas organization:

FORGOTTEN AMERICAN COMMITTEE  
OF KANSAS, INC.,  
Wichita, Kans., May 17, 1973.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SHRIVER: As a POW/MIA organization and a MIA family member, we have been sincerely upset by the recent floor debates and voting to stop funds and totally sever all contact with the conflict in Laos and Cambodia. Dr. Roger Shields, of the Department of Defense POW/MIA Task Force, has told us that both the House and Senate have been informed that a Prisoner of War and Missing in Action situation still exist in Laos and Cambodia, and that pulling out now would mean the end of any chances to get back our American POW's and get an accounting of the Missing in these countries.

Immediately after the January '73 Cease-fire, the DOD listed 7 civilians and 6 military Prisoners in Laos, 311 military Missing in Laos, 5 journalists and 28 military Prisoners in Cambodia, 25 military Missing in Cambodia, and 81 known Prisoners still unaccounted for in Vietnam. Four of the Laos military POW's were released, 2 military men have been added to the MIA/Cambodia count since the Cease-fire, and some of the 81 unaccounted-for POW's have been reclassified to KIA as a result of POW debriefings.

However, in Laos and Cambodia, we are still talking about 4 civilian and 20 to 70 military American Prisoners in Laos, 311 military Missing in Laos, 5 journalist POW's in Cambodia, 25 military Missing there, and the very real probability of more than 60 prisoners from Vietnam having been moved into Laos or Cambodia. Gentlemen, we are talking about the lives and accounting of almost 500 Americans . . . These includes 12 Kansans and friend—2 Kansans are Prisoners in Laos, 8 are Missing there, 1 is a Prisoner in Cambodia, and 1 is Missing in Cambodia. Positive information has recently indicated that 2 of the 3 Kansas POW's are alive. We're certain that each of you could confer with the National League of Families representative from your state and find that you, too, have constituents who must *not* be forgotten . . .

Our POW/MIA negotiators for the ICOS and the JCRC supposedly have the support of a signed Cease-fire in Vietnam, yet they are having problems getting any cooperation from the Vietnamese concerning an accounting of the missing Prisoners and clarification on the MIAs. If you, as legislators, force a stoppage of all involvement in Lao and Cambodia, the Pathet Lao and Khmer Rouge will NOT be grateful—they will be powerful! Instead of daily negotiations for our POW/MIAs with their representatives in North

Vietnam, they will be in a position to charge us more than a mere bombing halt for the most meager information about our men. Who will be paying the price? You? Our government? Or the Prisoners not returned, the Missing not found, and their families?

We recently received a letter from the mother of a Kansas journalist who is *known* to be alive and POW in Cambodia as recently as April 1973—almost a year after capture. She voiced the fears that so many family members feel, so we quote—"We appreciate, so much, your concern. I'm beginning to feel like a few people in Washington don't think it is worth the effort and expense to get the rest of the men out of there. I can't help boiling inside when I hear one of them come up with such a statement."

We want her to be wrong, but only you can prove her wrong by your actions. Dr. Shields and Frank Seiverts assured us there would be no rug-sweeping of our men. We fear your solution will result in the sacrifice of our Prisoners, our Missing, and the right of their families to ever know the fate of their loved ones.

Sincerely,

ANN HOWES,  
President.  
MAUREEN SMITH,  
Vice President.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Thursday, May 24, 1973

The House met at 11 o'clock a.m.  
The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

*Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit ye like men, be strong.*—I Corinthians 16: 13.

Almighty God, who guided our fathers to build on these shores a country of free people and who didst put into their minds a dream that this land may become one nation with liberty and justice for all, move Thou within our hearts that we may continue to fulfill this goal in our day.

We come again to our national day of remembrance when we call to mind those who have given their lives for our country. Inspired by their devotion and challenged by their dedication may we give ourselves afresh to the cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion that a government of the people, by the people, and for the people may not perish from the earth.

Bless the family of our beloved colleague, WILLIAM O. MILLS, who so suddenly has left us. Comfort them with Thy spirit and strengthen them for the days that lie ahead.

In Thy holy name we pray. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Without objection, the Journal stands approved.

There was no objection.

### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Sparrow, one of its clerks.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed bills and a joint resolution of the following titles, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 251. An act for the relief of Frank P. Muto, Alphonso A. Muto, Arthur E. Scott, and F. Clyde Wilkison;

S. 1384. An act to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to transfer franchise fees received from certain concession operations at Glen Canyon National Recreation Area, in the States of Arizona and Utah, and for other purposes;

S. 1808. An act to apportion funds for the National System of Interstate and Defense Highways and to authorize funds in accordance with title 23, United States Code, for fiscal year 1974, and for other purposes; and

S.J. Res. 25. Joint resolution to authorize and request the President to issue a proclamation designating the fourth Sunday in September of each year as "National Next Door Neighbor Day."

AUTHORIZING CLERK TO RECEIVE MESSAGES FROM SENATE AND SPEAKER TO SIGN BILLS AND JOINT RESOLUTIONS DULY PASSED, NOTWITHSTANDING ADJOURNMENT

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that notwithstanding any adjournment of the House until Tuesday, May 29, 1973, the Clerk be authorized to receive messages from the Senate and that the Speaker be authorized to sign any enrolled bills and joint resolutions duly passed by the two Houses and found truly enrolled.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

AUTHORIZING SPEAKER TO ACCEPT RESIGNATIONS AND APPOINT COMMISSIONS, BOARDS, AND COMMITTEES, NOTWITHSTANDING ADJOURNMENT

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that notwithstanding any adjournment of the House until May 29, 1973, the Speaker be authorized to accept resignations and to appoint commissions, boards, and committees authorized by law or by the House.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

DISPENSING WITH CALENDAR WEDNESDAY BUSINESS ON WEDNESDAY OF NEXT WEEK

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order under the Calendar Wednesday rule may be dispensed with on Wednesday, May 30, 1973.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

### LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

(Mr. GERALD R. FORD asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute.)

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I take this time for the purpose of asking the distinguished majority leader the program for next week.

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I am happy to yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.