

Locastro, Dominic J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Maggart, Lon E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Man, Louisa P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Martin, Albert G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mattheis, Michael T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McGill, John G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McHugh, Conrad J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Meeks, Floyd D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Meisner, Bruce L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mendes, Paul P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Michelli, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mitcham, Thomas A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Mohr, Lawrence C., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Moore, Charles E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Morgan, David T., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Nihoul, Timothy R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 O'Conner, Joseph W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Oseth, John M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Parker, Edson D., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Parsons, James E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pierson, Gary D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pitts, Harold C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Platt, Richard W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pomije, Henry W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pond, Paul M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Price, Luther W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Quatrevaux, Edouard R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Railey, Stephen R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rankin, Dennis R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ranum, Curtis A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Reed, Edwin D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Reed, Stanley L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Reeder, Ellis G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Robbenolt, James C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Roberts, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rogers, Oliver M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sanders, Everette C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Schrader, Robert F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Serio, Joseph, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Shepherd, William E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Shockley, Peter S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Shreve, Clifford N., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Shumate, David M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Simpson, Fred E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sims, Richard L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sink, Duane E., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Thurman R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Smith, Zannie D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sosa, Gilbert, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Steele, Edgar W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 St. Pierre, Normand L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Stricklin, Toney, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Sullivan, Bloomer D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Summers, Thomas M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Swihart, John B., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tanner, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tarpley, John J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tarpley, Richard W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tercy, Michael J., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thomas, Rodney G., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Thompson, Samuel S., III, xxx-xx-xxxx

Thornal, Benjamin C., III, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tsutsumi, Susumu, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Treolo, Paul, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Vavra, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Verona, Robert W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Vincent, William R., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Walsh, Jerry C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 White, Dennis M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wilkin, Kenneth R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Williams, Joseph L., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Williamson, John R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Wojtkun, Gregory, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Young, David F., xxx-xx-xxxx

To be second lieutenant

Abraham, George, Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Clark, Willa R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Curry, Joe W., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Danielson, Roger L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Durst, Cynthia S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Ehlinger, Thomas M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fussman, Philip C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Henricson, Lawrence K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hurst, Harry S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kinsinger, Daniel H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Kobliska, Dorothy A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Piplana, Lalit K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Roach, John W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Schroeder, Carl W. F., II, xxx-xx-xxxx

The following-named distinguished military students for appointment in the Regular Army of the United States, in the grade of second lieutenant, under provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 2106, 3283, 3284, 3286, 3287, 3288, and 3290:

Arnold, Jeffrey L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 D'Antonio, Gregory D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dunn, Rex, xxx-xx-xxxx
 Gold, Steven D., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hartman, Jack M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Gulczynski, George M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Karmgard, Robert T., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Melton, Frank L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Pool, David S., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Renton, Richard F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Schultz, Stephen P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Walthal, George C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Yerger, John E., xxx-xx-xxxx

The following-named scholarship students for appointment in the Regular Army of the United States in the grade of second lieutenant, under provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 2107, 3283, 3284, 3286, 3287, 3288, and 3290:

Cejka, Oliver J., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dolan, Daniel A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Dunn, Philip E., Jr., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Fern, Dennis K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Gallaway, Robert L., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Grimm, Paul W., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Hansen, Karl E., xxx-xx-xxxx

Hatten, James N., xxx-xx-xxxx
 King, Michael K., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Lederer, Calvin M., xxx-xx-xxxx
 McCann, James P., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rutter, Mark H., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Selfridge, Keith C., xxx-xx-xxxx
 St. John, Donald A., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Tyrrell, David R., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Van Hooser, Robert J., xxx-xx-xxxx

The following-named cadets, graduating class of 1973, United States Military Academy, for appointment in the Regular Army of the United States in the grade of second lieutenant, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 541, 3284 through 4353:

Britton, Dallas F., xxx-xx-xxxx
 Rasmussen, Brian E., xxx-xx-xxxx

Executive nominations received by the Senate May 29, 1973:

DIPLOMATIC AND FOREIGN SERVICE

W. Tapley Bennett, Jr., of Georgia, a Foreign Service Officer of the class of Career Minister, to be the Deputy Representative of the United States of America to the United Nations, with the rank and status of Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary.

William E. Schaufele, Jr., of Ohio, a Foreign Service Officer of class 1, to be Deputy Representative of the United Nations, with the rank of Ambassador.

Clarence Clyde Ferguson, Jr., of New Jersey, to be the Representative of the United States of America on the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations, with the rank of Ambassador.

Barbara M. White, of Massachusetts, a Foreign Service Information Officer of the class of Career Minister for Information, to be the Alternate Representative of the United States of America for Special Political Affairs in the United Nations, with the rank of Ambassador.

INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

William B. Dale, of Maryland, to be U.S. Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund for a term of 2 years—reappointment.

Charles R. Harley, of Maryland, to be U.S. Alternate Executive Director of the International Monetary Fund for a term of 2 years, reappointment.)

SECURITIES AND EXCHANGE COMMISSION

John R. Evans, of Utah, to be a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission for the term expiring June 5, 1978—reappointment.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

GARRISON DIVERSION

HON. QUENTIN N. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. President, the lead editorial in the Forum, published today, at Fargo, N. Dak., points out clearly the advantages of the Garrison diversion, particularly in periods of uncertain rainfall.

Water is the most priceless commodity we have in this Nation and its conservation and use are essential to a viable economy.

The Forum's editorial is unassailable, and gives renewed support to a project that will mean so much to the people of North Dakota.

I include a copy of the editorial in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

RECENT DRY WEATHER SHOWS NECESSITY FOR CONTINUING MISSOURI DIVERSION PROJECT

Farmers in eastern and central North Dakota have cleared the first hurdle in their annual contest with Mother Nature to get their crops planted and harvested.

Throughout all of April and the first three weeks of May, only scattered patches of rain dampened the area. The lack of rainfall made it pleasant for the farmers to plant their crops, but as the dry days stretched into late May, the farmers and even the city folks were beginning to worry about whether North Dakota was confronted with another drought as devastating as those which occurred in 1934-1936.

It was drought throughout Russia that forced that nation into the world wheat

market last year, and its purchase of American wheat has brought our farmers the best prices for our principal farm product in the last 20 years.

If it happened in Russia, couldn't drought also wipe out a major portion of the North Dakota grain crop?

Well, drought can and has wiped out more than half of North Dakota's farm production in several years, but the immediate threat is gone for now. Last week's rains came at just the right time to erase the immediate worries. Of course, the farmers will need a consistent rainfall over the next two months to guarantee the harvest, but they can go for three or four weeks without worrying too much about a truly severe drought.

Even with the rainfall, the farmers aren't out of the woods. There are still hailstones to worry about, as well as insect ravages. Too much rain could also wash out some individual farmers. Too much, however, is better than too little. Only a relatively few farms are hurt by too much rain, but every farm gets hurt when there is too little.

It is interesting to note that North Dakota farms were getting drier and drier as a group of North Dakotans tried to stop in its track a major project which is intended to bring water to hundreds of thousands of acres of North Dakota farmland when the rain fails to come. Fortunately, the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals at St. Louis upheld the U.S. District Court of Bismarck in its refusal to grant an injunction against the continuing construction of the Missouri River irrigation and diversion project now under way in central North Dakota.

The Bureau of Reclamation at the same time was holding a public hearing on its environmental impact statement regarding the same project at Minot. Some 80 witnesses, arguing the pros and cons, stretched the hearing out over three days, and repeated all the claims and counterclaims that have been voiced about the project over the last 20 or 30 years.

To find so much opposition against a project which was designed essentially to improve North Dakota's environment by making the best possible use of its water resources has been hard to understand. If the dry days of April and May had continued into June, we would have had a most forceful demonstration of the need for such a project. The rains came last week, but they may not repeat themselves in June and July. Or they may not come on time next year. That is why irrigation and its related benefits are such a necessity in the dryland farming areas of North Dakota.

Some years we are lucky and some years we are not. The irrigation project is designed to take the risk out of the weather gamble for farmers in those areas that are served by the project.

If the project is stopped by the legal protest now being raised, there is always a good chance that Congress will send the money to some other area and the project will never get restarted.

The close call that many North Dakota farmers have had with the weather already this year should convince North Dakotans who haven't been paying much attention to the protest that North Dakota needs irrigation, and that the only way that irrigation can be brought to this state on a large scale is through the Missouri project. Let us keep a good thing going.

PRESIDENT HARRY S TRUMAN

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, with the passing of former President Harry S Truman on December 26th last, one of the few remaining personages from a varietal and climatic period of American and world history was taken from our midst. His vociferous critics of his Presidential activities are now slowly realizing the integrity of his decisions and actions.

The chroniclers have done an excellent job of detailing the historical events and decisions of Harry Truman and I am sure that the politicians and historians will analyze and interpret them for many, many years to come. Therefore, I do not intend to include them here. However, they will be missing the intrinsic ingredient that garnishes my recollections of the era, and that is the privilege of not only working with him but also counting him as a friend.

The late President Truman faithfully followed his own advice—the buck passing stops here. During his tenure as President, he had to make many tough and painful decisions, a few of which were to use the atom bomb, to resist Communist aggression in South Korea, to fire Gen. Douglas MacArthur, and how to rebuild a world torn apart by World War II. He will also be long remembered, especially by some members of the press for his replies to picayunish news stories about his family.

Those of us who have long been concerned over finding workable solutions to the problems confronting our efforts to provide equal rights to all our citizens remember joining the late Harry Truman in his effort to provide continued appropriations to and the establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee. It was my privilege to respond affirmatively to President Truman's requests that Congress establish such a permanent committee.

An episode in the Truman era that I am sure is seared into the minds of not only labor but also of business is the Republican-controlled 80th Congress passing the Taft-Hartley Act and overriding his veto of it. I disagreed with the passage of that act that time and continue to do so as I am sure that Harry Truman continued to do so.

My Jewish constituency in the 14th Congressional District of New York and most of the Jewish people throughout the United States remember the prompt action in 1948 of President Truman in diplomatically recognizing the new State of Israel, almost immediately after the new State was proclaimed at Tel Aviv.

No tribute to the late President Harry S Truman would be complete without praise for his lovely wife for her devotion and love that gave him great strength to be true to himself in arriving at the decisions that changed mankind. Our prayers and deepest sympathy go to her and their lovely daughter Margaret. I am sure that in this period of anguish at our great loss the knowledge that Harry Truman accepted the challenges that life placed before him as President and met them with greatness will long remain in our memories.

PRIVATE WINDMILL: "NOTHING SHORT OF EXHILARATING"

HON. MIKE GRAVEL

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President, an engineer by the name of Henry Clews is one of the many individuals in this country who are proving that windpower is a practical nonpolluting source of electricity. Mr. Clews has a 50-acre farm in Maine, 5 miles from the nearest paved road.

I would like to quote a few passages from his letter in the November 1972 issue of the Mother Earth News:

We paid \$1,800 and I spent many hours this summer setting up a complete and self-contained wind-generated electrical system.

The propeller and generator are from Quirk's in Australia and—to my knowledge—ours is the first large Quirk's unit to be installed in the U.S.

It's a 2,000-watt, 120-volt, low-speed, geared alternator with a 12-foot diameter full-feathering propeller mounted atop a 50-foot steel tower.

Other components in the system include 20 six-volt, 180 amp-hour "house lighting" batteries with built-in charge indicators, an automatic transistorized voltage control and various rectifiers and inverters designed to yield 120 volts A.C. or D.C. . . .

Since our system was put into operation a month ago, we've had uninterrupted power for lights, shop tools, water pump, hi-fi, electric typewriter, and, yes, even television.

We're so enthusiastic that we've formed a company to import Quirk's windplants, and I'm now the official agent for the units in New England and New York.

Our company, Solar Wind, will eventually be expanded to produce and sell plans and kits for simpler, less expensive wind generators, solar heating units, and other alternative energy devices. . . .

The feeling of running a whole shop, lights, and appliances—with the stereo blaring away in the background—on a totally invisible, non-polluting and free power source is nothing short of exhilarating.

Henry Clews can be reached by mail at RFD 2, Happytown Road, East Holden, Maine 04429.

Perhaps individual windpower systems, as distinct from large-scale windpower systems, will be suitable only for homes in the country. It is interesting to note that 56 percent of Americans would prefer a rural life, if they could have it, 25 percent would choose suburban living, and 18 percent want to spend their lives in a city, according to a Gallup poll cited in the May 12, 1973, issue of Science News. Maybe there will be a huge market for private windmills very soon.

TROUBLE IN SPACE

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, NASA is setting about the recovery of the Skylab mission. There is every expectation that full utilization will be made of Skylab. To do this requires assessment, improvisation, and repair. These things have not been routinely done in space before. Yet our ability to do them now is turning possible failure to probable success. Skylab, the first true space station, points out the importance of developing a repair and refurbishment capability which will be offered by the upcoming Space Shuttle low-cost space transportation system in the late 1970's.

As the Skylab program is recovered it is worthwhile reading a recent editorial in the Evening Star of May 16, 1973, which succinctly describes the issues and importance of Skylab. The editorial follows:

TROUBLE IN SPACE

America's first attempt to operate a manned, orbiting space laboratory is in serious difficulty. Shortly after the 88-ton Skylab was launched Monday, its power plant was found to be impaired by half, apparently by the failure of a pair of solar panels to unfold

properly. Then, more ominously, the interior of the unoccupied space station was reported yesterday to be overheated, with temperatures reaching 100 degrees. A malfunctioning gyroscope was put down as a lesser problem.

What all this means for the future of the Skylab mission is still being assessed. Fortunately no astronauts' lives are endangered right now with the dispatch of the first three-man crew, originally scheduled for yesterday, postponed at least until Sunday. Experts of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in the meantime are working furiously to determine how much of the \$2.6-billion experiment can be salvaged, and what measures might be attempted to correct or work around the problems.

At this point the range of possibilities is great. If the manning of the space station has to be abandoned completely, Skylab can be marked down as an almost unmitigated failure, at least for this year. On the optimistic side, the threatened mission could turn out to be a roaring success in the unlikely event that both the power shortage and the overheating can be corrected. The final result could turn out to be something in between. Operating at half power, the space station could permit the completion of most of the dozens of planned experiments.

The most important question, however, is whether Skylab operates well enough to meet the main objective of the program. This is to provide medical data on how long men can function effectively in the weightless environment of space. The first crew was to occupy the station for 28 days, and that, exceeding the Russian record of 25 days, could test the human limit. Two later Skylab crews were to try for 56 days aloft. If the current problems force drastic reductions of these targets, the principal purpose of the program will have been thwarted.

Skylab still has a chance to escape the disasters of the equivalent Russian program. The record-setting occupants of the first Soviet laboratory died in 1970 when their vehicle lost air upon returning to the earth. Another Salyut laboratory failed to orbit last year, and yet another broke up in space last month.

NASA's space wizards are impressive improvisers, as they proved in saving the Apollo 13 crew after an explosion aborted that trip to the moon. The present deadline for problem-solving is not quite as pressing, with the astronauts safe on the ground. But the decisions of the next few days could have much to say about how fast and how far the United States proceeds with what until now has been a spectacularly successful space effort.

ARTHUR F. SAMPSON NAMED FIRE PROTECTION MAN OF THE YEAR

HON. RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. SCHWEIKER. Mr. President, Arthur F. Sampson, Acting Director of the General Services Administration, has been named "Fire Protection Man of the Year" by the Society of Fire Protection Engineers. Mr. Sampson, a native of Erie, Pa., was cited for his leadership of GSA's programs to advance a goal-oriented approach to fire safety and to promote fire protection and fire prevention as management concerns.

Mr. President, I request unanimous consent that a statement describing the award be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the state-

ment was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GSA HEAD SAMPSON NAMED FOR FIRE PROTECTION AWARD

Arthur F. Sampson, head of the General Services Administration, has been named "Fire Protection Man of the Year" by the Society of Fire Protection Engineers. The award will be presented May 16 at the Society's annual meeting in St. Louis.

Society president Martin M. Brown said Sampson is the first to receive the group's new annual award. "In bestowing this award, the Society wishes to recognize your leadership in the application of a sound systems approach to fire safety in building design," Brown said. "Your contribution is outstanding and will have lasting effects."

Sampson first gained attention of fire protection officials in April 1971, when he convened the GSA International Conference on Fire Safety in High-Rise Buildings. Over 70 experts from the U.S., Canada and Europe participated. Conference recommendations were incorporated into a total fire safety system for the Federal building under construction in Seattle—GSA's first major effort to include such comprehensive planning in design and construction of a new Federal facility. The agency has since required a re-evaluation of fire safety features in all planned buildings, as well as a progressive overhaul of fire protection features in existing Federal structures.

Under Sampson's direction, GSA has instituted a number of fire protection research projects. Chief among them is a \$600,000 contract with the National Academy of Sciences to conduct a three-year statistical sample of existing fire loads in office and school buildings nationwide. GSA also has organized a three-day conference to be held in July 1973, to review existing fire protection research and determine future needs in co-operation with leading Federal agencies in the field. Participating with GSA will be the National Bureau of Standards, National Science Foundation and the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

In addition to fire protection advances, GSA has been cited for its achievements in fire prevention under Sampson's leadership. Seven of ten GSA regional headquarters were cited by the National Fire Protection Association in its 1972 fire prevention contest. Grand award went to GSA headquarters in New York.

Sampson joined GSA in 1969 as commissioner of the agency's Federal Supply Service. He moved later that year to the Public Buildings Service, where he served as commissioner until named acting GSA administrator by President Nixon in June 1972. Among his responsibilities as GSA chief are construction, leasing and maintenance of over 10,000 Federal facilities throughout the United States.

Prior to Federal service, Sampson spent six years in Pennsylvania state government as secretary of administration and budget under Governor William P. Shafer, and deputy secretary for procurement under Governor William Scranton. He was employed previously for 12 years by the General Electric Company.

A native of Warren, R.I., Sampson received a B.S. in business administration from the University of Rhode Island and is currently pursuing a master's degree in public administration at the George Washington University. He maintains a permanent residence with his wife and four children in Camp Hill, Pa.

The Society of Fire Protection Engineers, founded in 1950, is the multi-national professional organization of engineers involved in the field of fire protection. Chapters of the Society are located in the United States, Canada, Europe, and Australia. Society headquarters are located at 60 Batterymarch Street, Boston, Mass. 02110.

A TRIBUTE TO DR. GEORGE E. DAVIS OF THE INDIANA COMMISSION ON AGING AND AGED

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to pay tribute to one of Indiana's most dedicated public servants, Dr. George E. Davis, a retired professor at Purdue University who more than any other person established an effective Indiana Commission on Aging and Aged.

I insert at this point in the RECORD the text of an editorial from the May 4, 1973, LaPorte Herald Argus praising Dr. Davis for his outstanding service to the older people of Indiana.

The editorial follows:

DR. DAVIS GAVE DECADE TO ELDERLY

This country would be stymied in a number of ways were it not for volunteers who devote the kind of time and effort to community causes that would be full time jobs for many of us.

Our attention was drawn to such a case when a group gathered in Indianapolis recently for a testimonial dinner to 80-year-old Dr. George E. Davis, retired Purdue university professor, who literally built the program offered under the Indiana Commission on Aging and Aged.

Dr. Davis, who will be 81 on July 7, is calling it quits after nearly twelve years devoted to developing an ongoing program involving the semiretired, retired and senior citizens generally.

After a teaching career that spanned many decades, including a quarter of a century on the Purdue faculty at West Lafayette, Dr. Davis responded to another call in 1961 and assumed the position of executive director of the then newly formed Commission on the Aging and Aged.

The project had been initiated for obvious reasons. Dr. Davis served three governors and their respective state administrations, and patiently worked with a structure endorsed by state government, but not funded to any great degree, to form commissions on the aging and the aged in each of Indiana's 92 counties.

Whatever remuneration he received was a pittance based on the enormous amount of work involved in organizing this program.

Over the past decade, which happens to include Dr. Davis' tenure, the nation has become increasingly concerned with the many and complex problems of the elderly.

Are we on the right course, taking them out of their homes and transferring them in their twilight years to the kind of communes we call nursing or rest homes?

Are we preparing people for retirement? Have social security, private pensions and other methods for retirement security maintained human dignity?

And finally: Is society suffering a significant loss of training and experience as a result of the sharp cutoff point characteristic of most mandatory retirement plans?

To each of those questions, and many more, Dr. Davis addressed his sharp faculties. The commission on the Aging and Aged helped create senior citizens programs and centers, housing programs, county groups solely devoted to the cause of the aging and aged; meanwhile, dispensing quantities of information designed to awaken the public to a problem that so suddenly dawns on many of us—that problem being retirement, and then old age.

The success of the project Dr. Davis headed for more than a decade depended almost en-

tirely upon volunteers. Americans are conscious of the fact they are paying their way into old age, but many of them know not what to do when they have paid the price and suddenly are confronted with a life of leisure that is not as pleasant as it may sound.

Other than the direct help which Dr. Davis' county-by-county program helped create through senior citizens' centers, housing improvements and the like, we see his greatest contribution as the leadership he provided to help to alert the public to a problem.

Dr. Davis knows firsthand, as do the volunteers who worked with him statewide, of the frustrations which occur in a family when it is realized for the first time that the old home must go and the "children" must help find care and sometimes money for loved ones whose productive years are long past.

Dr. Davis, at age 80, is living proof of the many years of effective service that often remains available to society long after an individual has taken, or been forced into, retirement.

Indiana has benefited beyond measure because Dr. Davis extended his productive years.

MAKE-IT-YOURSELF METHANE FOR VEHICLES, HEAT, AND LIGHT

HON. MIKE GRAVEL

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. Speaker, if we would tap into solar-driven natural energy systems all around us, we would not have a fuel-shortage. It is undeniable that solar energy could provide us with methane, hydrogen, and oil as well as electricity.

I cannot point to any large-scale solar-energy systems in operation simply because not one has been funded yet. But I can point to some of the very same solar energy systems in operation on a small scale. Heat, wind, photosynthesis—these solar gifts are there for the tapping.

If students in California and farmers in India can tap them today, it is nonsense to say it cannot be done on a large-scale for decades.

When tractors and cars and schools stop running for lack of fuel, or when a nuclear powerplant black outs 2.5 million people once more in Florida, we will probably see more and more fed-up individuals and small communities just solve the power problem for themselves with solar energy. Some systems are simple enough to build in a few weeks. Of course they would not be perfect, but they will work.

Two pertinent articles have been brought to my attention by a lady in Woodstock, Ill., by the name of Anne Carroll, to whom I am most grateful. The first is a column from Chicago Today, November 19, 1972, entitled "Heat Your Home With Garbage" by the Mother Earth News Service. The second is from "Organic Gardening and Farming", June 1972, entitled "Methane Gas—An Overlooked Energy Source" by S. A. Klein plus remarks by R. B. Singh of India.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that major excerpts from the two articles be printed here in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From Chicago Today, Nov. 19, 1972]

HEAT YOUR HOUSE WITH GARBAGE

Sometimes it's hard to believe the blind manner in which we squander resources in this country. Consider natural gas, for example. The fuel is already in such short supply that gas companies in several sections of the United States have begun rationing it. Those companies are making a major effort to locate new fields of the gas and are currently laying thousands of miles of pipelines and mains with which to tap known reserves of the fuel.

That's an expensive proposition. It costs big dollars to locate those gas fields, drill the wells, build the pipelines, put in the mains and do all the other things that must be done to get that natural gas out of the ground and into our cities and towns where we want to use it.

While we're spending all those dollars to funnel that gas into town, we're also spending dollars to get rid of natural gas that is already right there in every city and village in the country.

It's cleverly disguised as garbage.

You see, when plant and animal matter decays, it doesn't just disappear. It changes into other forms. If you've ever made a compost pile, you know this quite well. You put dead leaves, vegetable cuttings, bone meal, dried blood, tankage, grass clippings, table scraps and a lot of other "garbage" in . . . and it comes out magically transformed into a rich, clean, natural fertilizer.

But, there's more to it than that. Perhaps you didn't know it, but while that stack of garbage was turning itself into compost . . . it was also generating methane gas. And methane is natural gas. You can cook with it, heat with it and otherwise use it as fuel.

This same production of methane takes place in every municipal sanitation facility in the country. But directors of the sanitation installations—intent only on getting rid of our garbage as rapidly as possible—consider the hundreds upon hundreds of thousands of cubic feet of gas so generated to be a positive nuisance. They do everything in their power to discourage the formation of methane in the first place and let the gas escape as quickly as they can when it is created.

Wouldn't it make more sense to design our sanitation plants so they'd produce as much of this fuel as possible? And wouldn't it further make sense to collect this methane—this natural gas—and pipe it to our factories and homes for use as fuel?

Collection of natural gas from municipal sewage stations is not an impractical idea. It's being done at present in India, China, Formosa, Korea and other parts of Asia. It's also done in Hungary, France, Germany and several additional European countries. It's only a matter of time before we pump our underground reserves of natural gas dry and adopt the idea ourselves, anyway . . . so why not get a head start and ease the transition?

A world-famous authority on the subject states that it is possible to manufacture small, family sized methane generators that can make every home and apartment in the United States at least semi-independent of outside power sources.

The authority is Ram Bux Singh, director for the last 18 years of a methane gas research laboratory at Ajitmal in northern India. In that position, Singh has personally supervised the construction and operation of at least 200 biogas plants and he and his staff have dramatically simplified and miniaturized the design of methane production units.

"It is now possible," Singh told us when he recently visited the United States, "to install a small prefabricated biogas plant in a home or apartment as easily as we now install a water heater . . . its plumbing is no more complicated."

Singh then went on to tell us how all the vegetable trimming, spoiled food, leftovers, grass clippings, weeds, leaves and other garbage generated by an average household could be recycled thru the biogas unit and turned into rich, garden-ready compost and methane gas for cooking, heating the house or even fueling the family automobile.

"This could go a long way toward cutting living expense, making our lives more enjoyable, preserving the earth's resources and drastically curbing pollution," says Singh.

"We would replace the belching incinerators, stinking land fills and sewage filled streams of the present waste disposal system with small, silent units that turn our garbage directly into valuable fertilizer with fuel. With biogas plants we can recycle our waste and use it again and again in a very simple, direct and natural way."

Well sir, that sounds almost too good to be true . . . so we asked Singh to help us build a prototype biogas plant at Mother's headquarters in northern Ohio. He did, we're experimenting with the unit now . . .

It may indeed be possible soon—for you to buy a factory made biogas plant the way you now buy a new stove or refrigerator. And once you install that unit in the basement or utility room and start routing all your family's waste thru it . . . you may be able to heat your house and cook without ever paying another gas, fuel oil, coal or electric bill again! Mother Earth News Service, POB 38, Madison, Ohio 44057.

[From Organic Gardening and Farming June 1972]

METHANE GAS—AN OVERLOOKED ENERGY SOURCE

(By S. A. Klein)

Here's the key to a storehouse of power that can light lights, heat buildings, run machines, and make wheels turn—all without polluting the environment.

Manure and vegetable wastes, while they may be garbage to most people, are pure gold to the organic gardener. When composted, they fertilize and condition the soil at one time. By composting them without air, we can collect free, non-polluting and efficient natural gas.

This gas, methane, is mostly wasted nowadays. This article shows how some simple equipment can catch it for home use, completing yet another cycle in the closed organic system.

Methane, known also as marsh gas, swamp gas and natural gas, is abundant throughout the temperate regions of the world. It is colorless, odorless and burns cleanly without producing a smoky residue. Abundance plus desirable burning properties add up to a low cost fuel that can replace wood, coal and oil as the major fuel source for home and industrial heating purposes.

METHANE PRODUCED IN NATURE

Methane is produced in nature by the bacterial decay of vegetation and animal wastes in the absence of air—a process known as anaerobic decomposition. Methane production is often associated with swamps, (the famous "Will 'O the Wisp" is methane burning on the surface of swamps) since dying vegetation becomes immersed beneath the water, excluding air and providing the conditions for anaerobic bacteria to flourish.

* * * * *

USE OF METHANE PRODUCTION IN SEWAGE TREATMENT PLANTS

Man has found other benefits from the controlled use of the methane production process. For many years sanitary engineers have treated human fecal matter by this process at sewage treatment plants, rendering an offensive material into a useful organic residue. In the initial step of waste treatment, sewage solids are settled in sedimentation basins, and the settled sludge

pumped into large heated vats—known as anaerobic digesters.

Anaerobic bacteria (naturally-occurring in sewage) convert the sludge to methane, carbon dioxide and water. Operation is continuous—that is raw sludge is added daily and an equal amount of digested sludge is withdrawn, but the average time for conversion to methane is 30 days. The gas produced is about 70 percent methane and serves as the fuel for all treatment plant heating purposes. Approximately two-thirds of the gas produced is "surplus" and is burned . . . and wasted.

BENEFITS OF "HOME DIGESTERS"

Some farmers in Germany and France have used home digesters for many years to produce their own methane. Home digesters serve a two-fold purpose—they provide fuel and simultaneously dispose of unwanted wastes. Any large tank such as an oil drum or a concrete lined pit can be used as a digester. All that is required is an airtight lid, an outlet valve and a filter.

Feeding the digester is no problem—almost all organic wastes are suitable for digestion including garbage, animal manures, human manure, grass clippings, leaves, crop residues and paper. These wastes can be combined, or most of them digest successfully when added individually. For example, studies at the University of California¹ showed that methane digesters could be operated on green garbage alone producing gas at near the efficiency of a normal sewage sludge digester. Another example is chicken manure which produced gas at about half the efficiency of sewage sludge. Steer manure can also be digested, but is so inefficient (15% the efficiency of sewage sludge) that its use is not recommended.

Another type of material that should not be added is wood. Not only tree limbs and the like, but also newspaper (which contains about 75% woody pulp) do not digest and are of no benefit in the feed mixture.

Paper, other than newspaper, is an excellent addition to the feed since it is well over 90 percent digestible. No more than half the mixture should consist of paper, however, or the feed becomes nitrogen deficient and the methane-generating bacteria die off.

CARS RUN ON METHANE GENERATORS

An ingenious English inventor, Harold Bate, has put the methane generation process to work to power an automobile as previously reported here.² He operates a large car—an old armored staff vehicle—on chicken manure. There was no need even to change the engine.

HOW THE INDIANS COLLECT AND USE METHANE GAS

[The following was written by Ram Bux Singh of India.]

The gas produced in a bio-gas plant is very similar to natural gas in its composition. It can be used for nearly every application where natural gas is used, limited only by the amount the bio-gas plant is capable of producing. Plants can be designed to produce as little as 50 cubic feet of gas per day to as much as 9000 cubic feet per day or more.

Gas plants have been installed and used successfully for over 10 years. At a farm near Lucknow in northern India, one very progressive farmer installed a 225 cubic feet-capacity bio-gas plant in 1961, still working today, using the gas regularly for cooking and lighting, and occasionally to heat an incubator, run a refrigerator, operate a fan, pump water, and drive an electric generator. A South African farmer at Johannesburg reported in 1962 that his plant had run a diesel engine continuously day and night, saving over 3,000 pounds in diesel fuel expenses,

three years. The engine provided power for lighting his house, pumping water, spray irrigations, water heating, cooking, ironing, and heating lamps for piglets in winter. This plant is fed with about half a ton of manure daily collected from 700 hogs. The fertilizer has been spread by tanker truck in irrigation ditches with water, and by overhead large nozzle sprays. In France by 1952 there were around 1,000 installations. Today in India there are over 2500.

Generally speaking, one pound of fresh cow dung will produce 0.8 to 1 cft. of gas at a temperature of 75° F. This will be higher in the warm season and less in winter. If a temperature control system is installed (necessary for large plants, optional for small ones), yields of as much as 1.5 cft. of gas per pound of cow dung can be expected. Horse dung or pig dung will produce more gas per pound, and chicken droppings produce considerably more.

Vegetable waste produces about 7 cft. for each pound of dry weight fed into the plant. Green leaves are $\frac{2}{3}$ to $\frac{3}{4}$ water by weight. Only the solid part contributes to gas production, thus one pound of green leaves fed to the digester would yield $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ of the 7 cft. say 2 cft. of gas. One pound of dry leaves, though, produces the full 7 cft.

Again many factors can affect the actual amount of gas and fertilizer produced per pound of raw material fed to the digester. It would be wise to plan on feeding somewhat more dung and more vegetable waste than will be needed to supply the minimum gas and fertilizer required as calculated by these rough guides.

CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE HOUSE AND THE JUDICIARY

HON. RICHARDSON PREYER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. PREYER. Mr. Speaker, the precarious balance between our three branches of Government is a subject that merits continuous study. A recent clash between the Congress and the Federal judiciary has been the subject of an excellent article by our colleague, the gentleman from Missouri (Mr. ICHORD). The article was published in the spring, 1973, issue of the Maryland Law Forum:

A CONFRONTATION BETWEEN THE HOUSE AND THE JUDICIARY

(By U.S. Congressman RICHARD H. ICHORD)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The Honorable Richard H. Ichord, a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives, received his B.S. and J.D. degrees from the University of Missouri in 1949 and 1952, respectively. On November 8, 1960, he was elected to the 87th Congress from the Eighth Congressional District of Missouri, and has been continuously re-elected since that time. Presently, Congressman Ichord is the Chairman of the House Committee on Internal Security and serves as a member of the House Armed Services Committee as well.)

It has been a matter of surprise to me that a landmark action taken by the U.S. House of Representatives on December 14, 1970, in the enactment of House Resolution 1306 (91st Congress),¹ has attracted so little attention. In adopting this resolution, the legislative branch for the first time in the history of

the nation exercised its contempt power to restrain the federal judiciary from enforcing one of its decrees.² Yet the significance of this historic action, as fundamental in relation to the doctrine of separation of powers as was the action of the Court in *Marbury v. Madison*,³ seems to have escaped general public notice and, so far as I am aware, has received little discussion within the law schools of the nation. While I cannot, within the limitations of the space allotted to me, discuss this matter in great detail, it may be investigated more fully by researching the proceedings of the House, the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia, and the Court of Appeals for that circuit.⁴

The matter came before the House as a consequence of a suit instituted on October 13, 1970, in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia to enjoin the filing and publication of a report by the House Committee on Internal Security, titled "Limited Survey of Honoraria Given Guest Speakers for Engagements at Colleges and Universities." This suit, a class action on behalf of individuals named in the report, was brought against members of the Committee, its Chief Counsel, the Public Printer, and the Superintendent of Documents. On the same day, without notice to the defendants, and on the *ex parte* application of the plaintiffs, Judge Gesell entered a temporary restraining order, pending hearing, enjoining the defendants (excepting the named members of Congress) from printing, publishing, or distributing the report. This report, upon subjects within the jurisdiction of the Committee, was filed by me on the following day in accordance with the Rules of the House. On October 28, 1970, after hearing and argument, despite precedents of his circuit to the contrary,⁵ Judge Gesell entered a permanent order⁶ enjoining the Public Printer and Superintendent of Documents from printing and distributing any copy of the report or any portion or restatement thereof.

This was a direct interference with the legislative processes of the House in the face of explicit constitutional provisions to the contrary. Article I, §6, of the Constitution of the United States expressly provides that "for any Speech or Debate in either House, they (the Senators and Representatives) shall not be questioned in any other Place." That a committee report is "speech in the House" has long been settled by the Supreme Court.⁷ That the provision prohibiting the questioning of any such speech "in any other place" is clearly intended to embrace the courts was likewise explicit in the history of the provision.⁸ Moreover, complementary provisions of the Constitution, equally excluding the judicial power, were likewise thus overridden. Article I, §5, authorizes each House to determine the rules of its proceedings, and requires each House to publish its proceedings.

Despite these unmistakable constitutional limitations upon the powers of the court, Judge Gesell, acting with perhaps more courage than wisdom, nevertheless restrained public dissemination of the report and did so on the ground that, in his opinion, it exceeded the legislative function of Congress and inhibited the speech of persons whose names were unfavorably noted therein.⁹ He said, in effect, that since the speech of others was thus incidentally and in some way indirectly affected, the Congress itself, by virtue of the provisions of the First Amendment, was prohibited from speaking and publishing its proceedings. The logic of his decision appeared neither to me, nor to the House; nor did his assumption of jurisdiction justify obstructing the speech of the members of the House in the face of the constitutional prohibition denying him the power to do so.

To avoid a direct confrontation over the enjoined report, I prepared a restatement of it—likewise prohibited by his injunction—

Footnotes at end of article.

and concurrently introduced a resolution, House Resolution 1306, which ordered the Public Printer and Superintendent of Documents to print and disseminate the restatement, and enjoined all persons, whether or not acting under color of office, from interfering with the House's order or from molesting any person participating in its performance. In short, the resolution I introduced was an exercise of the contempt power of the House to enjoin the court from enforcing its decree. This resolution was adopted by the House and the restatement was accordingly filed, printed, and disseminated. No action was subsequently taken by the court to enforce its decree or to punish those participating in its "violation." Curiously, Judge Gesell's decision has since been cited frequently in the lower Federal courts without any notation of the subsequent action of the House.¹⁰ Yet, whatever precedential value the decision had was wholly nullified by the action of the House and the court's subsequent failure to vindicate its judgment.

It was not my purpose in introducing the resolution, nor was it the motive of the House in enacting it, to attack the historic function of the judiciary under our constitutional system as enunciated in *Marbury v. Madison* or as explained in *The Federalist*.¹¹ The Constitution is and must be regarded by judges as the fundamental law, and it belongs to them to ascertain its meaning. In those "cases" and "controversies" where the courts have jurisdiction to act, to pronounce and enforce their judgments, their action must be conclusive upon the legislative and executive departments. Even in such cases, however, it is clear that the judiciary was never conceived as being a law unto itself or, as Selden complained of the early English Court of Chancery, that it was to have no measure more constant than the length of the Chancellor's foot. The judiciary cannot, under the guise of construction, assert its own will unrestrained by the discipline of the law, or arrogate to itself powers which the fundamental law has denied to it.

In committing to the judiciary the interpretation of the laws as its "proper and peculiar province," the framers of the Constitution conceived that it should be bound by the discipline of the law. It was contemplated that judges would perform as lawyers, not as legislators. The principles enunciated in *Marbury v. Madison* were not novel,¹² nor were they intended to be interpreted as freeing the judiciary from this discipline. "The courts must declare the sense of the law," and Hamilton, "and if they should be disposed to exercise will instead of judgment, the consequence would equally be the substitution of their pleasure to that of the legislative body."¹³ This was none other than an expression of a fundamental libertarian principle in recognition of a rule of law, which our founding fathers sought to advance, as distinguished from the rule of men. It was accordingly expected, and it was so stated in *The Federalist*, that judges be qualified by training and study, that they be familiar with precedents, and that they conform to the discipline of the law.¹⁴ Hence said Hamilton, "(t)o avoid an arbitrary discretion in the courts, it is indispensable that they should be bound down by strict rules and precedents, which serve to define and point out their duty in every particular case that comes before the . . ."¹⁵ Regrettably, it appears that some judges have not adhered to this discipline.

In view of the fact that our Constitution was the first comprehensive written expression of its kind for the governance of a nation, concededly on its adoption there was yet to be developed a body of direct precedents in the construction of its particular provisions, and there was yet to be a formal

recognition by the judiciary of the precise limitations upon the diverse sources of power—the executive and legislative, as well as the judicial—which had been embodied, expressly or by implication, in its terms. While the founders drew heavily on Montesquieu for the theoretical basis of the separation of powers, there was, nevertheless, ample precedent in the constitutional and legal history of their ancestors elucidating the basic principles to be applied in its construction. Our founders were certainly familiar with the inhibitions upon power which had been applied in concepts of the common law, derived in turn from other written documents embracing restraints upon power, such as the Magna Charta and the English Bill of Rights, as well as their own experience with the written charters of the colonies. It was in this history, in these precedents, and in this experience, that in large part the provisions of the Constitution had found their origin. It was understood that liberty required not only a separation of the powers of government, but that as a necessary corollary there be restraints upon the separated powers as well. Hamilton's remarks, to which I have referred, were not abstractions divorced from experience. They were a practical consideration of means of coping with excesses in the employment of the judicial power.

The reviews advanced by Hamilton and Madison are indeed a reflection of earlier experiences memorialized in the provisions of the Magna Charta (1215) itself. Although not frequently observed, in the 45th Article of this celebrated document, which had been signed and delivered "in the meadow called Runnymede between Windsor and Staines," the barons extracted from King John a promise by which he agreed: "We will not make any justices, constables, sheriffs, or bailiffs, but of such as know the law of the realm and mean duly to observe it." Also, in the 61st Article of the Charter the doctrine of self-help was perhaps first formally recognized, and a foundation thus laid for the legislature's subsequent claim to contempt and impeachment powers. By this provision King John acknowledged, as security for keeping the many promises he had made, that if he or his "justiciary" were to fail in their performance, the "barons, together with the community of the whole kingdom, shall distrain and distress us (the King and his justiciary) in all the ways in which they shall be able, by seizing our castles, lands, possessions, and in any other manner they can, until the grievance is redressed . . ." Alone excepted from this authorization was harm to the King's person and that of the Queen and his children. There was no similar exception made for the "justiciary."

But power, as Madison said, is of "an encroaching nature."¹⁶ The judicial power was neither then, nor is now, wholly curbed by agreement. Despite the assurances formalized in the Magna Charta, the judiciary nevertheless continued to reach out. Under Henry III, the stream of writs issuing from Chancery rapidly widened, and in the year 1244 the barons and prelates again protested. They perceived, in this enlargement of jurisdiction by the creation of new writs, and hence the recognition of new "rights," a process of legislating. Thus, in 1258 the Provisions of Oxford required that the King's chancellors be placed under oath to "seal no writs, excepting writs of course, without commandment of the king and of his council, who shall be present." Finally, the judiciary's obstruction of the proceedings of Parliament led to the enactment, in 1689, of the equally celebrated Bill of Rights, provisions of which were incorporated almost verbatim in Article I, § 6, of our own Constitution.

Of course, when we speak of the discipline of the law, we are referring to a form of self-restraint. Hamilton's supposition of the qual-

ification of judges was one device for securing this necessary restraint. It seems obvious that the barons at Runnymede likewise exacted the 45th Article for a similar purpose. Moreover, in urging that the judges should be bound down by strict rules and precedents, as Hamilton suggested, we can also recognize an assertion of the doctrine of stare decisis.

Nevertheless, the doctrine of stare decisis, as others, must be qualified if we are to admit the validity of the contending doctrine of growth and reform in the common or constitutional law.¹⁷ Hence, it is not always easy to distinguish those cases in which the judiciary is actually and materially trespassing upon the legislative function and power. Doubtless there are myriad opportunities for the courts to expand their power with plausible propriety in relation to the legislature, whether it be by the recognition of new rights or the creation of new writs and remedies, or the novel application or "discovery" of principles of the common law, or the construction or nullification of statutes, or the construction of provisions of the Constitution itself. However, in dealing with the question of the court's jurisdiction to restrain speech in the House, we are dealing with a narrower and perhaps more manageable aspect of this adversary relationship between the judiciary and the legislature.

The "Speech and Debate Clause" of the Constitution is precise in its terms and in the exclusion of the judicial power. While the English Bill of Rights, from which this provision is drawn, declares that "the freedom of speech and debates or proceedings in Parliament ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament," there has never been any doubt that the more succinct expression in the provisions of Article I, § 6 ("shall not be questioned in any other place") includes the courts. No similarly explicit exclusion of the judicial power is to be found in any other part of the Constitution.

Yet, even with respect to other constitutional provisions, the Court has recognized that there are, nevertheless, some powers conferred on the Congress and each of its Houses, which are to be regarded as "political" and not "justiciable." Thus in *Coleman v. Miller*,¹⁸ the Court held that the question of how long a proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution remained open to ratification, and what effect a state's prior rejection had on its subsequent ratification, were committed to the Congress. There was, however, a difference of views as to the ability of the Court to deal with the issue at all. Four of the concurring justices, including some of the Court's most liberal members, thought that the opinion of the Court had incorrectly treated the amending process of the Constitution as being subject to judicial construction. They took the position that the Congress possessed an "exclusive power" over the amending process, that it could not be bound by, and was under no duty to accept, the pronouncements of either the state court or of the Supreme Court upon the issue.¹⁹ Any judicial expressions concerning the power of the Congress in this respect, they said, must be in the nature of an advisory opinion only, wholly without constitutional authority.

More recently in *Powell v. McCormack*,²⁰ the Warren Court agreed that, primarily because of the separation of powers within the Federal Government, "political questions" were not "justiciable." The precise question then before the Court was the nature and scope of the constitutional commitment to the House (in Article I, § 5) to judge the qualifications of its members. Citing *Baker v. Carr*, the Court stated that a resolution of the issue involved a determination of whether there was a "textually demonstra-

Footnotes at end of article.

ble constitutional commitment of the issue to a coordinate political department."²² However, unlike *Coleman*, the Supreme Court appeared to be unanimous in its assertion of authority to determine initially whether such a commitment had been made by the Constitution and, if so, what its scope was.

The concept that there are certain "political powers" which, by reason of the doctrine of separation of powers, are not subject to judicial restraint is not inconsistent, I believe, with the views expressed by Hamilton in his exegesis of the judicial function in relation to the fundamental law. In *The Federalist*, No. 78, although directing his attention to the function of the judiciary in pronouncing upon the validity of laws enacted by the legislative department, he wrote: "If it be said that the legislative body are themselves the constitutional judges of their own powers, and that the construction they put upon them is conclusive upon the other departments, it may be answered, that this cannot be the natural presumption, where it is not to be collected from any particular provisions in the Constitution."²³ Conversely stated, this proposition should be equally true. If we are to collect from a particular provision of the Constitution that the legislative body is to be the constitutional judge of the power conferred upon them by its terms, then it cannot be presumed that the judiciary may interpose itself in derogation of that power.

Nor does Hamilton's theory appear to be contrary to an early pronouncement by the Court upon the subject. Although *Marbury v. Madison* has frequently been cited on other points, it was there said (in relation to the executive power) that there are "certain important political powers" which "can never be examinable by the courts."²⁴ But let us suppose that such powers are, in fact, "examined" by the courts, and that in a particular case they adjudge the powers to be limited. This is indeed the practical question with which we were faced by the action of Judge Gesell. The problem did not wholly escape the attention of the early constitutional commentators, but it is also apparent that it was never wholly resolved.

It is no surprise that little attention was paid to the question of protecting other branches against incursions by the judiciary. Influential proponents of the Constitution regarded the judiciary as the weakest branch, a view shared by Montesquieu.²⁵ Their major point of concern was to limit what they regarded as the superior power of the legislative department. The judiciary, said Hamilton, has neither "force nor will, but merely judgment; and must ultimately depend upon the aid of the executive arm even for the efficacy of its judgments."²⁶ It was his opinion, and evidently the prevailing one, that the power of the House of Representatives to institute impeachments, which were to be tried by the Senate, would be a sufficient check and safeguard against the encroachments of the judiciary on legislative authority.²⁷

This view was not universally shared. The power of impeachment was later, and perhaps more soundly, characterized by Jefferson as "scarcely a scarecrow." He described the judiciary as being "an irresponsible body," advancing its noiseless step like a thief over the field of jurisdiction.²⁸ Indeed, it may well be that in the overriding concern to render the judiciary independent of the legislative branch, by granting them life tenure, our founding fathers had in fact and in large degree rendered them independent of the people.

It is, nevertheless, a fact inherent in our constitutional system that one department cannot be conclusively bound in all cases and in all matters by the judgment of any coordinate branch. On the other hand, the found-

ing fathers did not construe the principle of separation of powers as meaning that the separated powers ought to have no partial agency in, or control of, the acts of each other.²⁹ Yet it is clear that, in their view, the independence of each was in a large measure to be maintained, and that the basic function of each was to be preserved.³⁰ How to keep the various departments in their proper places was thus necessarily a point of inquiry. Madison asked, "(t)o what expedient, then, shall we finally resort, for maintaining in practice the necessary partition of power among the several departments, as laid down by the Constitution?"³¹ While it was hoped that the "interior structure" of the government would be so contrived that the several constituent parts would operate, in their mutual relations, as the means of keeping each other in their proper places, it was evident, he said, that each department should have "a will of its own."³²

What this concept imported was a question with which we in the House were confronted as a consequence of Judge Gesell's restraint upon speech in the House. In assessing our position, it was evident that the court had obstructed the House in a manner which directly and vitally affected the legislative process itself, and in defiance of express provisions of the fundamental law. If the court may inquire into, censor, and enjoin the speech of the Committee on Internal Security, then it must follow that the court may inquire into, censor, and enjoin the printing and publication of the speech of every committee of the Congress. Moreover, since the speech of a committee is essentially the collective speech of individual members, the court may, a fortiori, similarly inquire into, censor, and enjoin the printing and publication of the speeches of the individual members of the Congress. The result, of course, would be to restrain communication within the House, between the House and the public, and between the members and their constituents. It was not to be expected that such a result would be tolerated by all members of the House.

In support of House Resolution 1306, I relied upon the authority of a line of cases in which the Supreme Court asserted that each House of Congress possesses a power, enforceable by contempt action at the bar of the House, to prevent and punish acts which, in and of themselves, inherently obstruct and prevent the discharge of legislative duty. This power is said to rest upon the right of self-preservation. While these cases—*Anderson v. Dunn*, *In re Chapman*, *Kilbourn v. Thompson*, and *Marshall v. Gordon*³³—dealt with obstructions by individuals, yet it seems clear enough that, whether the obstruction is a consequence of individual action or, on the other hand, of action by the judiciary under color of office, such a distinction is one of fact, but not an essential distinction of principle. The question I put to the House, then, was whether the House would take the necessary steps to preserve and protect its constitutional function, as well as to assert those privileges expressly committed to it by the Constitution itself. The House answered decisively, adopting the resolution by a vote of 301 to 55.

Surely there is at least one lesson that may be derived from all of this. Those who inculcate a conception that lawyers (or judges) have a professional function, indeed a duty, to "change" the social, economic, and political system, without regard to the restraints inherent in the discipline of the law to which I have referred, do no service to the profession or to our constitutional system. Responsibility for effecting such changes belongs to the appropriate branch established for that purpose and to the amendment process. It is not a professional function to legislate or to employ the law as a weapon for overturning a system of liberty. Any such

conception must have the inevitable consequence of fostering processes of violence. In the exercise of their professional duties, lawyers fundamentally have no revolutionary function. If they wish to exercise any such function, they may do so more appropriately in their private capacity at the hustings, or, if you will, at the barricades. It would appear to me that our law schools can, with profit to the students within their charge, and with profit to the nation, re-examine the fundamental principles underlying the true nature of our legal system and the profession which is intended to serve it.

FOOTNOTES

¹ H.R. Res. 1306, 91st Cong., 2d Sess., CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 116, pt. 31, pp. 41358-41374.

² My research reveals only two other precedents of a related nature, which involved other than federal constitutional courts. The first precedent arose as a result of the arrest in 1800 of a disorderly spectator in the gallery of the House (named James Lane), who was detained by the Sergeant-at-Arms on order of the Speaker of the House. Thereafter, Lane obtained a warrant for the arrest of the Sergeant-at-Arms from a civil magistrate in the District of Columbia. The Sergeant-at-Arms was apprehended and conducted before a magistrate, being released after a time when Lane did not appear to prosecute. The matter was referred to a Select Committee on Privileges of the House, which declared the arrest of the Sergeant-at-Arms to be a high breach of the privileges of the House, but recommended no further action against the magistrate who appeared to have been deceived by false representations. The Committee's report was accepted by a vote of 50 to 38. A. HINDS, 2 PRECEDENTS OF THE HOUSE § 1605 (1907).

The second incident occurred in the year 1866. A member of the House, Mr. Culver, was arrested at his home during vacation by virtue of a warrant on civil process issued out of the Court of Common Pleas of Venango County, Pennsylvania. Mr. Culver was committed to the county jail in default of the required security. On report of the matter to the House, a resolution was adopted directing the Speaker to issue a warrant to the Sergeant-at-Arms commanding him to deliver Mr. Culver from the custody of the sheriff and jailer of said county. The warrant was duly executed and Mr. Culver's release was obtained without opposition from the sheriff or the court. A. HINDS, 3 PRECEDENTS OF THE HOUSE § 2676 (1907).

³ U. S. (1 Cranch) 368 (1803).

⁴ The proceedings in the House are recorded in CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 116, pt. 27, pp. 36680 and 37110; CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 116, pt. 28, p. 37799; CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 116, pt. 31, pp. 39512-39522; CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 116, pt. 31, pp. 41358-41374; CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 117, pt. 8, p. 9931. The proceedings in U.S. District Court are indexed under *Hentoff v. Ichord*, 318 F. Supp. 1175 (D.D.C. 1950); and in the U.S. Court of Appeals under *Hentoff v. Ichord*, Civil No. 24,761.

⁵ See Methodist Federation for Social Action v. Eastland, 141 F. Supp. 729 (D.D.C. 1956); *Hearst v. Black*, 87 F. 2d 68 (D.C. Cir. 1936).

⁶ 318 F.Supp. 1175, 1183.

⁷ See *Kilbourn v. Thompson*, 103 U.S. 168, 204 (1880); and *Powell v. McCormack*, 395 U.S. 486, 502 (1969).

⁸ This is made clear in provisions of the English Bill of Rights (1689), as well as in explicit provisions of state constitutions adopted before the Federal Constitution, particularly: the Maryland Declaration of Rights of 1776, the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780, and the New Hampshire Constitution of 1784. Moreover, two state constitutions of 1776, those of South Carolina and New Jer-

sey, expressly preserved, by general provisions, English law. These precedents are more fully noted in my address to the House. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, vol. 116, pt. 31, pp. 41358-41374.

⁹ 318 F.Supp. 1175, 1181.

¹⁰ See *United States v. Doe*, 455 F.2d 753, 759n.4 (1st Cir. 1972); and *Gravel v. United States*, 408 U.S. 60, 610n.6. But see *Soucie v. David*, 448 F.2d 1067, 1082n.4 (D.C. Cir. 1971) (Wilkey, J., concurring).

¹¹ A. HAMILTON, J. MADISON & J. JAY, 2 THE FEDERALIST (Dingwall-Rock ed. 1901) Nos. 78-81, at 98-129 (hereinafter cited as *FEDERALIST*).

¹² I can see no distinction between the principles enunciated in *Marbury v. Madison* and those previously enunciated by Hamilton and Madison in 2 *FEDERALIST* No. 78, at 98.

¹³ 2 *FEDERALIST* No. 78, at 103.

¹⁴ *Id.* at 106.

¹⁵ *Id.* at 105.

¹⁶ 1 *FEDERALIST* No. 48, 338.

¹⁷ For pronouncements relating to the doctrine of stare decisis, see *Boys Markets v. Retail Clerks Union*, 398 U.S. 235 (1970); *Welsh v. United States*, 398 U.S. 333 (1970); and *Moragne v. States Marine Lines*, 398 U.S. 375 (1970).

¹⁸ 307 U.S. 433 (1939).

¹⁹ *Id.* at 457.

²⁰ 395 U.S. 486 (1969).

²¹ 369 U.S. 186, 217 (1962).

²² 395 U.S. 486, 518 (1969).

²³ 2 *FEDERALIST* No. 78, at 101.

²⁴ 1 U.S. (1 Cranch) 368, 395 (1803).

²⁵ 2 *FEDERALIST* No. 78, at 99n. 1.

²⁶ *Id.* at 99.

²⁷ 2 *FEDERALISTS* No. 79, at 108-09 & No. 81, at 122-23.

²⁸ 7 THE WRITINGS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON 216 (H. Washington ed. 1861).

²⁹ 1 *FEDERALIST* No. 47, at 331.

³⁰ 1 *FEDERALIST* No. 48, at 338.

³¹ 1 *FEDERALIST* No. 51, at 353.

³² *Id.*

³³ 5 U.S. (6 Wheat.) 61 (1821); 166 U.S. 661 (1897); 103 U.S. 168 (1880); and 243 U.S. 421 (1917); respectively.

REPLACING NUCLEAR ELECTRICITY BY 1975

HON. MIKE GRAVEL

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. Speaker, by 1975 the AEC expects nuclear powerplants to generate about 12 percent of the country's electric power. However, there are several safer, fission-free technologies available which could provide exactly the same amount of power in the same time frame. One of them is the combustion of urban trash.

Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that two items be printed in the RECORD. The first is a UPI story from the Houston Chronicle of February 4, 1973, entitled, "St. Louis Finding Powerplant Fuel in the City Dump." The second is a talk entitled, "Refuse as a Supplementary Fuel" by Wayne Sutterfield, refuse commissioner for the city of St. Louis. Both items were brought to my attention by a Houston lady named Madeline Framson, to whom I am most grateful.

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

[From the Houston Chronicle, Feb. 4, 1973] ST. LOUIS FINDING POWER PLANT FUEL IN THE CITY DUMP

(By Dale Singer)

ST. LOUIS.—Part of the answer to America's power shortage may be found at the St. Louis city dump.

Wayne Sutterfield, St. Louis refuse commissioner for the past six years, is overseeing a new facility which converts trash into fuel for a power generating plant.

The process, the only one of its kind in the nation, went into operation last May. While all of the bugs aren't worked out yet, Sutterfield thinks it is a key to at least part of the fuel shortage threatening to curtail power in the future.

HOW IT WORKS

The process works like this: the trash is brought by trucks to the plant, where it is pushed in raw form onto a conveyor belt. It is carried to a hammermill where 200-pound hammers shred the material.

From there it is moved by conveyor to a magnetic metal detecting device which removes ferrous metals. The shredded remains, called confetti, are loaded into 35-ton trucks and taken to the Union Electric Co. plant outside the city.

Sutterfield said the modified boilers at the power plant normally operate on 60 tons of coal. Under this project 10 percent of the coal is replaced by the converted trash. Since the confetti has only half the heat value of coal it takes 12 tons of the shredded material to replace six tons of coal.

30% OF TRASH

During the first full year of operation the project is budgeted at a cost of \$2.8 million, including construction. The federal government and the city are sharing the costs on a two-thirds, one-third basis. In addition, Union Electric says it spent \$550,000 to modify its boilers to receive the shredded trash.

Sutterfield said that after the first year operating costs are expected to be \$600,000 yearly.

The system is designed to process 30 percent of the city's trash, but during its first months in operation it has not always run at full capacity. Only one major problem has cropped up, Sutterfield said.

"Our greatest problem so far is that we're only removing ferrous metal with our magnetic detector," he explained. "Some non-ferrous metals and glass are getting into the mix and creating problems in the pneumatic system at the boiler."

To solve these problems, he said, an air classifier is to be installed this year. This phase of the process also will separate any plastic from other items in the trash by means of their weights to allow a more finely sifted confetti to be burned in the suspension boiler system at the electrical plant.

MAY SELL PART

The classifier will have an added benefit. While the main aim of the project is to develop another source of fuel, once the process of separating paper from metal has been refined the city may be able to sell the metal for scrap.

"We're working to produce particles that will be acceptable to steel manufacturers and therefore recyclable," Sutterfield said.

Work on the project began in 1969 and was finished a year later, he said. Once the initial planning was done, the next job was getting the federal money.

"We had enough foresight to plan this project," he said. "The federal government didn't choose us—we applied to them for a demonstration grant to try this process."

It's not the whole answer to fuel shortage problems, he said, but it's a start.

"It's a whole new technique for waste disposal," he explained. "We still have some way to go with our testing to complete our

evaluation. Some testing of gases will have to be done at the power plant after our air classifier is installed to determine what difference the air classifier makes.

"We think that with the proper preparation we can burn more than 10 percent confetti in the boilers. We really don't know what we can burn eventually. That's one of the things we'll try to determine."

Sutterfield said trash may be the fuel of the future and St. Louis trash could lead the way. Such a project has never before been tried on such a large scale, he said.

"Everyone is pretty well waiting to see what happens here before they decide whether they'll go any further."

MAJOR EXCERPTS FROM REFUSE AS A SUPPLEMENTARY FUEL

(By Wayne Sutterfield, Refuse Commissioner, city of St. Louis)

In April of 1972 for the first time in the United States, and perhaps for the first time in the world, an investor-owned utility began to burn municipal solid waste as supplementary fuel for the direct production of electrical power.

This unique venture is a cooperative effort between the City of St. Louis and the Union Electric Company, with financial support from the United States Environmental Protection Agency. The major potential benefits which are the objectives of this full-scale experiment include the development of an environmentally acceptable means of solid waste disposal, conservation of land use, and economic advantages to both the utility and the public.

Currently, Union Electric Company burns approximately 150 tons of low sulphur solid waste a day—about 15 percent of our city's daily output. The rest of our 850 tons of daily household refuse is incinerated in two city facilities and then landfilled.

The processing facilities purposely were kept as simple as possible, consisting only of equipment to remove magnetic metal and to provide a uniform small particle size to permit the solid waste to be burned in suspension.

In general, although the operating results must at this time be regarded as preliminary since the testing program is far from complete, the project is operating essentially as predicted. These operating problems which so far have presented themselves are of a mechanical nature, and are due mainly to the quality and peculiar characteristics of milled municipal solid wastes. We are making some equipment changes which should resolve these problems.

Our operating experience has shown that an additional processing step would be highly desirable. This step will consist of an air classification device, to separate the heavier particles, which would be either non-burnable, or large burnable particles which will not burn in suspension, from the light fluffy particles which will burn readily under the conditions prevailing in a suspension-fired boiler. It is expected that an acceptable air gravity separation would produce about 80 percent light combustibles and 20 percent heavy non-burnable particles.

It is anticipated that a number of advantages will accrue from this process addition, including the enhancement of heating value of the supplementary fuel, a decrease in the ash content of the fuel, elimination of those larger solid particles which can cause blockage of equipment such as pneumatic feeders, a decrease in the abrasiveness of the fuel carried in pneumatic piping, provisions for the easy reclamation of non-magnetic metal, and the possibility to fire greater percentages of solid waste as supplementary fuel.

With the help of American Iron and Steel Institute we are adding a second shredder to turn our reclaimed steel cans into a re-

cyclable product. After a second shredding the cans will meet the density, size and cleanliness requirements for steelmaking. A St. Louis-area steel company has agreed to buy several thousand tons of our reclaimed ferrous scrap—mainly cans. The scrap will replace an equal amount of iron ore in one of the company's blast furnaces.

The operating period from April 4, 1972, to this time, demonstrates that the refuse can be prepared, stored, transported, pneumatically blown into a boiler and burned.

The processed refuse is burned in a tangentially fired pulverized coal boiler. The boiler has a nominal rating of 125 MW with a maximum gross output of about 142 MW. Refuse is fired at a rate equal to 10 percent to 15 percent by heat value, of the full-load fuel requirement of the boiler. The refuse is fired at a more or less constant rate with the automatic combustion control system providing the additional coal necessary to carry the load on the boiler.

The refuse has an average heat value of about 4,500 BTU per pound—somewhat less than half the heat value of the coal used in the system. Each ton of refuse burned generates about 1000 kilowatt hours of electricity. Used as fuel, this solid waste is very low in sulphur, thus further enhancing the environment.

All in all, the results of the experimental project to date are quite encouraging, and there appears to be substantial promise that the project objectives will be achieved.

Present indications are that almost all fossil fuel-fired boilers, providing they have ash handling capability, could be adapted for burning refuse. Some, of course, could be more easily adapted than others. There also appears to be no reason why the combination burning of refuse with gas or oil, as well as with coal, would not be practical.

The capability of existing suspension-fired boilers to consume municipal solid waste is great enough to permit the process to serve as a principal means of refuse disposal for many metropolitan areas, even when the supplementary fuel is fired as only 10 percent of the total fuel requirements. A 600 MW unit, for example, could at full load consume on the order of 1,400 tons of prepared solid waste per day at the 10 percent firing rate.

In addition to the advantages St. Louis is getting from the burning of refuse for fuel, the city will soon be receiving revenues from its scrap steel cans. This is over-and-above the cost-savings of not having to bury the separated cans.

AN ALTERNATIVE TO NO-FAULT

HON. WENDELL WYATT

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. WYATT. Mr. Speaker, there is much discussion these days concerning Federal intervention into the no-fault insurance field. Oregon has adopted a program which is working very well and it appears to be a viable approach to this problem of automobile repair.

The Oregon program includes the Wisconsin form of comparative negligence and contribution between joint tortfeasors and also incorporates advance payment programs. In addition, there is a provision which requires each motorist to carry \$3,000 medical pay insurance and \$6,000 loss of income insurance, payable without regard to fault. However,

this provision does not grant any form of immunity to the negligent driver and totally preserves a person's right to full redress for all damages in a court of law.

The following is an excellent article written by Portland attorney, Thomas E. Cooney, which analyzes the complaints of no-fault proponents in relationship to how Oregon has handled this problem:

AN ALTERNATIVE TO NO-FAULT

(By Thomas E. Cooney)

No-fault enthusiasts are again bombarding the Legislature with a variety of so-called no-fault proposals in the 1973 Oregon Legislature. There are presently seven bills dealing with some form of no-fault. Those of which I am aware are the following: Senate Bills—308, 511 and 699; House Bills—2401, 2537, 2682 and 2832.

The proponents of no-fault are voicing the usual reasons as to why the present tort system is ineffective. In this article I hope to fairly set forth the objections of the no-fault proponents and analyze their validity in light of the reforms adopted by the 1971 Oregon Legislature.

The advocates of "No Responsibility Insurance" usually list the following reasons for abolishing the present tort system.

1. Court congestion due to clogging of dockets with automobile BI accident cases.

2. Delay in payment of auto victims' losses either because of delay in payments from the insurance company or because of delay in getting a case to trial.

3. Juries are not capable of fixing liability in auto accident cases because the doctrine of negligence is too nebulous and accidents usually happen within a brief span of time and therefore juries cannot properly assess these claims.

4. The present tort system makes insurance too expensive in that only a small portion of the premium dollar is returned to the accident victim.

5. Small claims or nuisance claims are paid too much in order to avoid litigation and seriously injured victims are not adequately compensated.

6. The present system punishes negligent drivers and this is, in today's modern society, socially unacceptable.

7. Compensation by way of dollar damages for non-economic losses such as impairment of future earning capacity and pain and suffering, etc. are wasteful and generally not wanted by the public.

Let's look specifically at the Oregon situation and see how its present system stands up in light of these complaints.

1. Court congestion. Proponents of no-fault point to such cities as Los Angeles and Chicago where there is court delay of almost five or six years from the time of filing until the time of trial. Such court congestion does not exist in Oregon. In Multnomah County, the largest and most litigious county in the state, the Honorable William Dale, Presiding Judge, advises that cases are currently receiving a trial date within four months from the date of filing.

Insofar as the contention that automobile BI cases are clogging the dockets, we should make the following analysis of case filings in Multnomah County.

(a) In the year 1970 there were a total of 13,804 cases of all kinds filed in Multnomah County. Of these, only 1,549 were automobile BI accident cases, or only 11.22 percent of all cases filed. During that same year there were more than 5,000 divorce cases and more than 2,500 criminal cases.

(b) In 1971 there were a total of 13,723 cases of all kinds filed in Multnomah County. Of these only 1,394 were bodily injury auto cases or a percentage of 10.16 percent of all cases filed. That same year there were again over 5,000 divorce cases and more than 3,000 criminal cases.

(c) In 1972 there were a total of 14,028 cases of all kinds filed in Multnomah County. Of these only 1,212 were automobile BI cases only 8.64 percent of all cases filed. More than 5,500 were divorce cases and again more than 3,000 were criminal cases.

Any person who would spend time in the Presiding Judge's chambers where cases are daily assigned to trial would soon learn that it is not the automobile bodily injury claim that congests our docket but rather than the increase in criminal cases. The advocates of no-fault would seem to feel that the grievances of private citizens have a lesser place in the courtroom than do the rights of criminal defendants.

Again, look to Multnomah County. In 1970 of the 1,549 automobile BI cases filed, only 181 were tried out of a total number of jury trials that year of 833, or only 21.73 percent. In 1971 there were only 122 automobile BI cases tried out of a total number of jury trials in Multnomah County of 798, or a percentage of 15.29 percent. In 1970 150 auto BI cases were tried out of a total number of jury trials of 872, or a percentage of 17.20 percent.

In 1970 approximately 88½ percent of the filed auto BI cases were settled or dismissed without trial; in 1971 approximately 91 percent of the auto BI cases filed were settled or dismissed without trial; in 1972 approximately 88 percent of the filed auto BI cases were settled or dismissed without trial.

It is interesting to note that between 1970 and 1972 there was a drop of over 382 automobile BI cases filed in Multnomah County.

Why the decreases in filed cases in 1971 and 1972? It should be noted that it was on September 9, 1971 that the comparative negligence law went into effect and in January of 1972 the PIP (ORS 743.800) benefits became mandatory on all auto insurance policies issued or renewed after that date. At least for part of the year 1972 Oregon motorists were, therefore, insured without regard to fault for medical expense up to \$3,000 and wage loss up to \$6,000 due to injuries suffered in auto accidents. ORS 743.800 specifically provides for prompt payment of economic loss without regard to fault. It does not, however, grant immunity to the wrongdoer. It preserves the injured victim's right to recover all of his damage in a court of law before a jury if he chooses.

It is anticipated that in 1973, because of the comparative negligence law and the existence of no-fault benefits of the PIP bill now on all Oregon policies for the whole year, the number of jury trials and auto BI filings will continue to drop even more drastically than in the preceding year.

Coupled with the implementations of the 1971 Legislature, there has been a reappraisal by insurance companies of methods and ways of handling and settling claims. More cases are settled today than ever before. Statistically we know that at least 382 fewer cases were filed in 1972 than in 1970. Of necessity this means either that larger portions of the premium dollar are going to the injured victim and not by way of defense costs, and/or that the insurance companies will be realizing a greater profit and, therefore, will be in a position to reduce premiums. This is of paramount importance to the public.

A check of the statistical information from Clackamas County shows an even smaller percentage of automobile BI case filings and trials. A check of other counties around the state, although using somewhat different systems of docketing cases, will show that if the litigants are desirous of going to trial, courts are available, in almost every instance, within six months. With this statistical information, it is difficult to see how anyone can honestly contend that in Oregon court congestion because of automobile BI cases is honestly a problem.

2. Delay in payment. No-fault proponents say that because of the court congestion and

delay, victims of automobile accidents are not compensated for years. The preceding paragraph shows that in Oregon there is not this prolonged period of delay for trial. Therefore, this argument cannot be sustained.

Insofar as delay in payment of economic loss, the PIP bill, ORS 743.800, provides expressly for prompt payment of medical and wage loss within the prescribed limits of the statute. Therefore, accident victims, even though they may must wait from four to six months for a trial date, are being compensated for their economic loss immediately. This delay aspect, therefore, is not present in the Oregon system.

3. Juries are not capable of fixing liability in auto negligence cases.

This argument is obviously made by those persons who have not worked regularly in the courtrooms with juries. If this argument is valid, no indictment should be issued for negligent homicide or any other type of crime or civil action filed wherein standards of behavior are set by law which may be violated in a short period of time. Experience shows us that juries in most instances are capable of reconstructing and re-enacting the accident with the assistance of skilled attorneys. If the no-faulters' argument is valid, we should adopt no-fault criminal law.

4. The tort system is too expensive—too little of the premium dollar goes to the injured victim.

This argument finds great sympathy with many persons because all persons feel their insurance rates are too high. Oregon rates are among the lowest in the nation. The Department of Transportation issued an estimate that only \$.40 of the premium dollar in the BI tort system goes to the injured victim and that if a no-fault system were adopted more of the premium dollar would end up in the hands of the injured victims since we could eliminate investigation of fault and legal expenses. In a recent survey, Lester Rawls, Insurance Commissioner for the State of Oregon, quoted more accurate statistics from Alfred M. Best & Co. for the year 1967 showing ratios of incurred losses to earned premiums.

All stock companies

Types of insurance and losses incurred as a percentage of earned premiums:

	Percent
Health and accident insurance, non-group	50.2
Fire insurance	56.2
Workmen's compensation insurance	63.9
Automobile bodily injury insurance	62.2
Auto collision insurance	56.8
Auto comprehensive insurance	51.1

All mutual companies

Health and accident insurance, non-group	53.4
Fire insurance	51.3
Workmen's compensation insurance	65.0
Auto bodily injury liability insurance	63.7
Auto collision insurance	60.1
Auto comprehensive insurance	53.6

It can be seen from these figures that the type of insurance which reimburse persons for losses irrespective of fault have not returned a higher percentage of the premium dollar than does the casualty insurance rate for BI claims where fault is involved. I am advised by Commissioner Rawls that these are national figures and in Oregon the percentage return of premium dollar under BI casualty rates is even higher. Commissioner Rawls advises that insurance companies writing in Oregon are beginning now to file proposed premium cuts in auto BI premiums for the upcoming year. These proposed cuts speak loudly for effectiveness of the program adopted by the 1971 Legislature.

5. Small claims are paid too much and seriously injured persons are not properly compensated.

There can be little doubt that the decrease in the filings of automobile BI cases has been predominantly in the area of the small claim. Ask any defense or plaintiff's lawyer how many small BI cases he filed or defended in the last year and you will find that these cases have almost completely disappeared. Many persons are content with their PIP benefits and therefore this program has effectively eliminated the need to over-compensate small claims. Insofar as insufficient compensation for the seriously injured victim, the Department of Transportation figures showed the following:

Economic loss to date of settlement and number of paid claimants:

	Percent
None	6.9
\$1 to \$500	72.0
\$501 to \$1,000	10.2
\$1,001 to \$1,500	4.0
\$1,501 to \$2,500	3.2
\$2,501 to \$5,000	2.2
\$5,001 to \$10,000	1.1
\$10,001 to \$25,000	.4
Over \$25,000	.1

Oregon's present PIP bill, therefore, covers economic loss for all auto victims except slightly more than 1.6 percent. State Representative George Cole's Bill (House Bill 2537) which is currently before the Legislature increases the PIP benefits to \$5,000 medical and \$9,000 wage loss. Therefore, it covers the economic loss of all but .1 percent of auto accident victims according to the DOT studies.

The answer to fuller compensation for the seriously injured auto victim is not in removing the valuable rights of innocent auto victims to recover their full damage before a jury, but rather in an ultimate increase in the requirements of minimum automobile bodily injury limits. The right to drive an automobile carries with it certain responsibilities. The minimum limits such as we have in Oregon of \$10/20/5 are, in this day, insufficient. It is difficult to perceive of many instances in which accident victims would not be almost totally compensated if the minimum bodily injury limits were \$25 and \$50 and Representative Cole's proposed new PIP limits were enacted.

However, in order to have the public enjoy reduced premiums, the increase in BI limits should be either delayed or gradual so that we don't eat up the insurance savings that we are about to realize. For this reason expanding the scope of damages in death cases and the abolishment of the family immunity and the abolishment of the guest statute should also be delayed. There is even less reason now to remove these laws than in the past because of the PIP benefits now available to these persons.

6. Some theorists in no-fault say that it is socially inappropriate or morally wrong to punish the tortfeasor and claim that the present tort system in effect does this. But under no-fault who is punished? Oregon's plan as it now stands provides for replacement of economic loss without regard to fault for all but slightly more than 1.6 percent of auto victims. Under Representative Cole's bill it covers economic loss of auto victims except for .1 percent. What more compensation should a negligent driver or motorist have? Who would be punished if we removed the valuable rights of innocent auto victims to recover their full damage in exchange for granting immunity to negligent motorists in order that they may recover more. No-fault punishes the non-negligent driver and not the negligent driver. Under the present system both parties are protected from an economic loss but the negligent driver can be required to reimburse the non-negligent motorist for his full damage.

7. No-fault proponents seem to feel that the dollar damages should not be recoverable for non-economic loss for such items as

impairment of future earning capacity, pain and suffering. They claim these are not important rights and therefore they should be removed or limited. Yet recently in the State of Colorado where the voters of that state were allowed to consider a no-fault proposal they voted down the proposal by a margin of 2 to 1.

Further evidence of how the general public feels about the right to be fairly compensated for non-economic loss is available merely by looking at jury verdicts around the state. Jurors are ordinary people. It is within their power to award what sum, if any, they feel is fair compensation for general damages for non-economic loss. The fact that this is considered a valued and important right is borne out by the awards of the jurors for this type of claim. If jurors did not feel that this was a valuable right it would be within their power to drastically limit the amount of such awards. The fact that they do not is an indication of the way people feel about these rights.

It is anticipated this coming year that there will be fewer and fewer auto BI cases tried and filed, therefore, even further decreasing the number of cases that are currently filed. The problem of court congestion is just nonexistent. Victims in Oregon now receive prompt payment for economic loss yet preserve their valuable rights to full redress for all of their damage in a court of law. Negligent drivers are not granted immunity. Most of all, insurance premiums are going to drop.

Adoption of any of the no-fault plans that are now proposed can only result in an increase in rates according to studies made by State Farm Insurance Company. How can any person truly say that granting immunity to negligent drivers and removing non-negligent driver's right to full and complete compensation at an increased cost is what people really want?

If the present Legislature will allow the reforms adopted by the 1971 Legislature to have a few years of experience, I am sure that they will be very favorable insofar as answering the complaints that have been leveled at the tort system. We have had inquiry from legislators from Arizona, Montana and New Jersey seeking to copy the Oregon plan. To change now when some of the states have adopted various proposals would deny the public the right to visualize how really effective the Oregon plan can be.

State and Federal Affairs Committee—Aucoin, Chairman; Blumenauer, Vice Chairman, Fadeley, Grannell, Lindquist, Sumner, Bazett, Hanneman, Kinsey.

Transportation Committee—Willits, Chairman; Priestley, Vice Chairman; Grannell, Sumner, Wolfer, M., Markham, Ragsdale, Stults, D., Walden.

Judiciary Committee—Cole, Chairman; Paulus, Vice Chairman; Katz, Magruder, Marx, Bunn, Wolfer, C., Hampton, Stults, R.

Consumer and Business Affairs Committee—Magruder, Chairman; Gilmour, Vice Chairman; Cole, Otto, Stevenson, Shallen, Willits, Gwinn, Hampton, Johnson, L., Stults, R.

I commend for your review the January, 1973, issue of the Mississippi Law Journal, Volume No. 44, No. 1, which has a complete and excellent analysis of no-fault from all sides and a very interesting article on the Massachusetts experience.

DILLON GRAHAM

HON. JACK EDWARDS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. EDWARDS of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the House Press Gallery has a

vacant chair now that will be hard to fill. Dillon Graham of the Associated Press and his wife, Gigi, have retired and are moving to Myrtle Beach, S.C., to find new beginnings.

We cannot let Mr. Graham retire from our midst without an expression of appreciation for the outstanding manner in which he performed his duties as regional writer for the Associated Press. He is a professional journalist in every sense of the word and it was a great pleasure working with him.

Mr. Graham's journalism career began 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., 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. Mr. Graham was sent to New York in 1937 as national feature sports editor. In 1943, he went 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 with emphasis on the Southeastern States.

Mr. Graham has much of which to be proud during his successful career on Capitol Hill. He has a reputation of honesty and integrity which has won for him the respect of those with whom he worked and those he covered in the House Chambers.

We wish for Mr. Graham and his wife a lifetime of sunshine and blue skies.

ATLANTIC-RICHFIELD RIDICULES WINDPOWER WHILE OTHERS MAKE IT WORK

HON. MIKE GRAVEL

OF ALASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. GRAVEL. Mr. President, energy from the wind can be stored in batteries, in flywheels, in compressed air, and in hydrogen gas. Storage is so well understood that I was appalled by the Atlantic-Richfield television spot on energy conservation which was broadcast over WTOP in Washington on May 7, 1973.

That TV spot showed a picturesque old windmill with lights in its windows. As the windmill blades stopped turning, the lights went out and the TV audience was treated to a voice saying, "A good idea—until the wind dies down."

Atlantic-Richfield and other big energy companies are neglecting our capability to tap windpower and other forms of direct and indirect solar energy with today's technology. While they often claim that solar power would take decades for them to develop, individuals with

no money at all are building systems which work.

\$400 HAS DONE IT

A small windpower system which can be built in any ordinary home woodworking shop was described in detail in the March 1973 issue of the Mother Earth News. The power rig was christened "The Sencenbaugh O₂ Powered Delight" by a friend of the designer, Jim Sencenbaugh.

This modest wooden system, like the others I have described in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, provides for energy storage so that power is available even when the wind is not blowing.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that major excerpts from the article by Jim Sencenbaugh entitled, "I Built a Wind Charger for \$400" be printed here in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Mother Earth News, March 1973]

I BUILT A WIND CHARGER FOR \$400!

(By Jim Sencenbaugh)

Intrigued—as many folks are nowadays—by the idea of free, non-polluting electrical energy, I set about constructing (with a little help from my friends) a wind charger of my own design. The research, planning, blueprinting and building consumed a little over a year's worth of spare time . . . but the months of work seemed well worth the investment the first evening we enjoyed stereo music and fluorescent lighting powered by our self-contained system.

The total cost of my homebuilt unit was a little over \$400 and—now that I've pioneered the design—I'm sure you can duplicate the rig for from \$300 to \$350, depending on your choice of batteries. I'm also reasonably confident that you should be able to construct a wind charger like mine in any ordinary home woodworking shop. Everything but the blades can be made with hand tools and an electric drill. If you're exceedingly clever and determined, I suppose you might even fabricate the propeller with a 14" band saw and hand sand them . . . but I recommend that you figure on using a tilting table saw and belt sander for building the three airfoils.

My complete wind-driven electrical system consists of five main parts: [1] the fan, which is rotated by the wind and which—in turn—drives [2] the unit that generates direct current, [3] a tower that supports the first two components, [4] batteries and [5] an inverter that changes the direct current to alternating current.

THE ROTOR ASSEMBLY

The fan on my wind charger is a wooden, three-bladed variable pitch (constant speed) propeller ten feet in diameter. The prop is made of clear white pine and is sealed and protected by an epoxy resin compound called Envirotex.

This summer, after school is over, we plan to experiment with an entirely different kind of windmill prop called a *sailwing*. It's currently being developed at Princeton University (see *Aviation Week and Space Technology*, November 13, 1972, page 47) and is a foldable, lightweight, flexible wing with a high lift-to-drag ratio. The concept is both unique and exciting in that the airfoil actually twists as rpm increases . . . thus creating a very efficient angle of attack at all wind speeds. Stay tuned to Mother for news of our work with the idea.

I planned, from the beginning, to install my windmill in a remote area and took pains to design the machine to be both reliable and—equally important—self-regulating.

To prevent propeller overspeed (and potential disaster), I fell back on a device used

in 1908 by Kenwood Manufacturing, a maker of prairie windmills. This is a *pilot vane* (or air governor) placed at right angles to the main vane (or tail) which holds my machine's fan into the wind. The idea, of course, is that as wind velocity approaches a critical level, the pilot vane will increasingly counteract the main tail and turn the fan further and further away from directly facing the moving air mass.

The pilot vane is a simple and effective device . . . when winds are steady. During gusty and outright violent conditions, though, it's sometimes better to completely shut down a wind plant. One of the easiest ways to do this is by designing the main vane to fold into position alongside its little brother so that—as it continues to streamline itself—it safely faces the prop out of the blasting flow of air. The foldable main vane was popular among homebuilders in the 1920's and '30's and is quite effective.

In addition to the pilot vane and folding main vane that I've put on my windmill to prevent overspeeding, I've added yet a third device that accomplishes the same end. This is a mechanism that automatically feathers the propeller (lessens the angle of attack of its blades) as the fan starts to over-rev, thereby spilling off lift and maintaining a safe prop rpm. This system is activated by centrifugal force.

Actually, this latter technique for controlling propeller overspeed is probably the most effective of all. We've retained the pilot vane on our wind plant, however, as a measure of insurance and kept the movable main vane as a simple and effective means of completely stopping the fan whenever we desire.

THE ALTERNATOR

We chose to mount an automobile alternator on our wind plant for the production of electricity for good reasons such a unit is now readily available in junkyards for little or nothing and it produces usable current at lower rpm's than a generator.

An alternator is simply an AC (alternating current) generator with its cycle unregulated and its output rectified through a diode bridge so that the unit yields fullwave DC (direct current). The main advantage of DC over AC, of course, being that direct current can be stored in batteries for use when the wind isn't blowing.

Due to the fact that an alternator creates electrical energy by inducing a field current into the rotating field of an armature, we did have to overcome one problem before we could satisfactorily drive such a unit with an irregular source of power like the wind. An alternator will generate AC (which, changed into DC, can be stored in batteries) only as long as the armature spins and cuts across the field current's lines of electromagnetic force. If the field current is left on while the armature is at rest, however, the unit will slowly drain any batteries to which it's connected.

The obvious solution to this hang-up is to build a device that will turn the alternator on only when the wind is blowing strong enough to generate power. Our approach was to use a vane (another vane!) dampened with a spring (another spring!) to operate a relay capable of switching on and off the alternator's three amps of field current. We call this our "wind sensor" and we set it to turn field current into the alternator when the breeze reaches a velocity of 8 mph. It works beautifully.

The alternator is coupled to the windmill rotor with standard go-cart chains and gears so that the generating unit turns faster than the prop (if you build a system like mine the suggested ratio of alternator to rotor rpm's should be somewhere between 7:1 and 9:1). I used two sets of chains (see view of generator assembly) to minimize any stretching and derailing tendencies and when our prop turns over at 100 rpm in a

12 mph wind, the alternator spins up fast enough to produce electricity at a medium charging rate.

THE TOWER

The structure which supports the rotor-alternator combination is 22 feet high and fabricated of 2x2 Douglas fir. Although my choice of lumber may seem to be somewhat on the light side, the tower has steadfastly withstood the rather large loads imposed upon it. The secret is in the framework's careful design and construction—a lattice design with opposing diagonals on each side. The structure is reinforced with internal bracing at its top where the rotor-alternator support pipe anchors . . . it's strengthened again halfway down by a horizontal 3/4-inch plywood plate . . . and it's reinforced once more at the bottom by a plywood storage cabinet. All joints are secured with galvanized nails and Resorcinol, a waterproof marine glue. The wood is sealed with three coats of outdoor sealer and painted with two coats of Sears "Sky Blue" latex house paint.

There's a built-in ladder up one side of the structure and the tower is guyed at four points and anchored to 2 x 2-inch angle iron embedded three feet deep in a 4 x 4 x 3-foot deep concrete foundation. The whole plant is hinged on two of the angles and can be pushed upright by four people (just make sure the shortest fella is closest to the pivot point). A brush arrangement built into the support bracket on top allows power to be transferred down the framework to the cabinet at the bottom while the rotor-alternator assembly remains free to weathercock through a full 360 degrees.

BATTERIES AND THE INVERTER

The cabinet at the base of the tower houses several surplus 70-amp/hour nickel-cadmium aircraft batteries, a regulating system and a solid-state DC-to-AC inverter that produces 500 watts of 60-cycle, 110-volt AC (typical house current).

The batteries and inverter are located close to the generator for a very important reason: the dome that my wind plant was set up to power is 125 feet away from the tower and DC transmission through a conductor of that length would result in an unacceptably large voltage drop. AC transmission losses, on the other hand, are very low . . . so, by converting the DC to AC as soon as possible and then making the long run with alternating current, our whole system becomes much more practical.

If you try to duplicate my wind-powered generating station you may be tempted to save some money by substituting new or used automobile lead-acid batteries for the nickel-cadmium batteries I've used. If you do, be sure to include a regulator between the generating unit and the storage units to protect the batteries from being overcharged. Overcharging lead-acid batteries can warp their plates, severely damage them in other ways and make them worthless.

Lead-acid electrical storage units have additional disadvantages. They can lose up to 50% of their capacity in cold or freezing weather, they do not dissipate heat well when under high-current stress, they contain acid that can violently burn the flesh, they're large, bulky and heavy—and sooner or later—they deteriorate internally. Why do we use them? Because they're economical to produce and they work well enough when installed in a car or truck.

Nickel-cadmium aircraft batteries make far better electrical storage units. They're virtually indestructible (broken cells are repaired with epoxy), smaller, lighter and retain 100% of their capacity in cold weather. Ni-Cad batteries also charge faster, high currents can be drawn from them without damaging the units internally and their electrolyte (an alkaline) is less hazardous than acid. Since N-C batteries cannot be overcharged, you can omit the voltage regulator when you

use them. (The alternator—unlike a DC generator—will not pass reverse current through itself because of its diodes . . . and will charge only to the load it "sees". If it sees a fully charged N-C battery, the alternator will produce just a minimum amount of current . . . which will not bother a nickel-cadmium storage unit.)

The only real drawback to N-C batteries is their cost. New, they are very expensive . . . BUT, given proper care, they're considered by many mechanics to be true lifetime batteries and they can be obtained through surplus houses for just about the cost of new lead-acid storage units. Write to ESSE Radio Co., 368 S. Meridian St., Indianapolis, Indiana 46225 and ask for their price sheet on Ni-Cad batteries and you'll be surprised at the bargains you find listed.

For converting my system's 12-volt DC into usable 60-Hz (cycle), 110-volt AC, I picked a Heathkit Model MP-14 solidstate inverter from the Heath Co., Benton Harbor, Michigan 49022. The unit will produce 400 watts of 110-volt AC continuously or 500 watts intermittently at 80–85% efficiency. This is enough alternating current to operate fluorescent lights (which consume much less power than incandescent lamps), phonographs, electric razors, TV's with transformer power supplies, drill motors and almost anything else within its design parameters. In other words—with the exception of ridiculously gluttonous electric appliances such as room heaters, stoves and air conditioner—the little Heath inverter supplies more than enough AC power for almost anything you'd care to operate electrically in a home or small cabin.

Once the "juice" developed by my wind-driven system is converted to AC, it's carried to the home via underground outdoor cable. There, on a master control panel in the building, we can monitor AC output and battery charge (respectively) on a combination AC-DC voltmeter. By flicking the normal rate or—during winds of short duration—fast charge the storage units by changing the field windings of the alternator from their usual 12 volts DC to 110 volts DC.

Another panel switch controls a relay which turns the inverter on and off at the base of the windmill. This relay, it should be noted, requires about .25 amps of 12-volt DC current for its operation . . . which is nothing compared to the electrical loss that would take place if we tried to bring direct—instead of alternating—current to the dome.

ADDITIONAL TIPS AND HINTS ABOUT COMPONENTS

The Heathkit inverter denied my pocket-book \$130 but I think it was worth it . . . especially since it has a built-in provision for remote control (which I use every time I turn the unit on or off from the home 125 feet away) and its output transformer secondary taps can be switched to compensate for low battery voltage input or AC voltage drop due to load changes.

The Dodge Dart alternator I adapted to my system goes, used, for \$15.00–\$20.00 out here on the West Coast . . . but I got three absolutely free from a mechanic who said that he didn't want them lying around anymore!

I spent a little better than \$70.00 for my bank of Ni-Cad batteries and I'd advise you to lay out the cash to assemble yourself enough storage units to total a minimum of 100 amp/hrs. . . . more if your local winds are very sporadic.

If you're careful how you spend your money you should be able to build a copy of my system for \$300–\$350 . . . which isn't bad, considering that one U.S. firm wants \$500 for a wind plant that was designed 40 years ago and which produces nothing but DC. The only alternative worth considering is Quirk's fine gear which, at \$1,800 or more, is out of reach for most people with limited funds.

Nor are there any other good homebuilt

designs being widely circulated. None, at any rate, that I know of. In researching this project I found much information on mechanical theory, but little on the actual construction of a practical wind-driven power plant for the small homestead. Most articles with plans for such equipment were published before 1940 (and are now outdated). The only recent respectable attempt in the field that I've run across was featured in the November, '72 Popular Science . . . and that unit is somewhat impractical for continuous use since it exhibits no facilities for autoregulation or DC conversion.

I have decided, therefore—upon the urging of John and O'Malley Stouman (the people for whom I built this plant) Henry Clews (the authorized Quirk agent for the U.S.), my parents and friends and the folks at Mother—to produce a complete and highly detailed set of plans for the Sencenbaugh O₂ Powered Delight. The format of these drawings is similar to homebuilt aircraft plans and all components and specifications, parts substitutions, addresses of suppliers, etc., are given. Sencenbaugh O₂ Powered Delight Plans, c/o Jim Sencenbaugh, 673 Chim-alus Drive, Palo Alto, California 94306.

CANADIAN PIPELINE

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, at present the Subcommittee on Public Lands is holding a series of public hearings that revolve around the question of a Canadian versus an Alaskan pipeline. As many of my colleagues know, I believe that the environmental risks of a Canadian pipeline and the economic advantages to the Midwest and East of a Canadian pipeline dictate that we must proceed with a Canadian route.

Often the question arises: "How interested is Canada in having a pipeline?" The answer to that question is provided in a recent statement by Canada's Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources before Parliament. He told the Commons on May 16:

The view we take continues to be that the Mackenzie Valley would be the best route for bringing Prudhoe Bay oil to southern markets.

Despite claims of the Department of Interior and the giant oil companies to the contrary, the Canadian Government is seriously interested in building a Canadian route. For my colleagues' information, I would like to include in the Record the questions and answers concerning the Alaska oil question which occurred during Canadian House of Commons debate on May 14 and 16.

The Commons debate follows:

[Oral questions]

ON

Proposed west coast tanker route—Government policy in light of recent statements by U.S. officials and Premier Barrett's proposal

Mr. JOHN A. FRASER (Vancouver South). Mr. Speaker, my question is addressed to the Prime Minister. In view of some recent statements by the United States officials about Canadian energy and oil policy being in a quagmire and nothing but fantasy, can the Prime Minister tell the House whether it is government policy to give the Alaskan oil tanker

route the green light, as published on Thursday?

Right Hon. P. E. TRUDEAU (Prime Minister). Mr. Speaker, I am not aware of the publication on Thursday that the hon. member refers to. I can say that government policy has not changed in this regard. It is that we do not favour the route from Alaska which would take oil tankers over the ocean into waters that are very narrowly confined between the United States and Canada. That is still our policy, and our policy is still to indicate that the Mackenzie route is one which we would be prepared to consider if there is application made in the proper form, and that we would be very happy to follow up on that.

Mr. FRASER. In view of the Prime Minister's reply, can the Prime Minister tell the House why the government is presently studying Premier Barrett's alternative oil and gas route through Alaska, the Yukon and British Columbia? Does that indicate some change in government policy?

Mr. TRUDEAU. Mr. Speaker, I am not even sure of the premise of the question. As of a week ago we had not received the studies behind Premier Barrett's proposal, although we had asked for them repeatedly. So we cannot say that we are studying them. We have not received them. This may have changed in the past week. The minister is to return from Europe today and he no doubt will be in the position to supplement this answer when he is in the House tomorrow.

ENERGY

Government policy in light of transportation route for Prudhoe Bay oil proposed by B. C. Premier

Mr. JOHN FRASER (Vancouver South). Mr. Speaker, my question is supplementary to a question I asked the Prime Minister on Monday when he referred the matter to the Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources. In view of the fact that Canadian policy, as stated by the Prime Minister the other day, seems to favour an overland gas and oil route down the Mackenzie, do the recent discussions with Premier Barrett of British Columbia and the apparent study of his suggested oil route which would come down from Alaska through the Yukon and British Columbia indicate a change in government policy?

Hon. DONALD S. MACDONALD (Minister of Energy, Mines and Resources). No, Mr. Speaker. The view we take continues to be that the Mackenzie Valley would be the best route for bringing Prudhoe Bay oil to southern markets. However, in the case of a serious proposal, such as we believe Premier Barrett's was intended to be, the government does feel an obligation to have an investigation of this alternative route to determine whether or not it is feasible and, in general, whether it would be in the national interest to promote it further.

Mr. FRASER. It has been stated that the policy is to bring Prudhoe oil down the Mackenzie. While we know that some studies have been carried out with respect to a gas pipeline, may I ask whether equivalent studies have been made under the aegis of the government of Canada with respect to an oil pipeline from Prudhoe Bay? Can the minister tell the House what co-ordination exists with respect to planning some kind of joint application with respect to gas and oil? If we proceed on the basis of just one, we shall not end up with any cohesive policy.

[Mr. Marshall.]

Mr. MACDONALD (Rosedale). Mr. Speaker, the studies carried out by the government of Canada, about \$20 million worth up to this point, relate to both a right of way for gas and an oil pipeline in the sense that they deal with ecological problems, soil quality and other related matters. With regard to the possibility of constructing an oil line, I would remind the hon. member that the Mackenzie Valley pipeline research group, made

up principally of the Prudhoe Bay consortium, has completed an exhaustive study of the feasibility of such an oil line, the results of which have been made available to the government of Canada. It is fair, however, to point out to the hon. gentleman that while we have reason to believe there will be an application for a gas line in the fourth quarter of this year, there is no indication on the part of any private parties that at this time they will be coming forward with an application for an oil line. It could well be that, depending on the turn of events with regard to TAPS in the United States, they would do so, but neither they nor the United States government—

Mr. SPEAKER. Order, please. The hon. member for Edmonton West.

ALUM ROCK VOUCHER PLAN

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the following article which appeared today in the New York Times, points out a first in educational experimentation, the Alum Rock School District voucher system in San Jose, Calif. Although not as revolutionary as some voucher proposals, the Alum Rock plan, involving six schools and a high percentage of minority group children who qualify for compensatory education, has had a most interesting and exciting first year of operation. Basically, the program offers parents a choice of which school and which type of educational program they would like their children to be involved in.

The apparent success and resultant expansion of the program is largely due to the enthusiasm and dedication of Mr. Bill Jefferds, the district superintendent. His experience at all levels of school operation has made him singularly responsive to the needs of both the school system and the community it serves. It is his contention, and the families participating seem to concur, that the two main aspects of the voucher system—parental choice and educational alternatives—are what is wanted and needed in developing educational programs for the future. I feel that the Alum Rock School District is a valuable example of the constructive and innovative possibilities available to schools in meeting the needs of their communities:

A SCHOOL VOUCHER EXPERIMENT RATES AN "A" IN COAST DISTRICT (By Evan Jenkins)

SAN JOSE, CALIF.—On the east side of this city of half a million an hour's drive south of San Francisco, six schools are finishing the first year of a project that has made them the focus of national attention and controversy.

The project is described as the first experiment anywhere with educational vouchers, the explosive concept that would let parents use public funds to send children to schools of their choice, and make the schools compete for pupils and money or fall by the wayside.

If the voucher system became widespread, its friends and enemies agree, it could revolutionize American education.

At the end of the first hectic year of the experiment here, those involved in it see a

revolution of sorts in their schools—less absenteeism and vandalism, more variety in educational offerings, more enthusiasm for school on all sides. Their version of the voucher system has widespread local support, partly because it is carefully limited.

In its purest form, known as the Friedman model after the conservative economist Milton Friedman, the voucher concept has aroused fierce opposition from educational groups, civil rights organizations and citizens.

SOME FEAR ILL EFFECTS

The chief arguments are that unrestricted vouchers would promote racial and economic segregation, provide unconstitutional backdoor aid to sectarian schools and cripple or even destroy public education.

The experiment here is a far cry from the Friedman model—so much so that both supporters and critics of the voucher principle contend that it is not a true test of voucher education. They say it may be seriously misleading as an example of the concept in practice at a time when districts around the country are considering voucher experiments.

Voucher purists think private and parochial schools should be part of the competition they would like to see in education. Here, only public schools are involved. Affluent parents may not supplement the basic sum—the voucher—allocated to each child, as they could under a pure voucher system. Nor may schools choose among applicants.

Moreover, safeguards have been built into this city's program to keep teachers and administrators on the payroll even if their programs are uncompetitive and to give parents the right to keep their children in neighborhood schools.

ABUSES WERE FEARED

Some of the restrictions were placed on the concept by the Federal Office of Economic Opportunity after a study headed by Christopher Jencks of Harvard concluded in 1970 that an unregulated voucher system could lead to abuses and probably would be thrown out by the courts. Other modifications were made at the insistence of local officials for this experiment.

Finally, the unusual nature of the school district and its leadership raise the question of whether anything that happens here can be a lesson for anyplace else.

The six schools in the experiment are among 24 in the ethnically mixed, economically strapped Alum Rock Union School District, where the project and the Federal funds that go with it landed after other places turned the idea down.

With a two-year grant of \$2-million from the Office of Economic Opportunity, the six schools have developed a total of 22 elementary education programs, called "mini-schools." Parents have been given the right to enroll their children in any program they like.

Every child carries with him a voucher, worth \$680 a year for children in kindergarten through sixth grade and \$970 for seventh and eighth graders.

The amounts represent the average per-pupil expenditure in Alum Rock, one of the poorer districts in California, and the money comes from the regular district budget.

EXTRA FUNDS FOR FOOD

For children poor enough to qualify for the Federal school lunch program—more than half the Alum Rock children qualify—O.E.O. provides compensatory vouchers worth about a third more. The goal is to encourage school staffs to develop programs that would help and be attractive to the poor.

The range of educational choices starts with the traditional—straight rows of desks, teacher-imposed regimen, structured group learning. With some wrinkles added here and there, each of the six schools in the voucher offers a traditional program.

At the other end of a spectrum that stops short of radical pedagogy is School 2000 at the Donald J. Meyer Elementary School. Standard subjects are taught in the context of such modern and future concerns as space exploration and ecology, and pupils in a single classroom may range in age from 5 to 10.

Between the two extremes are such offerings as the fine arts minischool, also at Meyer. Mrs. Bonnie Jacobsen says she finds her pupils more responsive this year because art is an integral part of school and not just a reward for getting through the dull stuff; and the multicultural program at Grandin H. Miller Elementary School, where Ruth Domingo, 11 years old, and Rosalind Wyman, 12, says they enjoy "the cultures"—the supplement to standard elementary fare that involves learning how Chicanos, blacks, Japanese and Hawaiians live.

PARENTS WERE CAREFUL

Faced with such a variety of choices for their children, Alum Rock's parents have reacted conservatively in the first year of the voucher project.

Only about 5 per cent have chosen programs that take their children away from their neighborhood schools, and for them the Federal grant provides transportation money.

Traditional education is the single most popular offering, enrolling almost 1,400 of the 3,800 pupils in the six voucher schools.

The voucher project is to be expanded next year to seven more schools under a new two-year grant, approved in Washington, that will bring the total Federal investment in the program to just under \$7-million. And there are signs that the parental caution that marked the first year may be easing.

Paul Hutchinson, spokesman for the non-profit Sequoia Institute, which administers the project under contract with the school district, said the selection process now under way among parents for next year showed a developing pattern of willingness to leave the neighborhood school—"going with the program instead of the building," as he put it.

Mrs. Thelma Atterbury, who works part time in the voucher project's parent information program, backs the district's experiment on the ground that "there was something wrong in the past, why not try something new." But she chose traditional education programs for her two children this year.

"I felt it would take a year for this thing to get off the ground," she said, "and I was afraid the kids might lose something if they went into a new kind of program. But I plan to change now."

EVALUATIONS NEXT YEAR

Are children learning more under the voucher program than they did before?

Detailed evaluations are to be done by the Sequoia Institute and the Rand Corporation, but results will not be known before the end of the project's second year.

No one in more than a score of interviews suggested that the children were learning less, and many thought that there was marked improvement.

Is the Alum Rock experience applicable elsewhere?

Daniel F. Joy 3d, a former official of Young Americans for Freedom and one of the political conservatives now running O.E.O., said he believed that the voucher concept was hardly being tested at all. He was much more enthusiastic about a proposed experiment in New Hampshire that would include nonpublic schools and in general come as close to "pure" voucherism as possible.

Joel M. Levin, president of the Sequoia Institute and director of the Alum Rock project, said he thought that with proper preparation and civil rights safeguards, at least part of the program here could be duplicated anywhere. But he conceded that Alum Rock was in an extraordinary school district.

HARMONY AMONG LEADERS

It would be hard to imagine any abuse of parental choice that could lead to segregation here, for example. The district's enrollment is 50 per cent Chicano, 35 per cent white, 10 per cent black and 5 per cent Oriental and other minorities. The ethnic ratios in the voucher schools have reflected those proportions.

Alum Rock also presents a picture of exceptional harmony in its leadership.

B. Luke Levers, head of the local affiliate of the California Teachers Association, shares with the state group and its parent body, the National Education Association, a distrust of the voucher concept. But he feels that the local program is working well, for purely local reasons.

"We're probably unique in our school board," he said. "It's the best I've ever been around. But the key to the whole thing is the superintendent, Bill Jefferds. When he tells you something is going to be a certain way, that's the way it is."

Most observers credit Mr. Jefferds with the success of the exhausting local consultations and negotiations with Federal officials that brought the experiment to Alum Rock.

AUGMENTED RESOURCES

Even before the Federal project came along, though, Mr. Jefferds had proved himself adept at augmenting Alum Rock's meager resources through conventional and unconventional channels. One program, involving use of school buildings for community activities, has financial help from a pair of improbable sources—the Junior League and a Federal crime-control act.

"The justification was that we were helping to prevent juvenile delinquency," Mr. Jefferds said.

Ed Gehrhardt, president of the East San Jose local of the American Federation of Teachers, echoed the praise of Mr. Jefferds. But he said he thought most of the schools opted for the voucher program to get O.E.O. money, and added:

"As a local we're particularly concerned because the experience in Alum Rock might be used to form a conclusion that a less regulated voucher model is workable."

Mr. Jefferds became superintendent three years ago after a career in Alum Rock that included teaching and various administrative jobs. He immediately started a process of decentralization in the district, once so rigidly structured that it was possible to tell at any hour of the day almost exactly what a pupil in any classroom was doing.

FEARS ELITISM

Mr. Jefferds said he thought two aspects of the voucher experiment—parental choice and educational alternatives—could be introduced in many school districts.

"I'm against the Friedman model because it could produce a separate, elite school system," the superintendent said. "But I'd like to see private and parochial schools involved in vouchers if they had the same ground rules we have—the same resources, the same admissions procedures. I think the public schools could compete very effectively."

"THE PAPERS OF ADLAI E. STEVENSON," A REVIEW BY JAMES A. ELDRIDGE

HON. JOHN BRADEMÁS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. BRADEMÁS. Mr. Speaker, as the Nation lives through times made troubled by the events we sum up in the word "Watergate," I am sure that many of us

must all the more be reminded of the integrity and dedication to freedom and decency of the late Adlai E. Stevenson.

I ask unanimous consent, in this respect, to insert in the RECORD the text of a review, by James A. Eldridge, editorial page columnist and book critic of the Chillicothe, Ohio, Gazette, of the recently published book, "The Papers of Adlai E. Stevenson."

The review follows:

THE READING ROOM: INDEED, A PROPHET WITH HONOR

(By James A. Eldridge)

"He honored the Presidency merely by seeking the office." With these words the New York Times Book Review hailed the publication of "The Papers of Adlai E. Stevenson."

Stevenson, governor of Illinois from 1949 to 1953 and the Democratic nominee for the Presidency in 1952 and 1956, was the most intellectually gifted politician on the hustings since Woodrow Wilson.

Americans for generations to come will be grateful for this large publication project undertaken by Little, Brown and Co. of Boston. There will be eight separate volumes in all.

To date two volumes have been released. The first volume carries the subtitle "Beginnings of Education—1900-1941." The second volume is called "Washington to Springfield—1941-1948."

The publishers have been singularly fortunate in being able to have Walter Johnson and Carol Evans as the editors of the Stevenson papers.

Johnson is one of the most distinguished professors of history in our time. For many years he was a member of the faculty of the University of Chicago from which he received both his master's degree and doctorate.

He held the post of Harnsworth Professor of American History at Oxford University and he now teaches at the University of Hawaii.

Carol Evans was Stevenson's personal secretary for many years. She first worked for him in the Chicago law firm where he was a junior partner and in 1949 she went with him to Springfield after he became governor of Illinois. She remained with him until 1961.

She is remembered by the working press who covered the various Stevenson campaigns with warmth and affection. Her legendary efficiency and good humor made their assignments considerably easier.

It is apparent to this reader of the first two volumes that the completed project of the publication of the Stevenson papers will be more than a documentary biography of a great American—much more—it will be a documentary history in his own words of the extraordinary and bewildering changes that remade the United States and the world during Stevenson's lifetime—from 1900 to 1965.

And what a joy it is to read Stevenson's words. The cello-like beauty of his voice echoes through these pages. The Foreword of Volume I puts it this way: "Stevenson was a master of a distinguished writing style: witty, pungent, humorous, clear; and when occasion demanded, effectively sharp. He was free of the pomposities of prose that make the pronouncements of some leaders sound like the suckings of leaky bilge pumps."

Volume I traces Stevenson's early development and from his childhood letters, innumerable postcards and early speeches one senses his belief that education is a life-long process and a personal responsibility.

His growing desire to participate in the affairs of government came early in his childhood in Bloomington, Ill., and grew during the years at Choate School and Princeton University. It blossomed during the years at Harvard and Northwestern law schools.

Adlai was born to politics and American history. Jesse Fell, his great-grandfather was a founder of the Republican Party, a close friend and early political supporters of Lincoln's.

His grandfather, the first Adlai, was Grover Cleveland's second vice-president and in 1908 lost the election for governor of Illinois by 22,000 votes.

Adlai once wrote, "I have been preoccupied with public affairs—probably at the expense of private affairs—I mean business and professional obligations."

For that, generations of Americans to come will be grateful as these papers are destined to become classic guidelines to which men will return as long as this Republic endures as a free society.

Bear in mind there is no mistaking his Americanism—his energy, curiosity, good spirit and frank good will toward all mankind.

He was midwestern to the core. The land of Lincoln, Sandburg and Archibald MacLeish was in the very marrow of his bones.

It should be noted here that the Stevenson family had a deep religious tradition of strict Presbyterianism. But the children were brought up in the tolerant, humanistic Unitarian faith of their mother. There was also a strong Quaker tradition in Stevenson's maternal ancestors. Thus, as historian Herbert J. Muller put it, "Stevenson was spared the prejudice and intolerance that flourished on the common fundamentalism of rural America."

And it was his hallmark that he had the 18th Century Enlightenment's belief in reason, the possibility of progress, fundamental optimism and intellectual curiosity.

Volume II traces his career from 1941 when he became assistant to secretary of the navy Frank Knox to his election as governor of Illinois in 1948.

For Adlai those seven years were a period of growing personal political maturity, and for the nation they were the time during which the central policies, public attitudes and the intellectual conflicts that were to dominate American political life until the late 1960s were shaped.

And for Adlai they were also the years of apprenticeship. Like Churchill, his entire adult life was but a preparation for the greatness that was inevitably to come.

At the time of Stevenson's death in 1965 newsman Eric Sevareid wrote, "When he was 50 years old, almost nobody but his friends knew his rare quality; when he died 15 years later, a million people cried. And he had this effect on the world of civilized people without using any of the instruments of power. He did it with words alone, and with that wry grin on his battered, lopsided face."

The publication of the papers of Adlai Stevenson prove the validity of Sevareid's words.

CRISIS FOR NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONAL PRESS

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, presently a traditional source of information to the American people faces extinction. I speak of the vast numbers of publications traditionally disseminated to the memberships of nonprofit organizations under special second-class postal rates.

The Postal Rate Commission, ignoring 55 years of congressional policy, has effected new rates which will make it

extremely difficult, perhaps impossible, for many of these publications to continue operating. In a day when much of our information comes to us from giant media chains, it is more important than ever to protect the existence of such publications, whether they be a small college alumni journal, a trade union newsletter, or a church magazine.

As many of my colleagues may know, I have cosponsored with the gentleman from Arizona (Mr. UDALL) H.R. 6001, a bill which seeks to remedy this unfortunate situation. In hope that many House Members will join us in solving this problem, I share with you this convincing editorial from the April 7, 1973 AFL-CIO News:

CRISIS FOR THE LABOR PRESS

Early in 1971 the Postal Service proposed to raise the minimum second-class rate for publications of non-profit organizations by 750 percent over a ten-year period, with a 100 percent increase effective at once. This proposal was subsequently accepted without change by the hearing examiner and by the Postal Rate Commission.

Substantial increases were also promulgated for pound rates, which will bring about an overall rise in excess of 800 percent for some periodicals—for example, about 815 percent for a typical eight-page tabloid newspaper.

These figures are not in dispute. The basis for this sensational increase is a per-piece surcharge, over and above any other postage rate paid by publications in the non-profit second-class category.

The smallest, lightest, thinnest—and, almost by definition, the poorest—publications traveled at a minimum rate of 0.2¢ a copy before the rate proceedings began.

This minimum won't change. The difference lies in a sort of super-minimum in the form of a surcharge.

The surcharge started at 0.2¢ in July 1972 and will proceed in alternate steps of 0.1¢ and 0.2¢ until it reaches 1.5¢ in 1981. The next increment is due to fall in July of this year.

So the smallest, lightest, thinnest and poorest publication, the one that paid 0.2¢ in 1970, will be paying 1.7¢ a copy for postage in 1981—provided it survives at all.

Not only trade union publications are bearing the brunt of this. Equally affected are church bulletins, and the college alumni newsletters, and the conservation people—and yes, the chambers of commerce. All of these, and many more, are part of the chorus of democracy. And all but the wealthy ones will be throttled by the postal rates presently scheduled.

The labor press—apart from its role as advocate and adversary—performs a great many nuts and bolts tasks, including some mandated by the government of the United States. We believe its healthy survival is very much in the public interest.

The labor press is the principal line of communication between the union and the members—often the only one. It's where the members find out what's going on in the organization, and in the labor movement—information that is available nowhere else.

And the labor press is the instrument—the virtually indispensable instrument—through which unions carry out obligations legislated by Congress in the Landrum-Griffin Act. Periodic financial reports, for example, and timely notice of elections are distributed to the members in the pages of the labor press.

We realize there are some who question the magnitude of the rate problem to trade unions generally. One of these questions is the ability to pay. Unions are not in the publishing business. Their periodicals are

simply instruments employed in carrying out their primary functions—even though, as noted, they are well-nigh indispensable within that range.—From testimony presented by the AFL-CIO and the International Labor Press Association to the Senate Post Office Committee on postal rates for non-profit organizations.

MAN IN SPACE

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. Speaker, 1903 might be described as a "Wright turn of the century." It was Orville Wright who launched us into the age of powered flights. Simple aviation evolved into specialized aeronautics.

On October 4, 1957, the U.S.S.R. successfully orbited a manmade satellite, Sputnik I. America's Explorer I followed a year later, and the race into space began.

Sixty-six years after Orville Wright had lifted off the sands of Kitty Hawk, another pilot, Neil Armstrong, descended from a strange craft onto the soil of the lunar surface.

Man was on the moon. The promise of yesterday became the dramatic, unforgettable fact of today. Man had successfully probed beyond the constrictions of his own planet, and in the greatest of adventures reached out into space and found a sure foothold.

We are now standing on the threshold of tomorrow. Where do we go from here? Will America retain her leadership in this new era? Will America accept the challenge, and continue to dominate the world in science and technology? And will American aviation make the changes needed to compete successfully in the world market?

If America neglects this vital industry, if America turns its back on its many accomplishments to date, much will be lost and the great loser will be the American people.

Aerospace exports contribute \$4 billion per year toward a favorable balance of trade. The aerospace industry remains the Nation's largest manufacturing employer with an estimated 917,000 workers. The taxes paid, the advancement of technology, the solutions to future problems—all this is at stake. To better understand where we are, and what it is all about, I refer my colleagues to an article written by Floyd E. Smith, president of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, in the March Issue of "Aerospace", a publication of the Aerospace Industry Association of America, Inc.:

MAN IN SPACE: A LOOK FORWARD

(By Floyd E. Smith, President, International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers)

The Apollo 17 command module splashed down in the Pacific Ocean on December 19, 1972.

This marked not the end of manned space efforts, but the beginning of a new era of space exploration by man that will see a reaping of incalculable benefits through

Skylab, the joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. Apollo-Soyuz Test project (orbital rendezvous and docking) and the Space Shuttle, the key program for the 1980s. All are based on the foundation created by the Apollo program of the 1960s and early 1970s.

Dr. James C. Fletcher, Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, in a thoughtful assessment of the meaning of the Apollo program, made these important points.

Apollo re-asserted U.S. technological leadership long before we reached the Moon. That was an important fact of international life in the Sixties. It still is.

After Sputnik, but before Apollo, there was a theory that only a controlled economy and a Communist society could succeed with large scientific and technological undertakings such as space exploration. Apollo exploded that theory. Apollo demonstrated that we could respond effectively to a totalitarian challenge without resorting to totalitarian methods. Apollo produced the kind of government-industry-labor cooperation on large scale research and development programs needed to make the American system work, and keep it competitive with any other systems in the world.

On the way to the Moon, we discovered planet Earth. This may be the most important return from the Apollo program for decades to come. The startling new perspective of a lonely, lovely, fragile Earth as seen from the Moon gave great strength and impetus to the environmental movement worldwide, and it helped establish the fact that space technology was something new that could contribute greatly to the quality of life on Earth. It made us realize that although our Earth is just a place in space, it is the only home we have.

Building upon Apollo, our next venture in manned space will be Skylab. This project, ready to be launched soon, has not received much public attention. However, it will provide dramatic evidence of the great advances made in the development of capabilities for scientific and practical work in manned spacecraft in Earth orbit. Skylab will have the same living and working room as a three-bedroom house for its three-man crews. The first Skylab will have a mission duration of 28 days and the second and third units will have missions of 56 days.

Its objectives are:

Advancement of the Sciences—To increase knowledge of medicine, astronomy, weather and physics. A prime goal is to collect previously unobtainable information on the Sun-Earth relationship and its effects on our environment here on Earth.

Practical Applications—To perfect Earth-looking camera and sensor systems, and their related data systems, to benefit mankind's agriculture, forestry, oceanography, geography, geology, water and land management, communications, and ecology and pollution control. Skylab also will open up a dramatic new field—the development of manufacturing techniques in gravity-free conditions, a field that has the potential for yielding such products as higher quality vaccines and machined parts, such as ball bearings, with a degree of near perfection that cannot be achieved on Earth where gravity is a factor.

Human and Materiel Endurance—To determine the ability of both human beings and Earth materials and systems to maintain their qualities and capabilities during long absence from gravity.

The Apollo-Soyuz Test Project, planned for 1975, is the result of an agreement between President Nixon and Chairman Kosygin of the U.S.S.R., made last May, for the rendezvous and docking of a U.S. spacecraft with a Russian spacecraft. An Apollo spacecraft will link up with a Soviet Soyuz spacecraft and while docked together astronauts and cosmonauts will visit both spacecraft

and perform a number of scientific experiments.

A major purpose of the Apollo-Soyuz project is to develop a rescue capability by demonstrating systems that will permit the docking in orbit of any future manned spacecraft of either nation.

But perhaps the greatest benefit from this project is not definable in visible progress: The Apollo-Soyuz project could form the viable basis for our nations to work together at an engineering level in a program that could well spread to other areas of technical cooperation.

The main thrust of our manned space program for the future is the Space Shuttle. An analysis of what the U.S. has done in space would show that we have devoted most of our space effort in the Sixties to overcoming gravity on the way to the Moon and back. In the Seventies NASA aims to overcome the high costs of operating effectively in earth orbit.

The cost of the Space Shuttle is estimated at \$5.15 billion compared with the \$25 billion price tag on Apollo. This, however, should not be an index of the importance of the Shuttle. The Shuttle calls for much greater technological advances and adds more to our capabilities in space than the general public realizes.

NASA Administrator Fletcher puts it this way:

"Suppose we were back in 1961, and President Kennedy instead of choosing the lunar landing goal, had said: 'Build a Space Shuttle before this decade is out.' Believe me, without the technological progress we have since made in Apollo, building the Space Shuttle in the Sixties would have been an almost impossible assignment. And the cost would have approached that of Apollo. As it is, the cost is much less, but the Shuttle remains a challenging assignment for NASA and the skilled hands and minds of the aerospace industry. Comparing the usefulness of Apollo and the Space Shuttle in Earth orbit would be like comparing Lindbergh's New York to Paris plane of 1927 with an intercontinental airline of today."

The Space Shuttle appropriation for Fiscal Year 1973 was overwhelmingly passed by the Congress last year. *The Machinist*, our union weekly, noted in a front-page article in a May 1972 issue: "More than 50,000 aerospace workers will be employed on the program between now and its first mission."

Now that figure means a lot to every aerospace worker. It underscores a point I have made many times: The U.S. did not spend one thin dime on the Moon; the entire \$25 billion was spent right here on Earth.

Representative Don Fuqua, of Florida, chairman of the Manned Space Flight Subcommittee of the House Committee on Science and Astronautics, in a speech on the floor of the House, made these cogent points:

One dollar spent on the space effort generates \$2.50 in Gross National Product (GNP), \$2.00 in personal income and \$1.50 in consumer outlays.

A conservative evaluation of a \$5.15 billion, six-year shuttle program, applying the multiplier effect, indicates a \$12.9 billion addition to our GNP. Personal income contribution would be \$10.9 billion with consumer outlays of \$7.9 billion.

The net federal tax return from this activity would be on the order of \$2.6 billion, returning half of the original investment.

Congressman Fuqua concluded: "Not all federal activity is or can be such an outstanding contributor to our economy."

These are the direct, identifiable economic benefits.

What is this program all about in terms of indirect benefits such as cutting the costs of our manned and unmanned space projects?

Courtland Perkins, Dean of Engineering, Princeton University, emphatically states

that we must, as a nation, continue our remarkable activities in space exploration.

However, he adds: "At the heart of all this is the potential expansion of these activities through the reduction of the cost of the space operation. Today we are impeded across the full spectrum of activities due to the extremely high launch costs and the cost of space payloads. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration must consider this to be their number one objective in fulfilling their mission of advancing space technology."

Dean Perkins mentions these possibilities for reducing costs: Antigravity; a propulsion breakthrough; recovery and re-use of launch systems and payloads.

Today the only one offering a payoff is the recovery and re-use approach—the Space Shuttle. He lists these other major justifications for the Shuttle:

Takes full advantage of the NASA capabilities developed through their manned space program.

Reduces our complicated stable of rocket launchers required for a wide variety of missions.

Lowers the cost and increases the flexibility of space operations.

Signals our young people that we are not about to throw away our carefully developed technical capability.

Can provide the focus for many new technical advances during the next decade.

"We are orienting our national space program along new lines and developing new motivations," Dean Perkins says. "There is a solid base for our national space program which can be expanded further in many practical ways if we can reduce the cost. The shuttle program can do this . . ."

Physically, the Shuttle will consist of a manned reusable orbiter craft, mounted piggy-back at launch in a large, expendable liquid propellant booster and two recoverable and re-usable solid propellant rocket boosters. The orbiter will look like a delta-winged airplane, about the size of a McDonnell Douglas DC-9. In fact, after it completes an Earth orbit mission, the orbiter returns to Earth and lands in the same fashion as a jetliner.

NASA has made studies of Space Shuttle missions over the next 18 years that indicate approximately 26 per cent are likely to be manned or man-tended, including the manned sortie missions.

Man-tended payloads are concentrated in physics, astronomy and processing in space because such missions involve either complicated laboratory equipment and human judgment or selective observations, in the case of astronomy.

The remaining 74 per cent, involving delivery of unmanned missions, are expected to be made up as follows:

Applications: Earth resources, communications and navigation, 27 per cent.

Science: Physics, astronomy and planetary, 35 per cent.

Department of Defense, 22 per cent.

In launching unmanned automated payloads the Space Shuttle flight crew will be able to check out the satellite in space, make adjustments, and calibrate instrumentation to ensure successful operation before leaving the satellite unattended.

If necessary, the satellite can be retrieved and returned to Earth for more extensive repair to avoid a complete loss. The Shuttle will also provide a capability to repair in space or to retrieve a malfunctioning satellite from Earth orbit.

In a study of 131 satellite failures which have occurred in the past, 78 were related to launch problems, which could have been avoided with the more reliable shuttle vehicle. Of the remaining 53, the spacecraft were inoperable or erratic and could have been returned to Earth for further work if the Shuttle were available.

An example of the usefulness of the Shut-

tle is in the Orbiting Astronomical Observatory program (OAO) where millions of dollars could have been saved by using the Shuttle's operational flexibility. A battery charge failure of OAO 1 could have been corrected by returning it to Earth. The shroud jettison problem that prevented OAO 3 from attaining orbit could have been avoided if it had been launched from a Shuttle.

I am proud that on my motion the AFL-CIO Executive Council last year adopted a statement backing the Space Shuttle.

The Council said: "The benefits of next generation space applications in such fields as the management of natural resources, monitoring of pollution, weather modification and climate control, television distribution, earthquake prediction and public health and safety will not be fully realized unless we can reduce costs and raise efficiency and acquire a flexibility of action not yet possible. That is what the space shuttle is for. Without it, we will lose many valuable programs."

The Council concluded: "We can no more ignore space than we can ignore the oceans or the continents. We would not have the free world without ships, without aircraft or without land mobility. We cannot envision a secure, technologically advanced western world without technologies that allow us the freedom of space as well."

The statement was valid then. It is even more valid today as the Shuttle moves toward operational readiness.

MANNED SPACE FLIGHT BUDGET PLAN—PRINCIPAL PROGRAMS

[In thousands]

	Fiscal year—		
	1972	1973	1974
Space Shuttle.....	\$100,000	\$200,000	\$475,000
Skylab.....	538,500	532,000	233,800
Apollo-Soyuz test project.....	6,900	38,500	90,000
Apollo.....	601,200	76,700	

THE POLITICAL USE OF POW'S

HON. DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert a most thoughtful editorial from the Detroit Free Press of May 26, 1973. I commended it to all who read the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

POW'S ARE NIXON'S PAWNS IN WATERGATE DEFENSE

Mr. Nixon is back on the attack, using national security as his shield and the returned prisoners of war as his sword.

No one, certainly, expects the President of the United States, and particularly this President, to roll over and play dead. But Mr. Nixon's use of the returned POWs for his own defense was absolutely shameful.

His speech Thursday was the second salvo in his battle to recover credibility lost in the Watergate scandal; the first was his lawyers' brief issued Tuesday in which he tried to explain away his failure in dealing with the scandal on grounds of national security.

Mr. Nixon's strategy to soften the impact of the scandal, is to mix the Watergate break-in with national security, a tactic he feels possible because some of the same burglars who broke into the Democratic national headquarters were employed in the White House security detail. If that sounds confusing, it was meant to be.

The prisoners came in after Mr. Nixon injected his disapproval of Daniel Ellsberg and

his belief that everything should be kept secret. If it had not been for secrecy in dealing with the North Vietnamese, Soviets and Chinese, the President told the prisoners, "You men would still be in Hanoi rather than Washington today."

The ex-POWs cannot be blamed for favoring anything that got them out of Hanoi, and opposing anything that might have made their stay there any longer. Thus, Mr. Nixon told them, they must support him and his ideas, presumably including "excesses" by his aides during the re-election campaign.

The President also explained that classified documents must necessarily be kept classified. "It is time for a new sense of responsibility in this country and a new sense of dedication of everybody in the bureaucracy that if a document is classified, keep it classified."

Mr. Nixon apparently has not been let in on the de-classified information that more documents are stamped "classified" to hide mistakes and to keep the American public in the dark than to facilitate diplomacy.

Of course, he denies that. "It isn't that we are trying to keep anything from the American people that the American people should know. It isn't that we are trying to keep something from the press that the press should print. But what we are trying to do is to accomplish our goal, make a deal. And when we are dealing with potential adversaries, those negotiations must have the highest degree of confidentiality."

The theory, and in some cases the fact, of that statement is true. But it leaves to one man the determination of what is and what is not to be kept secret; for whatever good or evil intentions, it leaves it to one man to determine what information is to be spoon-fed to the public. Carried to the extreme, a police state could be hidden under the umbrella of national security secrecy.

The prisoners, mostly career military men, will probably back their commander-in-chief. Career military men generally have difficulty in understanding the need for openness in a democracy. And perhaps they don't mind being used by the President; to them, that is what troops are for.

But Mr. Nixon should know better. The troops are for protecting the country, not for helping him pass a personal political crisis.

And while the occasional need for national security secrecy is undoubted, a better way to keep secrets would be to bring honorable and trustworthy people into the highest levels of government. Instead of going on the attack, Mr. Nixon could try that.

PERSECUTION OF JEWS IN IRAQ AND SYRIA MUST CEASE

HON. CHARLES W. SANDMAN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. SANDMAN. Mr. Speaker, the plight of approximately 3½ million Jewish people living in the Soviet Union has become a matter of grave concern to millions of Americans. Those people are being penalized for their religious faith by an emigration tax which the Soviet Government applies almost exclusively to Russian Jews.

However, although a few Jews in the Soviet Union may die in forced labor camps, they are not being physically wiped out on a methodical basis. Today Russian Jews are relatively immune from the old practices of mass murder

that dominated the lives of their ancestors for many centuries.

That type of persecution has shifted location and now characterizes the lives of Jews living in certain nations of the Arab World. The persecution of small Jewish communities in Syria and Iraq is most alarming and distressing.

Approximately 5,000 Jews presently live in Syria under conditions of oppression and suppression. They are restricted in their movements and limited in their opportunities for employment. They are spied upon and subjected to unannounced arrests, interrogations, and torture. Syrian Jews live in an atmosphere of violence. They are denied any basic human rights and are not permitted to emigrate.

Earlier this year, 10 prominent members of the Iraqi Jewish community were reportedly executed in the Nihaya Castle Prison in Baghdad. Despite widespread media attention to that incident, Iraq issued no charges, announced no trials and refused to confirm or deny reports of their deaths. There is a fear that there may be a repetition of the dark period of 4 years ago when, in January 1969, 14 persons, including 9 Jews, were accused of spying, executed in a public square in Baghdad before a large crowd and their corpses hung there as a relic of some ancient barbarism.

It is estimated that only about 500 Jews remain in Iraq out of a community that once numbered 4,000. Most of them have fled since 1969.

The Iraqi Government has recently reversed an earlier decision allowing Jews to emigrate and has severely tightened emigration restrictions. Those few who are allowed to leave are permitted to take only minimal possessions with them. Those who remain live in constant fear of arbitrary arrest, imprisonment, and even death.

We must not ignore the violations of basic human rights being perpetrated on the small Jewish communities in Iraq and Syria. These people are the victims of bigotry and hatred. Not since the 1930's and early 1940's in Germany has the world witnessed such a campaign of harassment and persecution against a minority as the political, economic, social, and cultural policies of oppression and intimidation that Iraq and Syria are now pursuing vis-a-vis their Jewish citizens.

The actions of the Iraqi and Syrian Governments make a mockery of their membership in the United Nations and their supposed adherence to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international agreements that most civilized nations observe.

A man is born free, whether in the United States, Iraq, or Syria, and his individual freedom cannot be capriciously restricted or otherwise violated simply because he may belong to a minority.

The people in these two isolated Jewish communities only seek the privilege of emigrating from those countries that are persecuting them. There are no logical reasons for the Iraqi, and Syrian Governments to prevent them from doing so.

Emigration of the Jewish people in Iraq and Syria will certainly not harm the economy of those two countries.

Moreover, if either government has a serious concern about a threat from its minute Jewish population, the easiest thing to do would be to permit them to emigrate rather than continue to subject them to harassment, danger, and death.

I urge the Iraqi and Syrian Governments to grant two reasonable requests to its Jewish people: first, those wishing to emigrate should be allowed to do so with an adequate amount of personal property; and second, those Jews who remain in Iraq and Syria should be treated in the same manner, with the same rights and privileges that other Iraqi and Syrian citizens presently enjoy.

In my opinion, it would be both logical and humane for the Iraqi and Syrian Governments to take this action immediately.

ENERGY CRISIS

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker. I insert the following editorial from the Waco, Tex., News Tribune of May 15, 1973, which touches on the subject of the energy crisis being experienced in this country today:

CONFUSION IS KEY WORD REGARDING ENERGY CRISIS

Indications are the Nixon administration is handling the oil and gas shortage in the same manner as it has handled the inflation problem: go on saying there's not much to be concerned about until suddenly the whole thing blows up in American's face.

President Nixon has taken some steps to relieve shortages—scrapping oil import quotas effective May 1, ordering the Interior Department to move toward tripling the amount of off-shore acreage under lease for oil and gas production, and asking Congress to remove ceilings on natural gas prices from "new" gas sources, to expedite construction of the Alaskan pipeline and to extend investment tax credits to cover drilling for new oil and gas fields.

From the standpoint of immediate needs, this may be too little too late. The only one of these moves that will have much effect on fuel supplies within the next year is the elimination of oil import quotas. No one seems quite sure what the effect of that action will be.

All these other steps should increase domestic production of oil and gas within the next few years, but they do not address themselves to the long-range energy needs or to building up an emergency reserve of petroleum in case foreign supplies are suddenly cut off.

U.S. Sen. Henry Jackson, D-Wash., has made proposals which go well beyond anything. Mr. Nixon has offered and which have real potential for meeting what is described as the energy crisis.

Recognizing that known reserves of oil and gas in the United States are insufficient to meet even half the anticipated need a decade or two from now, Jackson proposes a massive program to develop alternate sources of energy—coal, oil, shale, atomic power and solar energy—and to do it in a manner that will be environmentally acceptable.

He also proposes that in conjunction with increased imports and with increased drilling on offshore and other federal lands, the petroleum industry and government be re-

quired to gradually establish a reserve of oil stored mostly underground the way gas is stored now. Over a three-year period, this reserve would be built up to 90-day supply.

Perhaps most important of all, Jackson proposes a consolidation of government agencies dealing with energy supply to get a handle on the situation, define goals and set up an organized identifiable national policy on energy resources.

One of the sad things about the present situation is that the people are confused about it. They suspect a massive conspiracy to create shortages for the purpose of eliminating competition and increasing prices. They can't understand why the United States could fight a war in Indochina consuming enormous amounts of gasoline and other petroleum products, seemingly without creating a shortage, then when the war's over a shortage suddenly develops.

And no one in government appears to be providing any authoritative answers.

We just hope our energy production and supply doesn't become the same kind of mess as the Nixon economic program or that it doesn't end up the subject of congressional and grand jury investigations the way the Watergate mess has.

THE DEATH OF MSGR. WILLIAM J. SHANNON

HON. WILLIAM F. WALSH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply sorry to report the passing on May 25 of an outstanding religious leader of my community and the Nation, the Rev. Msgr. William J. Shannon, vice rector and administrator of the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception in Syracuse.

Monsignor Shannon, who had been in ill health for some time, and whose forthcoming retirement from his formal duties had only recently been announced, was vice rector and administrator at the cathedral for the past 9 years. But his career spanned a lifetime of ecumenical achievement and knew no geographical bounds.

Monsignor Shannon was born in Syracuse in 1910. He attended St. Vincent de Paul and Christian Brothers Academy.

At the age of 18, he became the youngest radio director in the country—at WFBL—and from 1935 to 1939 was a coast-to-coast radio personality with his own show on CBS: "Jack Shannon Sings."

He could claim fame as the man who gave former Syracusans Gordon MacRae, Bill Lundigan and songwriter Jimmy Van Heusen their starts in show business.

While engaged in radio in New York, he simultaneously prepared himself for the priesthood at Manhattan College in 1935. He received a bachelor of arts as valedictorian of the class of 1939. Then he attended St. Bernard's Seminary in Rochester.

He was ordained on June 5, 1943, at the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception by Bishop Walter Foery.

Except for a 7½-year period when he was an associate pastor at St. Catherine's

parish in Binghamton, Monsignor Shannon has served his priesthood at the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, being assigned there on November 30, 1950.

On June 12, 1965, Pope Paul VI named him as a domestic prelate. He has been priest adviser and coordinator of the National Catholic Office of Radio and Television in New York City.

He was instrumental in beginning a project of increased communication for the dioceses of this country.

From July 1, 1958 to October 10, 1959, he was Bishop Foery's representative in the campaign drive and renovation and modernization of the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception.

In June, 1967, Monsignor Shannon was awarded an honorary degree of a doctor of law by St. Michael's College in Vermont in recognition for his work in communications.

While working as liaison between the broadcasting world and the bishops, he retained his post as administrator of the Syracuse cathedral and returned to his Syracuse parish from New York on as many weekends as possible.

He was appointed to coordinate the new National Catholic Office for Radio and Television in September 1966.

Active in all phases of community life, Monsignor Shannon in 1971 was chairman of the Cancer Crusade.

He was chaplain of Court Grimes, Catholic Daughters of American and on the board of directors of the mental health committee of the Onondaga Health Association.

Monsignor Shannon was widely known to all the clergy and laity of central New York, and a beloved and faithful servant of the Lord and his people.

The attached clipping from the Syracuse Post Standard of May 25, 1973, describes the funeral services for the beloved priest. The report of the homily delivered at the Pontifical Mass by the Most Rev. Francis J. Harrison, auxiliary Bishop of the Diocese of Syracuse is a truly brilliant description of the life and work of Monsignor Shannon. I commend it to my colleagues:

MONSIGNOR'S "GIFT OF CONCERN" CITED

(By Ramona B. Bowden)

The Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception was filled to capacity yesterday by those who knew and loved the Rev. Msgr. William J. Shannon, who died Friday after a long illness.

A pontifical Mass of the Resurrection was concelebrated by the Most Rev. David F. Cunningham, bishop of Syracuse, principal celebrant; the Most Rev. Francis J. Harrison, auxiliary bishop, the homilist, and with the Most Rev. Walter A. Foery, retired bishop, in the chancel.

It was significant that before the Mass began, Duane A. Sutton, organist and choir director, played some of the monsignor's favorite sacred music, Mozart's "Ave Verum" and Bach's "Jesu, Joy of Man's Desiring."

And also, as a sign both of his and the church's faith in the triumph of life over death, the choir and congregation sang at the end the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," for indeed the monsignor's "eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord," and his soul does "go marching on."

"If you look about this beautiful cathedral, you will find here an understanding of the energy that tortured Msgr. Shannon al-

ways to seek new accomplishments," said Bishop Harrison in his homily.

"When he first came here as an assistant, he expressed the hope that some day the old cathedral would be renovated," said the bishop, adding, "When the decision for renewal was made, he threw himself into the work, carrying the burden of the reconstruction and finally was able to rejoice in the accomplishment."

"That tenacious drive was characteristic of his whole life. Once he made up his mind to do something, he would pursue the objective."

The bishop spoke of Msgr. Shannon's dedication to his family and how faithfully he cared for his mother. "The need for funds was one reason for his going into radio and TV, where his superb voice brought him enough fortune to meet his obligations," he said.

"Instead of a promising future in the entertainment world, Msgr. Shannon had a burning desire to become a priest. For that reason he entered St. Bernard's Seminary and was ordained by Bishop Foery in this cathedral on June 5, 1943. Following ordination, he went to St. Catherine's parish in Binghamton, where he served for seven years before coming to the cathedral, where he was active for 33 years," he said.

"We are all witnesses to his fruitful apostolate here. He served the diocese without reserve, he was loyal to his bishops and ministered to the needs of the community—especially the wonderful work he did in the Cancer Society," said the bishop.

"If one were to look for a distinctive mark of Msgr. Shannon's ministry in the priesthood, one would say it was the wonderful rapport he had with people—he loved being with people and enjoying them."

The bishop pointed out that because of his background in TV and the position he held in communications for the National Conference of Bishops, he was on a friendly footing with many persons in high places. "Yet he always appreciated the friendship of the man in the street, the workers at the cathedral, and whoever came his way. He had the gift of concern for others in bringing them happiness. And certainly bringing joy to others has a definite part in the ministry of Christ," declared the bishop.

Bishop Harrison pointed out that Msgr. Shannon was true to his priesthood, never hesitating to admonish, to instruct or correct. And, like the prophet of old, moved by the spirit of Christ, he knew he must not serve himself, but the Lord, in preaching the good news.

"It was tragic that in his illness his voice was impaired. The things he loved best were denied him—to sing and to preach. This loss caused a certain restlessness. Finally death came as a blessing for therein he found peace and calm," the bishop stated.

"Today as we pay our last tribute to Msgr. Shannon we have a sense of sadness, but the sadness is on our part—we have lost a friend, a wonderful priest we will long remember," he declared.

"In faith and hope of the resurrection we rejoice, confident that Christ will accept his sacrifice—for he gave himself to God for His people. Within him was kindled a spark of that divine love that illumined our lives for a while, and brought us occasions of joy. May he now forever rest in the peace of the Lord," said Bishop Harrison.

Bishop Cunningham gave the final absolution with the large group of priests and monsignori passing around the casket offering a prayer for their beloved colleague.

"Happy are those who die in the Lord. Happy indeed, the spirit says; now they can rest forever after their work, since their good deeds go with them," says the Book of Revelation.

LOOK WHO BOYCOTTS MEAT

HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, boycotts are dangerous instruments of policy, mainly, because in all too many cases, people who take part in the boycotts, do so out of sentiment and do not have a real understanding of the problem involved.

Such was the case with the lettuce and meat boycotts.

This proposition recently was developed in an editorial by Roe C. Black, editor of Top-Op, a Farm Journal publication.

Mr. Speaker, this editorial, I believe, merits insertion in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD where it can be read by my colleagues:

LOOK WHO BOYCOTTS MEAT

There were quite a few surprises in the "official" meat boycott period during the first week in April, and there may be more to come in the wake of it. But one development deserves a lot of thought, because it can guide us in future efforts in educating the public to fundamentals of farm food production.

We found out that the citizens and businessmen of small towns and smaller cities located in largely rural areas do appreciate livestock and meat producers. While most of the headlines went to the hysterical boycotters, let's recognize the housewives, businessmen and professional people in towns like St. Paul, Neb., Macon, Ga., and Plainview, Tex. who staged various "meat appreciation" events during boycott week. Reports were also fairly consistent that lower income buyers, consumers in hard-working "hard hat" neighborhoods, restaurant patrons and citizens of most sizable cities in the South, Southwest and Midwest did not support the meat boycott.

Who did support the boycott? The most prosperous, supposedly most intelligent people in the nation from Boston to Beverly Hills. The housewives in affluent suburbs were largely responsible for reducing meat sales from 25% to 50% in major metropolitan areas on both the East Coast and West Coast.

You would think that these people would be the first to understand how a boycott in the livestock and meat industry will eventually be self-defeating if it is successful in driving down prices sharply. As they say in the lead article in this issue, stockmen don't want to risk expansion if pressures on the demand side can batter down market prices as much as 25% in a matter of a few days as happened in late March on hogs. But it's obvious that smart people do not necessarily use good judgment. It's widely known now that the farm labor battle in the West is basically a fight between two union groups. Yet there are still good people, many of them church leaders and college students, who will back a lettuce boycott whether they're informed or not.

So what can we do to head off such damaging and misguided attacks on the food industry? We need to step up all consumer-oriented agricultural education campaigns. There are a host of programs now and new ones are being established, like the promising National Agricultural Communications Board supported by agribusiness firms, many of which have their own individual programs. But support in time and money is not enough. We now can see that education programs had better be focused sharply on those who least understand agriculture and

are the farthest from it physically and in generations away from farm roots.

It's high time that we put the promotional experts to work on the major problem areas in consumer relations—in New York, Boston, Los Angeles and Chicago. It's gratifying to see Eat More Beef signs in the Nebraska Sandhills, Kansas Flint Hills and Alabama Black Belt. But that just amounts to talking to each other.

We make far more progress when there are sensible analyses of the meat supply/demand situation on TV newscasts, in national magazines and big city newspapers. And there have been some recently. There can be more, and there should be more. Almost every producer these days is checking off money to be spent on promotion. Let's see that it's spent where it will do the most good.

AN APPEAL PROCEDURE FOR MEDICARE PART B

HON. BILL CHAPPELL, JR.

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. CHAPPELL. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing legislation today to permit administrative and judicial review of part B, medicare claims. This remedial legislation is needed to correct a serious inequity in the medicare program which affects the majority of our retired citizens.

This bill, which I introduce with the strong support of the American Association of Retired Persons and the National Retired Teachers Association, would extend the hearing and judicial review procedures now part of the law for part A claims to part B claims.

Under current law, hospital bills which are covered by medicare part A are subject to review by the Commissioner of Social Security if the insurance carrier questions the charges of \$100 or more. If the amount in question is \$1,000 or more, the courts may review the claim.

In the case of physicians' charges, which are covered by medicare part B, there is no such review process. The insurance carrier conducts a "fair hearing" using its own personnel, who are not required to have legal training or experience. Beyond this, there is no appeal process.

During my tenure in the Congress, it has become increasingly evident that this fair hearing procedure is simply not working. I have seen numerous examples of decisions which needed a second look. This lack of an appeal process is not only inconsistent with our system of checks and balances but it also causes our senior citizens to question the credibility of a program which the Congress initiated to help them meet the rising costs of medical care.

This bill provides for review and judicial procedures for part B and recognizes that noninstitutional services are more likely to involve lower sums. It therefore sets the minimum for administrative review at \$50 and judicial review at \$500.

Mr. Speaker, I urge swift action on this legislation. It is incredible to me that we failed to provide for appeal when we wrote the law. For the sake of our senior citizens and in keeping with the system of

checks and balances we seek to foster, let us extend the right of appeal to medicare recipients for part B claims.

I insert the letter of endorsement by AARP-NRTA into the RECORD:

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF RETIRED
PERSONS—NATIONAL RETIRED
TEACHERS ASSOCIATION,

May 14, 1973.

HON. BILL CHAPPELL, JR.
Longworth House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN CHAPPELL: I wish to express the strong support of our organizations for your proposed amendments to Section 1869 of Title 18 of the Social Security Act. Our Associations have, for many years, supported the elimination of the Part B premium of Medicare and the combination of Parts A and B. Implicit in that policy position is our support for an extension of the hearing and judicial review procedures of Part A to claims that arise under the Supplementary Medical Insurance program of Part B.

Under existing law the hearing and judicial review procedures under Part A are more liberal than those under Part B. As a minimum, our Associations would support an extension of Part A hearing and review procedures to Part B claims where the amount in controversy equals or exceeds the existing \$100 hearing entitlement amount and \$1000 review entitlement amount for claims under Part A.

We note that your proposed amendments would go beyond this minimum setting the amount in controversy for a hearing on a Part B claim at \$50 and the amount in controversy for judicial review on such a claim at \$500. In view of the probability that claims involving noninstitutional services are more likely to involve smaller sums than claims involving institutional services, we think the establishment of lower minimum amounts for hearing and review of Part B claims than those presently existing for Part A claims is justified and advisable.

As Legislative Counsel to our organizations, I shall commend your proposed amendments to our membership.

Sincerely,

CYRIL F. BRICKFIELD,
Legislative Counsel.

TRIBUTE TO MR. BENJAMIN M. TUCKER

HON. BO GINN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. GINN. Mr. Speaker, our Nation is built upon the foundation of the strength of the individual in America. There are many stories about men and women who have worked hard within the so-called establishment to achieve success, but unfortunately most of these stories are pushed to the back pages of the news media by the stories of tragedy and wrongdoing.

It is my great pleasure today to report to the House about the story of one of my constituents, Mr. Benjamin M. Tucker, whose success story is of such significance that it is already a national news story.

Mr. Tucker is the general manager of radio station WSOK in the city of Savannah. He is a black man who I think is

representative of many of the finest qualities that can be found in America: A sense of pride in his country, a drive to succeed through honest, hard work, and the ability to inspire the same type of achievement in others.

Mr. Tucker is an outstanding example of how a minority citizen in our Nation can make things happen. I am proud that he makes his home in the First Congressional District of Georgia, and I look forward to following his career for many years to come.

To more fully illustrate the work of Mr. Tucker, I would like to insert in the RECORD at this point the text of an article that appeared in the January 16 edition of the Wall Street Journal:

BENJAMIN M. TUCKER

(By Bernard E. Garnett)

SAVANNAH, GA.—A black-oriented radio station has climbed to the top of the ratings against tough white competition in this Deep South city.

Station WSOK gambled on an unorthodox strategy: With a general manager who had never worked at a radio station before, it turned off gospel and rhythm and blues in favor of jazz and classical music and turned away advertising that had been its lifeblood.

It worked. WSOK has done more than survive. It has become the number one station in Savannah and 11 surrounding counties, according to a survey made last spring by a major radio rating service, the American Research Bureau. In doing so, the station topped 11 others serving the area. (One more station has since entered the market.)

"I walked into this market and caught 11 stations sleeping," says former jazz bass player Benjamin M. Tucker, who took over as general manager last January. "Everybody thought another jive nigger was coming in with the same old format, and that's where I caught them off guard." (In black jargon, a "jive nigger" is a stupid black who needn't be taken seriously.) Mr. Tucker figures one of his big assets was his lack of experience; others, he says, might have been too wedded to the tried-and-true to experiment.

NO MORE RAUCOUS MUSIC

And experiment he did. The station still plays rhythm and blues and gospel, but not exclusively and no longer raucously. He expanded the station's album collection to 4,000 from 20—and began to give listeners jazz, popular songs, black comedians and classical pieces by black performers and composers.

News coverage, formerly a "rip and read" operation in which disc jockeys tore off wire copy to read over the air, has been beefed up considerably. ("It was really 'rip-and-try-to-read,'" Mr. Tucker says, referring to the many mispronunciations before he and his wife began coaching announcers in public speaking.) A local newspaperman was hired as news director, and the station subscribed to Mutual Black News, the black-oriented radio news service of the Mutual Broadcasting System, Inc.

The station has also put more emphasis on public service, both on and off the air. For example, it has been boosting a drive for information and treatment of sickle cell anemia.

There are 7,000 radio stations in the U.S., and some 300 of them cater to black audiences. The vast majority of these black-oriented stations are believed to be profitable. There is no one formula for success in the radio business, and the changes made at WSOK might not bring success elsewhere. But they have apparently succeeded here not only in building up the audience but also in bringing in the dollars.

The changes came shortly after WSOK was

acquired for \$400,000 last January by Black Communications Corp., a New York-based concern of which Mr. Tucker is chairman. Formed by a small group of investors including former jazz pianist Billy Taylor, Black Communications set out to buy up magazines and radio and TV stations and try to make them more responsive to the needs and interests of black listeners.

"We started out figuring we could acquire a station a year," Mr. Tucker says. But experience with WSOK, the concern's first venture, quickly altered plans for future acquisitions. With WSOK providing more headaches than had been bargained for, the group decided to concentrate on one project before moving on to the next.

Indeed, for a time it looked as if WSOK would be the group's last venture. For one thing, promised help didn't materialize. "I asked three friends to come in and look over my shoulder every now and then for a consultant's fee, but they never showed up," Mr. Tucker says.

He also walked into a snake-pit of problems with his staff. Though it wasn't surprising that in a Dixie city some whites would resent a black boss, black employees, too showed bitterness over changes.

Mr. Tucker recalls that at a staff meeting, disc jockeys balked when "I told them they didn't have to keep shouting black, black, black. The minute they opened their mouths people knew they were black." He also stopped the practice of screaming commercials and "talking on" records (gabbing or bantering while music is playing).

Black staffers, he says, also resented his instructions on behavior outside the office. He told them: "I don't ever want to see a WSOK employee standing on the corner half drunk and talking loud. Sure, touch bases with the community; find out their needs and problems. But give them something to look up to and respect."

Blacks showed their resentment by loafing on the job, Mr. Tucker says. He would leave the office, for example, and find a pinochle game in progress when he returned. Five blacks finally resigned; another was dismissed.

Nevertheless, one good break came his way. Ten minutes after the sales manager walked out, Scipio Collins, a 58-year-old black native of Savannah and veteran of 18 years in radio sales and announcing, walked in. He had come home to be with his ailing mother and was looking for a job. "He told me he'd work for \$50 a week," Mr. Tucker recalls. "I hired him for \$75 and put him on trial as sales manager." He now averages \$1,000 a month.

A SEARCH FOR ADVERTISING

When Mr. Collins came aboard, he had his work cut out for him. As part of its new image, WSOK had begun refusing to continue running ads for "easy credit" sources, high-interest loan companies, faith healers and the like. But new business wasn't coming in to replace them.

Benjamin Aronson, the station's accountant, says he kept hounding Mr. Tucker to look for new ads, "but he kept insisting he couldn't until he had the station the way he wanted it." It took several months before WSOK began actively seeking new ad business.

When salesmen first approached whites for new ads, there was considerable reluctance to do business with a black-owned station. "I had one merchant tell me he didn't want to deal with any black people, and if I was working for them, he didn't want to deal with me either," says Lee Knight, a white ad salesman.

But eventually, the new format—and higher ratings—paid off. When Black Communications took over a year ago, Mr. Tucker says, WSOK had 40 advertising accounts—mostly "Mom and Pop" businesses. Now, it has about 400, many of them national ac-

counts from leading agencies and some of the larger Savannah businesses.

Revenue last year was \$280,000, up more than 20% from the \$229,000 of a year earlier. The station had a loss of \$25,000 in the latest year, but that was because of heavy expenses for equipment and other start-up costs, Mr. Tucker says. He expects to be "comfortably in the black" this year on revenue of \$350,000.

CHALLENGERS WAIT IN THE WINGS

WSOK won't be resting on its laurels, however. One challenger to its number-one rating is WEAS-FM, formerly a rock outlet with low ratings that has switched to what it calls "progressive black radio." Although most black Savannahians claim they're devotees of WSOK, even Mr. Tucker admits the station has recently lost some of its audience to WEAS.

And Jerry Rogers, program director of WSGA, the rock station that was number one before WSOK, says, "WSOK has always had about 40% to 45% of the market (the black population) to itself. We had to fight other stations for our rating. It might be a different story when the next ARB (rating) is out."

METRIC NONSENSE

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, in and out of Congress the drive continues to install in this country the metric system of weights and measures.

Advocates of the metric system are hard pressed for a valid reason for making a change that would affect the everyday lives of every citizen. Their main argument is that the United States is one of the few nations in the world that maintains the old system. We are old-fashioned and out-of-step, say the metrically enthralled. And this despite the fact that our system of weights and measures has served us well through the years.

What the change-for-the-sake-of-change lobbyists never seem to want to discuss is the staggering cost of \$60 billion to Americans for the change to the so-called metric system.

This is one burden American taxpayers and consumers should not be forced to bear as they try to extricate themselves from the serious financial-economic problems that beset the entire Nation.

The Washington Star of May 27, 1973, prints an article on this subject written by Mr. J. W. Batchelder who heads his own engineering company in Chester Depot, Vt. Mr. Batchelder describes the reasons for change to the metric system as nonsense. The article follows:

METRIC NONSENSE

(By J. W. Batchelder)

CHESTER DEPOT, VT.—For some time certain apostles of "progress" have been urging us all to "think metric," and it appears that, sooner or later, the Congress is going to impose this inadequate system of weights and measures on the United States.

We are, after all, the only major industrial nation that still clings to its old system, say the proponents of change, so it's time to get in line with the rest of the world. This, I think, is nonsense.

Much of the current deluge of propaganda for the metric system reiterates so many similar misconceptions, illusions, biased half-truths and even lies that it almost suggests a conspiracy based on a deliberately deceptive and misleading single source.

Any virtues in our present system of weights and measures, which have so amply served as the foundation of our vastly superior technology, are conspicuous by their absence in the metric propaganda. It is most presumptuous of persons obviously unfamiliar with the entire metric system to imply that our highly skilled, ingenious and astute technicians are so stupid as not to know which system best suits their pursuits.

In any system of weights and measures, the optimum efficiency and convenience is attained when the size of the unit employed to express weight, length or volume is an approximate average of those sizes encountered most frequently. A Utopian ideal could only be achieved if the size and quantity of everything were the same and could be expressed by the figure 1, which is the shortest and most comprehensible figure which can be expressed or written.

In our daily experience we deal in very large and very small quantities. For example, small units of measurement, such as inches, are far more practical for measuring the size of letter paper than miles. On the other hand, it is impractical to use inches in expressing the distance from New York to Washington. Consequently over the years we have adopted several sizes of units, some small and some large, to reduce the number of digits required in figures to express quantities in readily comprehensible values. This not only saves time and writing space but, most importantly, it greatly reduces the probability of errors. In other words, we sensibly fit the pattern to the cloth.

The best compromise results when extremely small or large values of any unit involve about the same number of digits on either side of decimal points. This minimizes the number of digits required to express values, thus greatly simplifying computations.

Now from out of the woodwork comes a swarm of self-made "experts" with fifth grade technological intellects (or divine intuition) concerning weights and measures, who inform us that we don't know what we are doing and claim to be able to lead us to the metric Promised Land, if only we will trust and blindly follow them.

Ignorant of the definite advantages of a range of sizes of measurement units, such as we have, they cast aspersions upon this practice by calling it archaic, cumbersome, entangled, bewildering, sloppy, jerry-built and just about every derogatory adjective they can find in dictionaries, conveniently ignoring technical reference works.

They urge instead the metric Utopia which is limited to only one unit for length, one for weight and one for volume. Of the three, the only unit of practical size is that for volume, the liter. The meter (nearly 4 inches longer than our yard) is as unsuitable for length measurements as our unpopular yard has proven to be—used mainly for sports, textiles, etc. It is too great a length or distance for general application and is used nowhere in our technical formulae.

The metric gram, being absurdly small, is ridiculously impractical. It requires exceedingly large numbers to express the weight of relatively light objects, usually being amplified a thousand times to kilograms for ordinary purposes.

Many countries have evolved assorted and convenient sizes of units astonishingly similar to—but independent—of ours. We find many units quite near to our foot. The Egyptian feddan is nearly equal to an acre. Their kantar is practically 100 of our pounds. The Greek mina is very nearly 1 pound. The Polish garniec is close to our gallon. And so

on. Thus it becomes evident that the evolution of practical and convenient sizes of measurement units is logical, reasonable and worldwide. Also equally universal is the custom of using various sizes of measurement units proportional to the size of the object or quantity being measured.

Most technical calculations are handled on office calculating machines, slide rules, etc. Whenever it is necessary to deal with numbers having many numerals, calculators must have an excessive number of places, far more than ordinary. The very large or minute quantities involved in metric technical calculations, because their units are so large or small, are difficult to handle on regular calculating machines.

Moreover, experienced technical personnel usually have a rough comprehension of the number of pounds, feet or horsepower to be expected in solving formulae. This affords a mental means of verification in checking answers. The metric system involves such extremely large quantities of such minute units that they defy human comprehension, thus breed errors. For example, an ordinary 100 watt electric light bulb burns 36,000,000,000,000 ergs per hour, (erg is the metric unit for energy). This example, rather than being extreme, is typical of metric technology.

Those persons who may think that *tera*, the metric prefix for trillionfold (abbreviation T) is too large to be frequently used might well reflect that the above quantity of ergs is 36 trillion, equivalent to a mere 100 watt-hours, only a tenth of a kilowatt hour. This is representative of what the self-appointed "experts" call the "simple" metric system so easy to learn and so much better than ours. They would turn us into a nation of zero-counters.

These preposterous metric quantities logically could account for so many non-metric units of measurement being used in "pure" metric countries. Possibly if the residents of metric countries realized how much easier it is to cope with our system they would want to change over to it.

Our system evolved over the centuries as a direct consequence of its being best adapted for the most widespread usage. This gradual evolution has been going on since the beginning and still is, without in any way upsetting or disturbing our entire system. Such a high degree of flexibility to suit changing conditions is a most valuable advantage.

Over the years, units have been added to our system and some, proving too large or small to be practical, have withered away. The gill is on its way out. The rood ($\frac{1}{4}$ acre), the hand (4 inches), the span (9 inches) and the ancient cubit (about 18 inches) have disappeared due to impracticality. The old digit was $\frac{3}{4}$ inch.

From a purely objective viewpoint the entire metric system (including power, force, inertia and energy units) has about as many units as our system. When the totally unnecessary 15 prefixes and 16 abbreviations for the same are included, it has far more than our system. We have never needed any prefixes in our system, and it is thus easier to learn and teach.

Our system is well adapted to our needs like an old shoe. It grew to fit our requirements like bark fits trees.

Our system being flexible, it can be modified at will and with minimal disturbance. Moreover, decimals can be, as they long have been, applied to any of our units which we choose. It is a myth that we should convert to metric in order to be able to take advantage of decimals. Land surveyors use feet and decimals thereof. Mechanical and structural engineers use inches and decimals thereof. If it were sufficiently beneficial we could adopt a unit representing 10 inches without upsetting the rest of our system. So far, this has not proved sufficiently advantageous.

The trick employed by the proponents of the metric system to deceive their readers consists of counting all of our units of weights and measures—including many seldom used—and only a few of the very many metric units. Our mechanical technology is almost entirely comprised of only five of our units: inches, feet, pounds, quarts and gallons. Time and angle are used for both systems. Horsepower is derived simply from foot pounds per minute. Deflections and strengths of building girders and beams, plus many machinery parts, are calculated using only inches and pounds.

If it were possible to reduce our technology to simpler terms, cut-throat competition would long ago have forced us to do so. By comparison, the metric system is inflexible, i.e., not readily adaptable to revision to meet changing needs because of its unalterable relationship between weight, volume and length.

We would not ordinarily engage a monastery to devise or invent a highly technical system of weights and measures. But that is the atmosphere in which the metric system was devised in 1670, in Lyons, France. They came no closer to conceiving a practical system meeting our requirements 300 years hence than could be expected.

Doubtless they were undecided whether to call their meter the 10,000,000th part or the 100,000,000th part of the distance from the pole to the equator. It was a calamity of disastrous magnitude that they guessed wrong by choosing the former. Had they selected the latter figure the meter would have been 3 15/16 inches long, far more generally practical than our yard; or their present meter. Since the metric gram (unit of weight) is based in the meter it also is an impractical quantity. One cubic meter of water does NOT equal 1 gram. Neither does it equal 1 liter (unit of volume).

Thus their conversion is NOT on a 1-to-1-to-1 basis. Their gram is only 1 cubic centimeter of water or millionth part of a cubic meter. Their liter is based, in turn, on their gram, also throwing it off practical balance between large and small numbers. The liter equals one thousand grams of water. Consequently, since they do not use a 1-to-1-to-1 ratio between their basic units of length, weight and volume, they must use conversion factors between length, weight and volume, just as we do.

It is indeed a great pity that the monastic "engineers and technicians" of 300 years ago made a very bad guess when they dreamed up what now has become the metric nightmare, but how could they possibly have foreseen the industrial revolution and what it would require in the way of flexibility adaptable weights and measures?

A TRIBUTE TO SENATOR WILLIAM BENTON

HON. ROBERT H. STEELE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Speaker, on March 18, 1973, America lost a great man. I would like to express grave sorrow at the passing of former U.S. Senator William Benton and pay tribute to the life of this devoted statesman and educator.

During his education at Yale University, William Benton met Chester Bowles, who was later to become Governor of Connecticut. Out of this meeting grew a lasting friendship that was to have an important effect on their futures as statesmen.

William Benton refused a Rhodes Scholarship and instead went into partnership with Chester Bowles in an advertising agency in 1929. The agency became the sixth largest in the world, and the 9-year partnership made both men financially independent at an early age. This financial independence enabled them to seek out elective and appointive public offices with no concern for the financial rewards that might be in them. When confronted with the opportunity to serve the public, they were thus able to judge the situation on the basis of merit alone.

William Benton was soon to become appointed Assistant Secretary of State in 1945. It was in this capacity that he organized the first peacetime program of international information, including Voice of America broadcasts, U.S. Information Offices overseas and student exchanges.

Early in his career of public service, William Benton joined the University of Chicago as vice president, where he helped launch two network radio programs, "The University of Chicago Radio Round Table," a seminar on contemporary political, economic, and social issues, and "The Human Adventure," dealing with university research. William Benton was named assistant to the chancellor at Chicago in 1945, and consequently a university trustee, a post he held to his death. He also held trusteeships at Carleton College, the University of Bridgeport, the University of Connecticut, Hampton Institute, and Brandeis University.

William Benton's life in public service continued in 1949, when Gov. Chester Bowles appointed him to fill a Senate vacancy created by the resignation of Senator Raymond E. Baldwin who became chief justice of the State supreme court. A margin of 1,100 votes in a special election in 1950 allowed him to retain his seat until 1953.

Courage marked Senator Benton's short tenure. His introduction of a Senate resolution denouncing Senator Joseph McCarthy was boldly presented despite the silence of most of his colleagues. Indeed, it took courage to be the first to call for the censure or resignation of Senator McCarthy at the height of the latter's popularity. Senator Benton was an ardent supporter of the United Nations, NATO, and the administration's foreign aid program.

In 1961, President John F. Kennedy appointed Senator Benton as the first U.S. Ambassador to UNESCO, a post which he held for 3 years.

Mr. Speaker, we have truly lost a great statesman and educator, but the effects of the work and accomplishments of William Benton will surely outlive us all.

RECOGNITION FOR ANTHONY J. NATALIZIO

HON. GLENN R. DAVIS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, on May 19, 1973, over 450 of the

friends, neighbors, colleagues, and kin of Anthony J. Natalizio attended a recognition dinner in his honor at the Waukesha County Technical Institute, Pewaukee, Wis. It was a moving and fitting tribute to one of Waukesha's finest citizens, who has been affiliated with the technical institute for more than a score of years as the director of that greatly expanded institution which was recently housed in a fine set of buildings.

It was one of those affairs which left a feeling of warmth upon its conclusion. A committee consisting of Sig Ross, past-president of the Waukesha Chamber of Commerce, Richard Anderson, district director-elect of Waukesha County Technical Institute, and William Moylan, community relations director of Waukesha County Technical Institute, brought people from all walks of life together to pay tribute to Tony Natalizio.

My tribute to Tony, a long-time friend, was as follows:

RECOGNITION FOR ANTHONY J. NATALIZIO

We are gathered here to share in these few minutes of regret, of nostalgia, and of pride. Regret in behalf of our community and those of us who live here.

Nostalgia, for this marks the end of an era—the Natalizio Age.

Pride, in what you Tony have contributed to our community, the indelible, permanent tracks which you have left.

We know the struggle behind the reaching of this point. The struggle which has spanned the era, the generation, which marked the passage of vocational, technical and adult education from a very junior partner in our overall educational establishment to a fully recognized valuable partner in preparing our people to live and to work. To borrow Dr. Brill's terminology, it is an era in which vocational, technical and adult education has moved, nationally, and locally, across the tracks.

Through it all, Tony has moved ahead here with an equanimity that has only been disturbed when Tony got over his head in sheephead game.

This institution where we meet tonight is in a sense a monument to Tony Natalizio. It is also a monument to the citizens of this community and the people of this state.

The federal government has played some part, but I recall, a few years ago, I learned that vocational, technical, and adult education has represented but one in 14 federal dollars that went for educational assistance. That doesn't sound like full partnership. But I think at all levels, including this one, true partnership is becoming a reality.

You, Tony, have made that partnership a reality here. Every one of us here considers you his friend. You have been a friend of us. You have been, you are, a good American, and I can think of no higher compliment.

As much as we regret losing you as Director of this fine institution, we are happy that our loss is not total. We are happy that you and Mary will continue to remain here among us continuing with many of your civic endeavors, staying here among your fine family, and among lasting friends, so many of whom are gathered here tonight.

IN PRAISE OF BUSINESS

HON. ROBERT P. HANRAHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. HANRAHAN. Mr. Speaker, the week of May 13-19 was observed as Na-

tional Small Business Week. The small businessmen of our country are the backbone of the Nation. The editorial which appeared in the Southwest News-Herald paid tribute to the small businessmen. I would like to add my support to the sentiment expressed in that article and to bring this salute to small businessmen to the attention of my colleagues:

IN PRAISE OF BUSINESS

This week is being observed as National Small Business week, so it's as good a time as any to express some opinions about what small business means to a community like ours.

Nationally, small business actually amounts to big business when it comes to compiling figures. There are now more than eight million small business men in the United States, comprising 95 per cent of all commercial enterprises and providing more than 35 million jobs.

Locally, a small businessman is much more than just a merchant who supplies some of your needs. He may be a neighbor, a friend, a bridge partner, a fellow church member, a vocal community leader, or possibly a relative.

In addition to helping provide the things you eat, wear or use, he may be spending much of his time, effort and money working for such organizations as the Kiwanis or Lions club, serving as a chairman for the American Cancer society or the Crusade of Mercy, coaching a Little League team or sponsoring some of the boys, or lending his talents to a church organization.

When President Nixon proclaimed May 13 to 19 as National Small Business week, he paid tribute to the average small business man with these words:

"In no facet of our national life is the American genius for independence, innovation and self-improvement better displayed than in the small business community.

"I ask all Americans to share with me during this week a deep pride in the many accomplishments of our nation's small business men and women, and in the invaluable contribution they have made to our free way of life."

We agree with President Nixon. The record of small business is one of which Americans can truly be proud.

FORD MOTOR CO. CRITICIZED FOR PAYING RANSOM TO ARGENTINE TROTSKYITES

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, Ford Motor Co.'s yielding to international blackmail by cutthroat Communists in Argentina is outrageous and merits further investigation.

The automaker's agreement to provide the terrorists with supplies valued at \$1 million can only encourage revolutionary Communists in the United States and throughout the world to try the same tactics.

Secret documents of Trotskyite Communists recently obtained by my minority committee staff, clearly establishes a chain of international, militant conspiracy designed to plunder and kill Americans, Israelis, British subjects, and others.

Ford probably will deduct this shameful Trotsky tribute from its income tax

report as a business expense. That revenue has to be obtained somewhere and that means you and I will be paying for this international piracy.

Ford is no stranger in Communist countries. It built one of the largest U.S.S.R. motor vehicle plants at Gorki. This plant produced thousands of vehicles for use in Vietnam and the Arab States against Israel.

I plan to recommend hearings on international terrorism and I have asked the minority staff to begin gathering information about the situation.

On May 22, according to news accounts, a team from Argentina's Ejercito Revolucionario Popular—People's Revolutionary Army—or ERP, opened fire with machineguns at the front gate to Ford's factory in a Buenos Aires suburb.

Two middle-management people, a man and a woman, were hit and are hospitalized, the man in serious condition.

The next day, the ERP demanded ambulances for hospitals in each Argentine province and medical supplies.

The ERP, according to my investigation is the armed detachment of the Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores—Revolutionary Workers' Party.

ERP teams were responsible for the kidnapping of Stanley Sylvester, British Consul in Rosario, Argentina, in 1971. He was ransomed unharmed.

Both the ERP and its parent organization PRT, were praised for that kidnapping by the British International Marxist Group because the victim was British.

All three are sections of the Trotskyite umbrella organization known as the Fourth International, according to testimony before the House Internal Security Committee in 1971.

Secret documents uncovered by my minority staff show that in 1970 the PRT established an armed terrorist off-shoot, the ERP. It was to be tightly controlled by the party, with what PRT documents call "political commissars" assigned to each unit.

One "secret" PRT internal pamphlet says:

No member of the party is exempt from participation in military action, but must carry out small scale actions (seizures), disarmings and seek by any means these expropriations to acquire the things they need to carry out their tasks efficiently.

A "seizure" is the Trotskyite euphemism for a kidnapping; "disarming" means attacking police to steal their weapons and "expropriations" translates to muggings, holdups, burglary, and arson.

These "Resolutions on the Party and the Army" were adopted at a PRT executive committee meeting in April 1971 and supplied to the members of the Socialist Workers Party, the U.S. section of the Fourth International in April, 1973 as a secret, "International Internal Discussion Bulletin."

The Fourth International was so pleased with these plans for death and destruction in Argentina that it adopted a resolution in December 1972 lauding the PRT and its enforcing ERP.

Praise was heaped upon the death dealers for—

Actions aimed at accumulating financial resources—in the tradition of the Bolsheviks;

Actions aimed at acquiring arms, medical supplies, medical equipment, and so forth;

Actions of confiscating food, clothing, and so forth, and distributing it in poor neighborhoods in order to win the sympathy of the most deprived strata of the population;

Actions inflicting punishment on the hangmen of the dictatorship who are well known and hated for their crimes; and

Certain actions in particular armed intervention in Fiat. The participation of ERP teams in the second Cordoba uprising.

The civilian manager of Fiat was kidnapped and murdered by the ERP.

It is easy to see the pattern of the Trotskyite terrorists. Their targets are foreign businessmen whose presence in their host country provides employment, a better standard of living, improved technology, capital, and valuable dollars from the United States and elsewhere.

Although a majority of the American Socialist Workers Party has been critical of the ERP and its guerrilla warfare tendencies supported by the Fourth International, a violent, militant minority of the SWP and a majority of its British counterpart, support such terrorism.

Both the U.S. SWP and the British International Marxist Group support the Palestinian terrorists responsible for the deaths of two U.S. Foreign Service officials in the Sudan and similar attacks against Israel is worldwide.

This is an incredible chain in which the Ford Motor Co. has become the latest link.

But this acquiescence and encouragement of international piracy and terrorism cannot be regarded as one of Ford's "Marks of Excellence."

BOARDMAN NEWS, OHIO, PUBLISHES TIMELY EDITORIAL ON WATERGATE AND PRESS FREEDOM

HON. CHARLES J. CARNEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. CARNEY of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, as the debate over the Watergate affair grows, both in the Congress and throughout the country, the Boardman News, a weekly newspaper published in Youngstown, Ohio, printed a timely editorial concerning the relationship between Watergate and freedom of the press.

Mr. Speaker, I share the view expressed by Mr. Jack A. Darnell, publisher of the Boardman News, that this editorial carries an important message about the essential principles upon which our great Nation was founded.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to insert in the RECORD at this time the editorial which appeared in the Boardman News during the week of April 26-May 2, 1973,

for the information and consideration of my colleagues in the Congress of the United States. The editorial follows:

WATERGATE AND PRESS FREEDOM

Maybe Martha Mitchell didn't speak long enough or loudly enough about the Watergate before her husband departed the U.S. Attorney General's office.

Remember the hub-bub that rocked Washington every time she made one of her phone calls to reporters, or the reports that one of her husband's security guards allegedly bruised her while trying to stop Mrs. Mitchell from making one of those phone calls?

Much deeper into the battle over Watergate there is another story, that being the battle over freedom of the press.

Where are the administration men who, with regularity, used to ferret abuse at the media with claims of irresponsibility? Certainly Mr. Agnew doesn't dare speak, for fear of a quick end to his aspirations of being the next President. And the President himself has taken a back seat, seemingly allowing the press to report all it can find.

Maybe this is because under legislation Mr. Nixon hopes to pass, freedom of the press, as far as reporting national affairs, would all but be eliminated.

So why let the press run rampant over Watergate? Because, as in the past, the press knows what it's talking about.

Specifically, in the Watergate case, if it weren't for the investigative reporting of the Washington Post, there would have been little, if any, news about the case. So then, it is logical to raise the question, if Watergate went unreported, or there were limits imposed upon the press during its reporting, then just how free would the November elections have been, and, in turn, just how eroded would the very roots of the democracy have been?

Now, as exemplified by Watergate, attempts to keep the press quiet have backfired and the very press that had been under heavy attack is the very medium which Washington and the Republican party must use to clear the air.

So there is a lesson that should be learned from the whole affair: A democracy is founded upon certain principles, one of which is freedom of the press. And when a democracy seeks to restrict that freedom with policies guarded in secrecy, then ultimately that democracy must use that freedom and those secrets it once guarded to plead for public understanding and support.

CHICAGO AND THE SOUTH END OF LAKE MICHIGAN

HON. EARL F. LANDGREBE

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. LANDGREBE. Mr. Speaker, ever since the Army Corps of Engineers unveiled its wastewater-management study for Chicago and the south end of Lake Michigan, the project which has become known to Indiana residents as C-SELM, the residents of northwestern Indiana have been appalled at the study which seems to cast aside all human elements to the problem of waste disposal in favor of a master project which would condemn much of that area to nothing more than an open sewage dump.

The residents of Indiana have voiced much opposition to this study, including two bills which were passed by the Indiana Legislature.

In order to further document the opposition of the residents of the Second Congressional District in Indiana to this study, I submit copies of the bills passed by the legislature in Indiana to halt such a project from ever being implemented and wish those bills to be made a part of the RECORD:

HOUSE ENROLLED ACT NO. 1001

(An act to amend IC 1971, 13-1 by adding a new chapter to prohibit interstate flow of sewage)

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana:

Section 1. IC 1971, 13-1 is amended by adding a new chapter to be numbered 11 and to read as follows:

Chapter 11. Interstate Sewage.

Sec. 1. No predominantly domestic sewage and surface run-off or sludges derived from domestic sewage or surface run-off shall be transported through any drain, pipe, railroad car, truck or barge from another state into Indiana there to be used in any land filtration or land treatment project without the express approval of the Indiana General Assembly and the county commissioners of each county or counties affected by such land filtration or transportation.

Section 2. Whereas a need exists for the more immediate taking effect of this act, the same shall be in full force and effect from the date of passage.

HOUSE ENROLLED ACT NO. 1002

(An act to amend IC 1971, 18-7 by adding a new chapter concerning the powers of certain regional planning commissions)

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana:

Section 1. IC 1971, 18-7 is amended by adding a new chapter to be numbered 1.2 and to read as follows: Chapter 1.2. Limitations on Regional Planning Commissions Powers.

Sec. 1. A commission created in accordance with IC 1971, 18-7-1 or 18-7-1.1 shall under no circumstance act as an implementor or in any way help implement any land disposal provisions of the Chicago-South End of Lake Michigan (C-S.E.L.M.) Waste Water Management Study conducted by the Army Corps of Engineers, or any other similar study that would create a multi-state waste disposal system: Provided, however, That nothing in this chapter shall prevent the commission from assisting in an exchange of information concerning waste water management studies.

Section 2. Whereas an emergency exists for the more immediate taking effect of this act, the same shall be in full force and effect from the date of passage.

LET THE PEOPLE FILL VIRGIN ISLANDS LEGISLATIVE VACANCIES

HON. RON DE LUGO

OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. DE LUGO. Mr. Speaker, earlier this month I introduced legislation to empower the Legislature of the Virgin Islands to determine the procedure for filling vacancies in its membership. Under present law the Governor appoints citizens to fill these vacant positions. In an accompanying statement, I stated by contention "that democratic principles demand that vacancies in the Legislature be filled by the people at special elections."

Although it was the first time legislation of this nature has been introduced, this is not a novel idea. The roots of this bill are the principles which define the legislative branch as the people's representatives, designating it to be the democratic forum responsible for the creation of law.

A resolution in this spirit, petitioning Congress to provide for special elections, was passed by the Legislature of the Virgin Islands 2 years ago. It was sponsored by a Senator who earned great respect for his work, Ariel Melchior, Jr.

In the editorial column of its May 16 issue this year the Daily News of the Virgin Islands, of which Mr. Melchior is the editor, again spotlighted this issue. The editorial puts the matter of filling legislative vacancies into perspective. I am sure that my colleagues will find it worthwhile and informative guidance on the subject as they consider this legislation. I am pleased to include it at this point:

TIME FOR CONGRESS TO ACT

The introduction by the Virgin Islands Delegate to Congress of legislation to correct the peculiar manner in which vacancies in the territorial Legislature are filled is the third time in two years that the lawmakers' attention has been drawn to this problem. We trust that this prodigious will encourage Congress to amend that portion of the Revised Organic Act dealing with Senate vacancies, for this year, for the second time in two years, a vacancy in the Legislature was filled by the Governor in a manner that can only be described as contrary to the democratic process.

Congress' attention was first called to this problem two years ago in a resolution introduced by then Senator Ariel Melchior Jr. petitioning that body to amend the Revised Organic Act to provide for special elections to fill vacancies in the Senate that occur more than six months prior to the next general election. Surprisingly this resolution passed by but a narrow eight to six margin, and it is interesting to note that some of those who voted against the measure then have been among the loudest in their criticism of the Governor's latest action in naming a Republican to fill a seat vacated by a Democrat.

The proposed Virgin Islands Constitution, which received a rather lukewarm endorsement from the voters last year, also provides a new means of dealing with Senate vacancies. It provides for a special election in the case of vacancies occurring more than 12 months prior to the next general election, and for vacancies occurring less than 12 months before a general election provides for the territorial committee the former senator was a member of to select a replacement. If the former senator was a member of no party then the seat would be filled by a two-thirds vote of the Legislature. Again, some of those who voted against this have been loudest in their criticism of the latest replacement.

Unlike either of these proposals, the Virgin Islands Delegate's measure before Congress simply asks for the Revised Organic Act to be amended to permit the Legislature itself to determine the procedure to fill vacancies. In addressing the House, he explained that he did not specify any procedure because of his commitment to self-determination and belief that such a decision is one that should rightfully be made by the Legislature.

The fact that for three times in two years Congress has been urged to correct this poorly thought out section of the Revised Organic Act is solid evidence of the need to do so. If there are any doubts, the lawmakers have only to think of how incon-

sistent with the democratic process it would be if the President were empowered to fill vacancies in the House of Representatives or Senate without any regard to the voters' wishes. In these islands with their unicameral Legislature of but 15 seats the situation could be even more perilous.

IMMINENT DISASTER IN THE EAST BAY HILLS

HON. FORTNEY H. (PETE) STARK
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced the following testimony into the RECORD of the House Agriculture Committee Subcommittee on Forests in support of S. 1697 and H.R. 7669. These bills would compel the President to release up to \$11 million in disaster relief funds, for private citizens and public agencies alike. The Office of Emergency Preparedness has now declared a situation of "imminent disaster" in the East Bay Hills, but proposes to make only a fraction of the above-mentioned funds available. It then remains of utmost importance that this bill be reported out of the committee favorably, and adopted by the House, in response to Senate passage of S. 1697 last week.

The testimony follows:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN FORTNEY H. STARK, JR.

Mr. Chairman, I am pleased to have the opportunity to appear before this Subcommittee in support of the bills introduced by Senators Cranston and Tunney, and Congressmen Dellums, Waldie and myself. As you are aware, I spoke before the Senate Subcommittee on Small Business, as did many present today, to urge support for S. 1697, requiring the President to declare the East Bay Hills a Disaster Area. That bill subsequently passed the Senate, and I respectfully urge you, and the Members of this Committee, to work for its passage in the House. Time is of the essence. I need not restate the nature of the emergency, for you are familiar with it, and with its ramifications. Yet, I do submit that the danger of fire grows with each dry spring day. We are clearly dealing with an "imminent disaster."

The testimony you will hear from those living and working in the Hills paints a clear picture of the situation. The winter freeze killed more than a million eucalyptus trees which now stand, dry and highly inflammable, in densely populated areas. Even the trees in parklands can, it is estimated, shoot off burning crowns that can carry flames within a radius of eleven miles. No area surrounding the Hills is safe. Fuel breaks can only be partially effective, at best. All the representatives and officials of the agencies involved concur—massive tree removal and subsequent reforestation must be undertaken immediately. Estimated costs of such action vary, but I believe that the \$11 million named here is a conservative figure for the amount of additional funds needed. Clearly this can only be provided by the federal government. State and local agency resources have been used to the fullest extent. There simply is no more California money available. The President must declare the Hills in a state of "imminent disaster" so that under P.L. 91-606, federal funds can be released.

Nearly all other efforts to date have been futile. Money is traditionally available from

various sources and government agencies, but for various technical reasons, this situation in the Hills did not qualify. Money that might have been released by HUD, the Department of Labor, the U.S. Forest Service, or other smaller agencies simply has not been forthcoming. We have been forced to see that this situation is not deemed of a sufficiently "imminent" nature. It is indeed a sad commentary that tragedy must appear on the brink before funds that would have been preventive can be released. It must also be noted that a precedent exists, one that convinces me of the magnitude of the impending disaster. Fire struck the Hills after a similar freeze in 1923, burning 130 acres, leaving 4,000 persons homeless and resulting in an estimated \$10,000,000 damage. The acreage involved was only a fraction of the area threatened today.

All avenues of relief have now been explored and exhausted. We have all investigated every possible source of aid. For your information, I would like briefly to trace for you the series of attempts made at securing federal or other funds.

Beginning in mid-winter, the U.S. Forest Service claimed jurisdiction in the matter and began working with State and local officials on the scene. Aerial views and infrared photos were used as evidence, but proved to be disappointingly inconclusive. Portions of the trees themselves were analyzed in laboratory tests and determined to be alive, but still dangerously inflammable. The magnitude of the threat was thereby documented. This precipitated a flurry of activity by local agencies, but they could do little on a large scale. The money simply wasn't there.

At this same time, my staff was investigating relief programs of federal agencies even remotely related to fire disaster. The Library of Congress, the Department of the Interior, and the Public Works Committee proposed various possibilities, but all were unsuitable. Watershed programs seemed likely to be applicable, but their overall budget had been so drastically cut in recent years that no substantial funds could be made available. We were then speaking conservatively of \$5 million in damages. The total budget of the Watershed programs amounted to very little more than that. Similar findings were made in all the other federal relief programs.

The only conclusion to this exhaustive study was that money would have to be made available through the Office of Emergency Preparedness. This necessitates a Presidential designation of the area as in a state of "imminent disaster." I conveyed this message to the President by letter on April 4. After a lengthy review, Governor Reagan arrived at the same conclusion. In the first week of April, he declared a "state of emergency" in Alameda and Contra Costa Counties, and requested President Nixon to "declare the counties major disaster areas due to the extreme fire hazard presented by the dead trees."

The Governor has also made some funds available for land clearance, and the State Ecology Corps has been enlisted in the land clearing effort. While an earnest beginning, this is still pitifully insufficient. Estimates of damage to public and private lands now range upwards of \$5 million, and \$20 million is no longer considered a liberal figure. Few private citizens have adequate resources to meet these costs. A homeowner with several dead trees on his property is faced with an expensive operation, but a family living on a fixed income with even just a few trees in the yard may encounter serious financial hardship. All those who have not yet made large expenditures must be assisted before that should become necessary. The Fire Marshal of Oakland set June 1 as the deadline. By that date, all dead trees must be

cleared from private land. Estimates range upwards of \$300 per tree.

As a last resort, the manpower element was explored. It was thought that the Department of Labor might have sufficient funds to deploy large groups of unemployed men and women into land-clearing operations. Public Service Employment has in the past given jobs to people in projects similar to this one. This year's drastic shortage of funds in the program, however, rendered this impossible. The City of Oakland could not afford to hire anyone. Public funds existed for the immediate future, but under the same laws it is stipulated that no one may be hired temporarily unless the City can guarantee him continuing employment. No such money for salaries could be found in the Oakland city government.

At this time, though, I am pleased to be able to report that we have made one small step in the area of compensation to property owners. The Internal Revenue Service has agreed that the decrease in property value may be claimed as a single deduction for 1972. We are presently seeking a further clarification of this decision.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, we have explored every avenue. Senators Cranston and Tunney, and Congressmen Dellums, Waldie and I have done all within our power and authority to attempt to secure relief for this endangered area. The local governments, the mayors, county supervisors, state officials and innumerable citizens have worked tirelessly to avoid disaster. The Governor has intervened and declared a state of "imminent disaster."

We have all answered our constituencies. We have lived up to our responsibilities as elected officials. The future safety of the East Bay Hills is now in the hands of the President. It is up to him to take the necessary action for the Office of Emergency Preparedness to go to work. I fear a worn-out phrase is in order—the buck stops at his office. Even the recent re-evaluation by OEP has not yet elicited a Presidential response.

It is for these reasons, then, that we must now turn to Congress to compel the President to respond. Only he can authorize the release of Federal Disaster Relief Funds and other monies to aid any public agency or private property owners. The President alone, too, can provide reimbursement to all who have paid so much for tree removal on their land.

I therefore urge that the Members of this Committee give favorable consideration to this legislation. You shall be acting on behalf of people who stand to be severely afflicted for years to come in event of fire. You can be responsible for preventing this disaster.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

UAW TESTIFIES ON OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Franklin Wallick, the editor of the UAW Washington Report, recently testified before the Subcommittee on Labor and HEW of the Committee on Appropriations concerning fiscal year 1974 budget for occupational safety and health.

Mr. Wallick argues, very convincingly, that we must spend more than \$2 per worker on on-the-job protection.

He believes, and I agree, that \$100.1 million proposed in the fiscal 1974 budget

for occupational safety and health is too little. In his words, it is "a feeble, grossly unfair response to the congressional mandate to clean up and make safe the American workplace environment for 60 million workers."

Mr. Speaker, the problem of on-the-job safety and environmental hazards in many of our workplaces is too often ignored. I recommend Mr. Wallick's testimony as must reading for anyone interested in learning how little the Federal Government is doing to make the American workers' environment safe.

Mr. Wallick's testimony follows:

OCCUPATIONAL SAFETY AND HEALTH
(By Franklin Wallick)

I am pleased to present the testimony for the United Auto Workers regarding the Labor/HEW appropriation for Fiscal 1974 with emphasis on implementation of the Occupational Safety and Health Act of 1970. In this we are joined by a battery of union, environmental and minority organizations dedicated to cleaning up the workplace environment.

Our union has testified at each set of appropriations hearings since enactment of this law and has each time urged a stronger level of funding. Our track record, and that of other unions which have joined us in these appeals, is not good. Both congressional and executive response to our appeals has been sorely disappointing.

\$2 PER WORKER IS SHORTSIGHTEDNESS

It seems shortsighted that a great, industrious nation like ours should spend less than \$2.00 per worker for on-the-job protection from hazards that endanger life and limb. It is even more shortsighted that we are spending less than 50 cents per worker covered by the law for enforcement purposes.

The \$100.2 million proposed for Fiscal 1974 (\$69.8 million for the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, Department of Labor; \$25.6 million for the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and the \$4.89 million for the independent agency, Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission) is a feeble, grossly unfair response to the congressional mandate to clean up and make safe the American workplace environment for 60 million workers.

TOO MUCH LIPSERVICE TO HARDWORKING AMERICANS

We have recently gone through a national political campaign where much lip service was paid to the hardworking American worker by both political parties. Yet Congress, the Office of Budget and Management and the executive agencies have consistently failed to provide the funds, the personnel and the programs required to make good on the promises of this new and far-reaching legislation of such recent vintage.

We are not here today to argue nickles and dimes. Let the record show that we in the UAW—and this holds true for all of the American labor movement—believe that Congress by its actions has given a low fiscal priority to worker safety and health. Nor can the Executive Branch be exonerated. The proposals which reach you from the other end of Pennsylvania Avenue have been limp and anemic gestures when compared to the extent of the problem.

The first annual report to Congress, as required by PL 91-596 suggests that 100,000 deaths a year may be caused by occupational exposures. This projection is based on a ratio of violent to nonviolent deaths of 1 to 8, and by extrapolation from several epidemiological studies which show the actual death rate from groups of workers based on their occupational exposures. This figure of 100,000 comes to 400 deaths a day on an 8

hour, 40 hours week, and 50 deaths an hour on a 2,000 hour work year. It is a death rate which ought to challenge all in government to redirect our national priorities, and it is why we are here today.

NIOSH TREATED AS UNWANTED CHILD

Despite the staggering impact of this data, the National Institute for Occupational Safety and Health in HEW has been treated as an unwanted child by the Nixon Administration. And Congress has not corrected the executive errors. The latest horror story involved a switch of NIOSH from the now defunct Health Services and Mental Health Administration to the Center for Disease Control. When PL 91-596 was enacted the legislative history of the law will show that the House and Senate clearly desired to give the research, training and service functions of NIOSH both special and unique standing within HEW. But instead NIOSH was placed four layers down in the HEW bureaucracy, and has had to fight for its life and integrity every step of the way.

We in the UAW have worked closely with NIOSH, particularly in Ohio which next to Michigan has the largest concentration of UAW members in the nation. We have used and consulted with the hardpressed staff of NIOSH and we are dismayed by the pattern of neglect imposed on this vital agency.

The actual money expended last year by NIOSH, if coal mine health and safety items are eliminated, comes to \$20.5 million and this level is to be continued in Fiscal 1974. Congress to its credit has raised this amount, but NIOSH has suffered from two succeeding presidential vetoes. Thus the workers of this country have not yet received any benefit of additional NIOSH appropriations.

The real damage to NIOSH is not done only by way of weak funding, but by the bureaucratic games imposed on this agency which prevents NIOSH from hiring or keeping competent professional staff. The number of people in NIOSH has never exceeded 600 which represents one federal employee to every 100,000 workers covered by the law—certainly an impotent response to worker health on the job.

What is more outrageous is the fact that 100 NIOSH workers have received their RIF (reduction in force) notices within recent weeks, so the weak staffing of this agency will be further reduced and made more powerless at a time when an estimated 40 workers are dying each working hour from health hazards on the job.

NIOSH was promised 701 workers for Fiscal '72, but because of a ceiling on grade point averages imposed by HEW the actual staff increase never occurred. This can be illustrated when you realize that the Civil Service rating for an industrial hygienist is in GS 11 to 15 range, a board certified physician is in a GS range of 15 to 16 and a toxicologist is in an 11 to 16 range. By giving NIOSH a grade point ceiling of 7.62, the agency has never been able to staff up properly to do its duty to the American worker.

One keystone function of the federal safety and health law is to respond to requests for health hazard evaluations sent to NIOSH by worker representatives. This program has never been properly publicized nor have NIOSH staffers been adequately equipped to handle requests. At present NIOSH can handle only 50 health hazard requests per year. There are 54 requests now pending, with a growing workload evident. Once again the American worker will be shortchanged by HEW's bungling of a great opportunity and a responsibility to serve millions of hardworking Americans who are frequently forced to be the environmental guinea pigs for the rest of the non-working population.

The decision to put NIOSH training on a fee for service basis is another body blow to

millions of workers, especially those who belong to small unions or to no union whatsoever. The most that NIOSH ever spent for training was \$2.9 million in Fiscal '72 and \$1.9 million in Fiscal '73—which represents a spending level of about 3 cents per worker.

THE SHORTAGE OF COMPETENT STAFF

There is today a serious shortage of industrial hygienists. There are probably less than 3,000 in the whole country—with a need for at least 8,000. In the absence of trained personnel, the need for paraprofessionals in occupational health—which NIOSH has been able to furnish to government, employers and workers—becomes more urgent. Yet HEW has drastically scaled down the modest training facilities which worked so well at great handicap during the past three years. For workers who must lose work to attend training programs, the added burden of a \$50 or \$70 a day fee with laboratory work, is a burden many workers and their unions cannot assume. This is especially unfair in the face of a \$268.7 billion budget, which contains few services items which working people or their unions can obtain.

So much for NIOSH. We think it deserves far more than benign neglect. It ought to rank with the great HEW Institutes of health, and ought to be treated as an HEW prize property, not hidden away in Cincinnati or Atlanta, hobbling along with uncertain budgets, lopping off vital staff and programs which can meet the urgent needs of millions of workers who face terrible hazards every day they go to work.

OSHA DOES NOT NEED \$30 MILLION FOR PAPERWORK

Now for OSHA. We will refrain from playing a numbers game—how many inspectors, how many complaints, how many citations. We think OSHA could do much better with more money. But the real complaint we have—and again this is shared by all unions—is the \$30 million in paperwork which the federal government is financing for state developmental plans. Without getting into the pros and cons of state plans, we feel that \$30 million is far too much to spend for more paperwork, when the money could be so much better spent on enforcement, education, and training. OSHA today has only 50 industrial hygienists—or a ratio of less than 1 industrial hygienist to every 1 million workers. In the face of this staff shortage, OSHA ought to spend less on bailing out the states and more on doing what Congress set out to do—establish a strong federal commitment to make the workplace safe and healthful for the 60 million workers covered by the Act.

OSHRM MUST KEEP UP ITS CASELOAD

The Occupational Safety and Health Review Commission is an independent agency set up to handle appeals. It has acquired increasing importance and if its funding is neglected its case load will suffer correspondingly. Much more could be done by OSHRC to better acquaint both workers and employers of their rights of appeal under the law.

Only 6 percent of all citations issued by OSHA go to appeal. Our union has several vital appeals which are currently pending which directly affect the life and health of our members on the job. We must not let OSHRC fall behind and its competency to deal with appeals must not erode.

THE URBAN ENVIRONMENT CONFERENCE

Finally we are pleased to announce that our views are shared by a broad coalition of groups representing unions, environmental organizations, and minority groups who work together under the umbrella of the Urban Environment Conference. I ask to put into the record at this time a statement which has been approved by these

groups, and wish to indicate that these groups have been polled and join in our presentation on their behalf at this time.

THIRD DISTRICT OF TEXAS SPEAKS OUT ON ISSUES

HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, each spring I send a questionnaire to my constituents in the Third Congressional District. I have always found this one of the best ways for me to get direct feedback of my constituents' views on national issues. This spring in response to my questionnaire I received thousands and thousands of responses which I have tabulated. I am entering the results of this questionnaire into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD today to officially record the views of the constituents of the Third District of Texas and in the hope that this information will be of value to my colleagues here in the House of Representatives.

Third District residents have clearly gone on record as being opposed to the United States sending money for reparations or any other purposes to North Vietnam. Many comments noted that in light of the torture of our prisoners of war, repeated and serious violations of the peace agreement, and lack of serious commitment, as promised, in the accounting for our missing in action, it would be singularly inappropriate; 90.7 percent of all respondents indicated that no money should be sent to North Vietnam.

In an issue also related to the Vietnam war, 69 percent of those indicated their opposition to the granting of amnesty for draft evaders, 8 percent supported amnesty for all and 23 percent favored amnesty based on certain conditions.

In answer to the question whether news reporters should have the right not to reveal their sources, 71 percent of responding Third District residents said yes.

In light of the recent transition of the U.S. Post Office Department from a Government agency to semi-independent public corporation, it is important to continually monitor the quality of mail service. Only 4.5 percent of Third District residents felt that service had improved since the creation of the U.S. Postal Service, 42 percent felt that mail service had deteriorated and 53.5 percent indicated that their service had remained about the same.

Perhaps the subject on which there is most unanimity in the third district is capital punishment, 98 percent of those responding indicated that capital punishment is appropriate in certain major crimes, and 79.5 percent approved of the President's decision to phase out the Office of Economic Opportunity—OEO—while 20.5 percent favored its retention. Most respondents argued that the termination of this program was justified because of severe abuses within this program, duplication of services presently

performed by other departments and agencies, and that it has been a huge bureaucratic organization that was neither efficient nor effective.

The dissatisfaction expressed with the poverty program also extended to the present welfare system, 21.7 percent of those responding indicated that a reduction of welfare spending was the most important budget that could be made, 35 percent argued for the elimination of foreign aid spending, and 17.5 percent listed the Federal bureaucracy as most needing reduction. Other subjects listed included farm subsidies and defense.

By a large margin, 31.5 percent, third district citizens listed inflation as the gravest issue facing America today, and 11.5 percent pointed to a deterioration of the moral fiber of the country, while 8.6 percent listed crime. Many subjects were mentioned including busing, the Supreme Courts, drugs, poverty, and the Vietnam war.

It is with a great deal of gratitude that I thank those of my constituents who completed the questionnaire or sent letters setting forth their views.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that this analysis of the view of the Third District of Texas will prove valuable to all Members of Congress.

HONORING PAUL GYGAX

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to recognize Paul Gygax, of Newark, Calif., who is being honored June 20 by the Newark School Administrators Association for his long and dedicated service to the schools of Newark.

First elected to the Washington Township School Board in 1961, Mr. Gygax served as its president in 1963. With the creation of the Newark Unified School District, he was elected to that board and over the years has served as its president three times and also as its clerk. In addition, he has served both as a member and as president of the Alameda County School Board.

An active participant in community as well as the school activities, he was one of the original promoters of the incorporation of the city of Newark, spending hours going from door to door, talking to citizens, and selling them on the idea of making Newark a full-fledged city. His enthusiasm and persuasive abilities were also a major force in bringing the Central Valley Bank to Newark as the new city's first banking institution. A charter member of the Newark Chamber of Commerce, he has also served as its president a number of times.

In sum, Paul Gygax has devoted a great deal of his time and energy to make Newark a community that offers not only a healthy economic and social atmosphere, but also the best school system possible. His generous donation of his talents and abilities are greatly appreciated by all the citizens of Newark.

VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW ON WATERGATE

HON. DAVID C. TREEN

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. TREEN. Mr. Speaker, the break-in at Watergate was an act which I deplore, as I deplore wrongdoing of any kind, regardless of who is involved. It is equally deplorable however, given the urgent issues facing this country today, that so much of the Nation's attention and resources must be diverted from these other very pressing problems.

Watergate is clearly an issue which must come under the public's closest scrutiny. But I believe that the time has also come to allow the judicial process to take its course. If we allow Watergate to become a partisan political issue, the ultimate victim will not be the President, it will not even be the Republican Party, it will be the political process itself.

We have not reached the unfortunate stage where hearsay evidence, innuendo, and dubious aspersions are not only being leaked to the press, but are also being given live daily coverage by the Nation's television networks.

A recent statement by Vice President AGNEW, which was presented at the Bull Elephants Luncheon on May 21, 1973, directs itself to the Watergate. Because this speech has been misinterpreted in the press I am inserting it in the RECORD so that my colleagues will have the opportunity to read what the Vice President did, in fact, say at last week's luncheon.

VICE PRESIDENT AGNEW ON WATERGATE

This is not the easiest time to be a high-profile Republican in Washington.

But it may well be the best time for Republican partisans to give evidence, in every appropriate way, of our Party pride and loyalty.

There are times when people momentarily lose sight of what would otherwise be obvious, and when to remind them of the obvious is not to belabor it. This is such a time.

No matter when or how each of us in this room came to join the Republican Party, I am sure that each of us did so because we sensed that the Party's historic ideals, and its approaches to solving the major problems of the day, offered the best hope of accomplishing, quite simply, the greatest good for the greatest number.

The Republican Party's record of service to the States, the Nation, and the Nation's communities is a legitimate source of pride to us all. The philosophical underpinnings of that record are not so shallow or wispy that the sensation of the moment warrants a retreat from the battle to implement our philosophy through positive and progressive programs for the achievement of our major national goals.

I am as proud of my Republican identification today as I was last year, or four years ago, or twenty years ago. And I know all of you share this sense of pride.

You who work on the Hill have every reason to be proud of the contribution which you have made, year in and year out, this year as in prior years, to the shaping of the Nation's laws.

The Republican contingent in Congress has worked determinedly and constructively to protect the public interest by promoting legislation that is needed, opposing legisla-

tion that is not. And, with the help of like-thinking friends on the other side of the aisle, you have achieved a degree of success in this regard that often leaves one wondering who is in the majority and who is in the minority.

The American people have been well served by the Republican Members of Congress and by their supporting minority staff members. You merit and will continue to receive the support and appreciation of those of our citizens who demand efficient and fiscally responsible Government, a strong national defense and a deep commitment to reversing the continued flow of power to Washington.

It is understandable that those of us who are subjected to the incessant drumbeat of publicity given to Watergate tend to feel coerced by the seeming weight of it all and to grope anew each day for ever stronger words of condemnation and dissociation from the alleged and insinuated wrongdoing, lest we be thought to protest too little.

But I believe it is important that we not be stampeded into protesting entirely too much. Republicans must not allow the content of their speeches, statements and even private conversations to be controlled by those who are literally obsessed with one subject, some of whom do now and always wish our Party nothing but ill.

Some people in this town, in and out of Government, never wanted Richard Nixon to become President. They will never be satisfied with him and this would be true whether or not Watergate had ever happened. Some people do not subscribe to either the President's or the Republican Party's goals in such areas as revitalization of the Federal system through the return of resources, responsibilities and initiative to our States and localities, or the maintenance of a strong national defense and a strong bargaining position vis-a-vis those other nations with whom we must from time to time negotiate on matters affecting our vital national interests.

Presidential accomplishment under Richard Nixon has been formidable; Presidential initiative under Richard Nixon has been unprecedented. Richard Nixon has advanced the United States by discarding the conventional utopian rhetoric for solid, pragmatic action. As a result, other nations, allies and adversaries, know where we stand and respect our positions.

It is time Republicans resume talking about the underlying merits of the issues before the Congress. We have the programs. We have the policies. And we are prepared to offer real and imaginative solutions to the real—as opposed to the manufactured—problems of our times. It is time, gentlemen, that we went back to work.

A TRIBUTE TO MSGR. STANISLAUS SIERAKOWSKI

HON. JACK F. KEMP

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, on May 26, Rt. Rev. Msgr. Stanislaus J. Sierakowski, P.A., pastor of St. John Gualbert's Church in Cheektowaga, N.Y., celebrated his 50th year in the priesthood.

For this past half century, Monsignor Sierakowski has been a leading citizen in western New York and his devotion to God has been reflected in his public life and in his service to his fellowman.

The Right Reverend Monsignor Sierakowski was born in Buffalo, N.Y., on November 16, 1896. He was baptized and reared in St. Stanislaus B.M. Parish

where he graduated from the parish parochial school. He continued his studies at Canisius High School and Canisius College and later completed his philosophy and theological studies at St. Bonaventure University where he obtained his B.A. and M.A. degrees.

On May 26, 1923, Monsignor Sierakowski was ordained by His Excellency Bishop William Turner. His first assignment was at St. Stanislaus B.M. Church where he had the privilege of offering his first mass. Monsignor Sierakowski's motto—to give of himself to God and mankind—was displayed in his first assignment at St. Stanislaus Parish where he served as youth coordinator, dramatic director, athletic adviser, and moderator of the altar boys. The monsignor was instrumental in organizing nationally, the Catholic Chaplain Boy Scout Organization. He also became Diocesan Chaplain of the Boy Scout Family, a position he has held for 50 years in his diocese.

Monsignor Sierakowski was assigned as chaplain at Villa Maria Academy in October, 1941, where for 11 years he was a source of guidance and inspiration to the students. In 1950, the monsignor was appointed censor librorum for the Buffalo diocese and in 1952 His Excellency, Bishop Joseph A. Burke, assigned him as pastor of St. Barbara's Church in Lackawanna. His assignment as pastor of St. John Gualbert's came on March 2, 1957. His Holiness, Pope Paul VI, in a Vatican decree, elevated Monsignor Sierakowski to Prothonotary Apostolic and on January 25, 1968, Monsignor Sierakowski honorably was invested by His Excellency, Bishop James Aloysius McNulty.

In addition to Diocesan and parochial positions, Monsignor Sierakowski has held other offices including: Officer of the Copernicus Student Aid Society; president of the Polish clergy for 6 years; advisor on the board of Bishop Turner High School; and chaplain of the Walden District Taxpayers' Association. He is also a member of the Polish Union of America and the Polish Roman Catholic Union of America.

During his 16 years at St. John Gualbert's, Monsignor Sierakowski has instituted a building program for the school and auditorium and has updated the church according to the new liturgy. His outstanding leadership has established his parish as one of the finest in the diocese of Buffalo.

This past weekend, Monsignor Sierakowski celebrated his 50th year in the priesthood with a concelebrated Mass in St. John Gualbert's Church. Bishop Edward D. Head of the Buffalo diocese was chief celebrant at the 5 p.m. mass and a banquet followed at the Hearstone Manor in Depew.

Monsignor Sierakowski has been superbly endowed by his Maker to discharge his appointed commission. His spiritual guidance and practical leadership have been a never ending source of strength to all who have known him.

My warmest congratulations to Monsignor Sierakowski—a faithful servant of God—on the occasion of his 50th anniversary. May the western New York area be blessed with his services for many years to come.

THE IMMORTALITY OF LORRAINE HANSBERRY

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, Mayor Walter E. Washington of the District of Columbia has set aside May 30, 1973, as "Lorraine Hansberry Day." The high point of the day's celebrations will be the opening—at the Arena Stage Theater here in Washington—of a new musical play called "Raisin," based on Ms. Hansberry's internationally acclaimed, "Raisin in the Sun." In 1959, this play received the New York Drama Critics Circle Award for "The Best Play of the Year." Lorraine Hansberry was the first black writer, the youngest individual, and the fifth woman ever to receive this coveted award. It was only the beginning of a career that was triumphant, but too short. Lorraine Hansberry was taken from us, much too soon, only 5 years after the opening of "Raisin in the Sun."

When Lorraine Hansberry passed away, she was mourned throughout the world. But she left a legacy for black Americans and particularly for black writers which is still bearing fruit today. Her continuing influence in the artistic community is Lorraine Hansberry's immortality.

In "To Be Young, Gifted and Black," Lorraine Hansberry left this message for young black writers:

O, the things that we have learned in this unkind house that we have to tell the world about!

Despair? Did someone say despair was a question in the world? Well then, listen to the sons of those who have known little else if you wish to know the resiliency of this thing you would so quickly resign to myth—hood, this thing called the human spirit. . . .

Life? Ask those who have tasted of it in pieces rationed out by enemies.

Love? Ah, ask the troubadours who come from those who have loved when all reason pointed to the uselessness and fool-hardiness of love. Perhaps we shall be the teachers when it is done. Out of the depths of pain we have thought to be our sole heritage in this world—O, we know about love!

And that is why I say to you that, though it be a thrilling and marvelous thing to be merely young and gifted in such times, it is doubly so, doubly dynamic—to be young, gifted and black.

Look at the work that awaits you!

Write if you will; but write about the world as it is and as you think it ought to be—if there is to be a world.

Write about all the things that men have written about since the beginning of writing and talking—but write to a point. Work hard at it, care about it.

Write about our people: tell their story. You have something glorious to draw on begging for attention. Don't pass it up. Use it. Good luck to you. This Nation needs your gifts.

Perfect them!

I urge my colleagues to join me in celebrating the immortality of Lorraine Hansberry on her day, Lorraine Hansberry Day.

ENERGY CRISIS

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, all of us are receiving many letters from constituents concerned about the so-called "energy crisis." Our distinguished colleague from California (Mr. Moss) has developed one of the most comprehensive and informative statements on the energy crisis in a response to an inquiry from one of his constituents.

He has outlined precisely what is wrong with President Nixon's energy message—too much emphasis on helping the vested interests and not enough on assisting consumers. The President's energy message emphasizes increasing supply, plays lip service to conservation, but does nothing to encourage Americans to cut their energy consumption.

Furthermore, our distinguished colleague from California (Mr. Moss) indicates that the President's energy message did not call for an increase in R. & D. spending on energy at a time when funds should be funneled into this field.

For my colleagues' information, I wish to include in the RECORD Mr. Moss' complete statement which I believe summarizes my objections and the objections of many of my colleagues to President Nixon's approach to the energy crisis.

Mr. Moss' letter follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D.C., May 15, 1973.

DEAR —: Thank you for your letter concerning the energy crisis and your questions in relationship to an interview with me which appeared in the *Sacramento Bee* on April 25th.

I read the President's energy message with a feeling of disappointment and skepticism. The message deals more with the energy problems of the 1950's and 1960's instead of the potential energy crisis of the coming decades. After further analysis I am convinced that it reflects a bias towards the vested interests of the oil conglomerates instead of the consumer rights of the general public. In essence, the President's message is not equal in resolution to the enormity of the present potential crisis.

Let me be more specific:

The President is right in recognizing one of the basic problems, that the United States, with about 6% of the world's population, consumes more than one-third of the available energy supplies. Ironically, the U.S. still has ample domestic sources of oil to last another two decades and immense reserves of coal to fill domestic needs for centuries. The immediate problems, however, are a man-made shortage of natural gas, an inadequate oil-refining capacity and an ever increasing demand for energy by the American public.

But America's problem is not only consumption, it is waste. Electric heating which is so lavishly advertised on television, is notoriously wasteful. Most American made cars use only about 20% of the energy potential in gasoline. Indeed, Americans annually waste as much energy with automobiles and electric heat, as the Japanese nation uses in one year.

The President's Office of Emergency Preparedness last year estimated that the U.S.

could reduce energy consumption by the equivalent of 7.3 million bbl. of oil a day. By 1980 this could save about \$11 billion in foreign exchange. Americans could also save, for example, the equivalent of 100 million tons of coal per year by turning down their home thermostats by only two degrees.

Unfortunately, in his energy message, the President primarily emphasized the need to increase supply, but not the need to eliminate waste and curb demand. The serious attention that energy conservation deserves was bypassed for vague rhetoric. It is one thing, for example, to give lip service to the President's idea of an "energy conservation ethic," but it is something else to specify what such an ethic would require of our governmental institutions, and more importantly, of the American people themselves.

A recent report by a group of American researchers and businessmen, the National Commission on Materials Policy, recommended additional ideas that were also ignored by the President.

It concluded that the United States must reduce its consumption of certain raw materials in order to help avert a global crisis in natural resources. It called for efficiency in conversion, transmission and end use of energy and strongly supported zero population growth.

Unfortunately, these are ideas the President does not seem to understand. More people means more energy demands, more consumption, more scarcity, more waste, more pollution, more poverty, more problems.

In essence, in order to resolve our present energy crisis we have to get away from our traditional Chamber of Commerce mentality where bigness is equated with goodness and quantity confused with quality.

Another salient problem with the President's message is its lack of international solutions concerning the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries. By 1980, the petroleum-producing regions in the Middle East will collect \$30 billion to \$40 billion in annual revenues from the sale of oil to the United States and other industrial nations. If, as anticipated, the U.S. increases its oil imports to 45 and 60 per cent by 1980, this could cause a trade imbalance of \$20 to \$25 billion.

The President calls rather simply for more "international cooperation," but avoids the more difficult questions concerning O.P.E.C.

M.I.T. economist M.A. Adelman in an article entitled "Is the Oil Shortage Real," *Foreign Policy Magazine*, documents how the U.S. State Department has actually re-enforced the ability of the cartel and the multinational companies to maintain a monopoly price 10 to 20 times the cost of producing oil.

An editorial in the *Wall Street Journal* stated that Professor Adelman "has made a convincing argument that it is not a 'shortage' of crude oil, but the changed relationship between oil companies and producing countries that faces consumers with problems of price and supply." Adelman suggests ways to break up "the greatest monopoly in history," but unfortunately, the President advances few specific solutions that would curtail the growing economic power of these governments and oil monopolies.

S. David Freeman, Director of the Ford Foundation's Energy Policy project and a former White House energy advisor, recently stated that, "The 'energy crisis' could well serve as a smoke screen for a massive exercise in picking the pockets of the American consumer to the tune of billions of dollars a year."

The deregulation of interstate natural gas called for by the President in his energy message, indicates he believes that what

is good for the oil industry is also good for the country. If prices of natural gas, for example, were allowed to increase by 30%, the value of natural-gas reserves would climb by \$300 billion. More drilling would perhaps occur, but "windfall profits" for the industry would be staggering. It is incomprehensible to me how the President believes that the oil and gas industry, already fettered with monopolies, depletion allowance, tax write-offs and an international cartel, should be allowed to set market prices for their goods. In 1971, the eighteen largest oil companies paid an average of only 6.7% of their net income in Federal taxes. The policies advocated by the President would increase such benefits for the industry, at the expense of the American consumer.

Another major disappointment in the President's recent message is the lack of funding for research and development in the energy field. There are promising sources of energy that have hardly been touched, including solar energy, geothermal power, magnetohydrodynamics and synthetic fuels. The Administration's new budget calls for only \$770 million, which is far less than what most scientists say is necessary to develop alternative energy sources and less than 1/80th of the total military budget.

No one knows all the answers to our energy crisis. But what America needs is what we still do not have—a truly national, public-oriented energy policy that addresses itself to the harsh realities of our present crisis while presenting rational solutions towards their resolution. To paraphrase a current industry slogan: A nation that runs on oil cannot afford to run short—of governmental policies that allocate energy reserves effectively, sagaciously and in a manner that will most productively contribute to the improvement of the general welfare.

Thank you again for your letter and inquiry into my knowledge and interest in the energy crisis facing the United States today.

Sincerely,

JOHN E. MOSS,
Member of Congress.

OBJECTIONS TO SONNENFELDT CONFIRMATION MUST BE ANSWERED—PART 4

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, last week, on May 23 and May 24 three items concerning the confirmation of Mr. Helmut Sonnenfeldt as Under Secretary of the Treasury appeared in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The material included an extensive statement by Mr. John D. Hemenway, a former colleague of Mr. Sonnenfeldt's at the State Department; an affidavit by Mr. Otto Otepka, who was directly involved in the Sonnenfeldt case as Chief of Evaluations of the State Department Security Office; a letter from Mr. Otepka to Senator CARL CURTIS commenting on Mr. Sonnenfeldt's testimony before the Senate Finance Committee on May 15; and an article by a top investigative reporter, Clark Mollenhoff, who served as legal adviser in the Nixon administration before he resigned. The leaking of classified information was a major allegation raised during the May 15 hearing.

The New York Times of May 17 ran a front page story by Seymour Hersh reporting that, according to Justice Department sources, Henry A. Kissinger, head of the highly sensitive National Security Council, requested that a number of his aides be wiretapped by the FBI for security reasons. Among them was Mr. Sonnenfeldt, who was and still is a top official with the Council. According to the Times article, the FBI wiretap cleared Mr. Sonnenfeldt. If the Hersh account is factual, the question logically arises as to why it was thought necessary to include Mr. Sonnenfeldt in the surveillance. This is but one of a number of questions that must be answered before he is confirmed.

I insert at this point the above-mentioned New York Times article of May 17, 1973:

[From the New York Times, May 17, 1973]
COOK QUILTS SEC OVER VESCO CASE; KISSINGER SAID TO HAVE ASKED FBI TO WIRETAP A NUMBER OF HIS AIDES

(By Seymour M. Hersh)

WASHINGTON, May 16.—Henry A. Kissinger personally provided the Federal Bureau of Investigation with the names of a number of his aides on the National Security Council whom he wanted wiretapped, Justice Department sources said today.

Among those tapped at Mr. Kissinger's request, the sources said, was Helmut Sonnenfeldt, a top council official who was nominated last month to be Under Secretary of the Treasury Department.

The sources said that Mr. Kissinger's role in the wiretapping was far more extensive than previously reported. It was Mr. Kissinger, they said, who initially forwarded the formal request for the taps to the F.B.I. director, J. Edgar Hoover, after being authorized to do so by President Nixon.

AUTHORIZATION BY NIXON

The White House formally acknowledged that the President provided such authorization in May, 1969, after an article in The New York Times disclosing that American B-52's were bombing Cambodia.

"The request came from Kissinger," one Justice Department source said. "Henry wanted some of those guys bugged himself."

"If Henry didn't approve of all this," the official added, "he could have said so."

Another source, explaining Mr. Kissinger's decision to authorize the tapping of Mr. Sonnenfeldt, said it was designed to clear him. He said, "Henry had a high regard for Sonnenfeldt."

This source noted that Mr. Sonnenfeldt "prides himself on his brilliance and his intellectual capability" and added, "In a very innocent way, a man like that can let things slip."

The F.B.I. wiretap cleared Mr. Sonnenfeldt, the source said.

Still another official, who has worked closely with Mr. Kissinger since 1969, said that the national security adviser was only trying "to protect" Mr. Sonnenfeldt.

"The man's working for him [Mr. Kissinger] today," the official added. "Do you think if Kissinger distrusted the guy, he would be with him in Paris seeing Le Duc Tho?"

Mr. Kissinger flew to Paris today for further talks on Vietnam and was not available for comment.

In an interview published in the New York Times yesterday, Mr. Kissinger acknowledged that he saw summaries from several wiretaps in 1969 and 1970, but said that he had

not asked that they be installed nor had he specifically approved them in advance.

William D. Ruckelshaus, the acting director of the F.B.I., disclosed Monday that wiretaps were placed in on Government officials and four newsmen in 1969. His announcement came after an affidavit made public at the Pentagon papers trial in Los Angeles trial of Dr. Daniel Ellsberg and Anthony J. Russo disclosed that Dr. Ellsberg had been overheard while a guest at the suburban Washington home of Dr. Morton Halperin, a former Kissinger aide.

THREE OTHERS REPORTED TAPPED

The New York Times reported today that two former members of the National Security Council staff—Anthony Lake and Daniel I. Davidson—and one current staff member, Winston Lord, were among those tapped. It could not be learned whether any of the three was put under surveillance at the request of Mr. Kissinger.

Mr. Lord, who served as a personal aide to Mr. Kissinger during the Paris peace talks and the Presidential visits to China and the Soviet Union, was said to have been cleared by the wiretaps, which were ended in February 1971. He is taking a one-year leave from Mr. Kissinger's staff to do research and travel.

Sources also named Marvin Kalb, a diplomatic correspondent for the Columbia Broadcasting System, as among the four newsmen who were wiretapped beginning in May, 1969.

"I don't know why I was selected," Mr. Kalb said, "but what I had done in 1969 as a reporter I had done for the past 15 years and hope to do for the next 15 years."

High Government officials have defended the wiretaps as necessary and legal in view of the publication, beginning in May, 1969, of reports of secret material. One official was quoted yesterday as saying, "Hell, yes, I was aware that it was going on. To have done less would have been the highest order of irresponsibility."

Another official said that some White House officials had not been determined to be "blabbermouths" and were eventually eased out of their positions.

One source with access to some of the wiretap transcripts declared today, however, that "there wasn't one member of the [National Security Council] staff who was disloyal to the country."

"But," the official added, "they were disloyal to Kissinger, and they were giving him real problems."

The official declared that Mr. Kissinger had hired a number of liberals for his staff early in 1969.

"Some of them began to disagree with him and they weren't with him," the source said. "Actually, they were disloyal—not to the country, but to him," the source said.

"Henry didn't mind disagreement in the family," the source added, "but what he didn't like was these fellows arguing and losing and then going outside to leak things."

Another Government official who was closely involved in the bugging operations noted that the wiretaps had produced nothing "from a standpoint of evidence that could be proven in court."

Nonetheless, the official said, "we had awful good reason to feel that we had found something and it justified the whole operation."

"There were a couple of good suspects," he said. One left and the other was shifted to other matters. After that, they [the National Security Council] didn't have that problem."

Mr. Sonnenfeldt, who served as the National Security Council's expert on Soviet and European problems, is considered a close associate of Mr. Kissinger. Both men were

born in Germany and came to the United States as teen-agers.

One White House source, in attempting to explain why the wiretapping of Mr. Sonnenfeldt was designed for his protection, pointedly referred a reporter to yesterday's confirmation hearings on Mr. Sonnenfeldt's Treasury post.

Michael M. Stern, assistant chief clerk of the Senate Finance Committee, which held the hearing, said today that Mr. Sonnenfeldt had been challenged by John D. Hemenway, a former State Department employee, for being responsible for at least two security violations in the late nineteen-fifties. At the time, Mr. Sonnenfeldt was a State Department research analyst. Investigations at the time cleared him of both accusations, Mr. Stern said.

Mr. Stern said that Mr. Sonnenfeldt was accused of leaking classified information to reporters in 1955 and of providing classified information to aides of Senator John F. Kennedy during his Presidential campaign against Mr. Nixon in 1960. The Senate confirmations have not yet been completed, Mr. Stern said.

There was a dispute between the Government and those who were wiretapped over its legality. Justice Department spokesman declared that the President's authority to install such national security wiretaps derive from the Constitution and the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968.

Statutory authority for the President to authorize national security wiretaps was specifically written into the 1968 crime act, legal experts said. The bill provides for the President to take "such measures to protect the nation against . . . hostile acts of foreign powers to obtain foreign intelligence information deemed essential to the United States."

The law's blanket authority for national security wiretaps without a court order have not yet been tested in the Federal courts.

But Mr. Halperin, who is now associated with the Brookings Institution, said that "I think they were clearly illegal."

"They violated my constitutional rights," he added. "Could the F.B.I. have broken into my house and searched it? I don't believe anybody would argue that. And a tap on my phone is just as illegal as breaking into my house."

POLISH GROUP STARTS A LIBRARY

HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, when one begins to trace the roots of one's family, one's community, and one's ethnic heritage, the search can turn to one of utter fascination. Book collecting often is one aspect of such an adventure. Once "hooked," the adventure can be endless.

Recently, a group of young Polish-American Detroiters began the Adam Mickiewicz Memorial Library. As far as I know, it has already attained the distinction of having the largest collection of Polish-oriented books and records in Michigan.

The interesting story of how this library began was contained in the May 14, 1973, issue of the Detroit News. Under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, the article follows:

POLISH GROUP STARTS A LIBRARY
(By Diane R. Pawlowski)

There's a new library in Detroit, designed by and for young Polish-American Detroiters. The Adam Mickiewicz Memorial Library, 17322 Fenelon, on Detroit's east side, was started by 80 members of a local folk group.

The group, *Galicja Song and Dance Ensemble* of the Polish-American Folk Theater (PAFT), has performed its intricate, in-costume dances before audiences in Michigan and Poland.

To raise the \$8,000 needed to buy the small house they converted into a library, members performed dance concerts. They also held bake sales, washed cars, held dances, and worked at odd jobs.

Because of their work, the Adam Mickiewicz Memorial Library now contains more than 8,000 books, 1,000 records, current and back issues of more than 100 different periodicals published in Polish communities in Paris, London, New York, and other cities all over the world.

Although many of the books are in Polish, an equal number are in English by many authors. All books concern Polish culture, art, and history. The library also contains a number of fiction works set in Poland or Polish communities.

The whole idea of a library was started when our group was visiting Poland in 1970," PAFT Director Michael Krolewski explained. "We were buying scores of books to bring back to Detroit when someone wondered out loud why we couldn't find good Polish books in Detroit. By the time we got back home, the group had made up its mind to start a library."

Friends and relatives in Detroit began to donate old Polish books as well as priceless examples of Polish folk art and costumes to the library. Krolewski became aware of another problem.

"It's surprising how much Polish history is lost when Detroit housewives do their spring cleaning," Krolewski said. "People get rid of this old book, that old piece of art, that old folk costume. We're begging people not to throw this stuff out. Whenever it's destroyed, a page of Polish history is lost forever."

He added, "If people have some books or Polish folk art they don't want any more, please let us know. We'll come and get it. And we'll take good care of it, too."

The library opened its doors officially on December 24. Soon after, articles appeared in periodicals and daily papers in Poland. Donations of additional books and money began to trickle in.

The children in a school in the Polish city of Zabrze walked from door to door collecting books.

Then, because they didn't have enough money to ship the books to Detroit, they also held a carnival to raise the money. So far, about half of the 1,600 books they collected have arrived. More are expected.

"It's really heartwarming," Krolewski said. "For instance, we'll get small packages from Poland. They'll contain one small book or a record that some 8- or 9-year-old purchased. Or maybe two or three children saved their money and bought us something. They send us little notes, too, telling us how they want to help us to preserve Polish culture in America."

Right now, the library is still in disarray. Its first shelves are on order and expected to arrive later in the month. And the group needs to raise more money.

Besides the salary for a full-time librarian, it needs to purchase card catalogues, index cards, additional shelving, and the other incidental equipment needed for an efficient library.

Even so, the library will be open to the public between 6 and 9 p.m. each evening of the week.

The library is also becoming a source for Polish language and culture classes taught at three locations, St. Ladislaus High School, Hamtramck, St. Vincent Ferrer, Warren, and the library itself.

Classes in Polish handicrafts, such as paper cutting, pysanki, and embroidery also are taught at the library.

As a sideline, the library group has a penpal project that has matched more than 1,250 Polish-Americans with persons in Poland.

"We're just a young group," Krolewski said. "Most of us are second, third and even fourth generation Polish-Americans. Only a few of us can really speak or read Polish, but we all want to know as much as we can about our heritage so we can teach others. And we're convinced that this is the best way to do it."

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF WISCONSIN STATEHOOD

HON. HAROLD V. FROELICH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. FROELICH. Mr. Speaker, it was recently brought to my attention by a young man from my district, Mr. Fred Olk of Clintonville, that today, May 29, 1973, marks the 125th anniversary of Wisconsin's admission to the Union. I would like to commend Mr. Olk on his astuteness in recognizing this occasion and to extend my congratulations to the 4½ million residents of Wisconsin on this significant milestone in our history.

Over the past 10 years, it has been my privilege to serve the people of the "Badger State" and to share in the accomplishments of our 125-year history. As a State and congressional representative, I have grown justifiably proud of Wisconsin and the notable contributions our citizens have made to the political development, social progress, and economic prosperity of this country. The story of Wisconsin has been one of initiative and invention—a history that has put Wisconsin in the vanguard of our national life.

One hundred and twenty-five years ago today, President Polk signed the bill which officially admitted Wisconsin as the 30th State to the Union. From the very beginning, the citizens of Wisconsin sought to establish a tradition of progressive and responsible government.

Of course, I am proud that Wisconsin gave birth to the Republican Party, an event of substantial historic significance. But, more important, Wisconsin's sons and daughters have served their Nation honorably during the past 125 years, far beyond the demands of political partisanship and variant ideologies.

Wisconsinites have held prominent offices in both Republican and Democratic national administrations, serving in numerous Cabinet positions. They have played prominent roles in the Congress, helping to direct and influence the business of the legislative branch. Robert M. LaFollette, who was named as one of the five greatest Senators, also served in this Chamber. Wisconsinites have been leaders in the drive for equity and re-

sponsiveness in government. Wisconsin was the first State to provide pensions for the blind, to aid dependent children, to help the aged, and to ratify the 19th amendment granting women the right to vote. Wisconsin citizens have served courageously to protect and defend our Nation at home and abroad.

Mr. Speaker, it is not inappropriate on this day to acclaim Wisconsin for its leadership in agriculture and business. Our farmers have made Wisconsin known throughout the world as "America's Dairyland." They have pioneered in quality control of milk production and agricultural sciences. The innovation and hard work of our businessmen have catapulted Wisconsin's industries to the forefront of the Nation. Wisconsin is a leader in the pulp and paper industry, ranking second among the 50 States in paper production.

Hand in hand with this economic success has been the prominent commitment to education in my State, which has produced an intelligent and skilled workforce.

The University of Wisconsin, the third largest university system in the country, is a national leader in scientific research, and her professors have achieved worldwide recognition. It is a particular source of pride to me that my hometown of Appleton is the site of the Institute of Paper Chemistry—a unique institution of higher learning which is entirely devoted to the science and technology of the paper industry. Together with her 32 other private colleges and universities and an extensive system of technical schools, Wisconsin has established an educational heritage of great value and importance.

The first residents of Wisconsin, both Indians and whites, were attracted by her natural beauty and bounty. In recent years, Wisconsinites have experienced substantial growth and development without sacrificing their natural surroundings. In those cases in which abuse has occurred, we are seeking to reduce the effects and restore the environment. Meanwhile, Wisconsin's 9,000 lakes and 33,000 miles of streams have been a vital economic resource. Together with 59 State parks and forests, they provide a natural wonderland for recreation and leisure-time activities.

We from Wisconsin are fully aware that the greatest asset our State holds is her people: a people who take pride in their State's natural beauty and progressive traditions, a people of varied cultures, professions, and aspirations who are united by their dedication to Wisconsin's and America's future.

Mr. Speaker, as we celebrate this 125th anniversary, it is only right that Wisconsinites rededicate themselves to the values and traditions which have made Wisconsin a great participant in this Union.

We have made substantial progress in preserving our heritage and restoring our natural environment which has given so much pleasure to so many Wisconsin residents and visitors. In full view of the past and with full confidence in the future, I am sure that Wisconsin will play

an even more vital role in our Nation's progress during the next 125 years than she has in the past.

HUDSON MEN WHO DIED IN VIETNAM

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. DOMINICK V. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, on this Memorial Day weekend the Jersey Journal, a highly respected newspaper in New Jersey published a list of the men of Hudson County who died in the tragic war in Vietnam. Whatever one thought of the war there is only one thought about those who fell: an overwhelming feeling of sorrow.

Mr. Speaker, to honor the memory of those whose lives were snuffed out in Asia, I ask that the list of men from Hudson County, N.J., be published at this point in the RECORD, lest we forget.

The list follows:

MEMORIAL DAY, 1973: HUDSON MEN WHO DIED IN VIETNAM

Traditionally Memorial Day is a day on which we honor the memory of our war dead. It is particularly fitting that this year we pay special homage to the Hudson County men who died in Vietnam.

From the records of the U.S. Department of Defense and the New Jersey Department of Defense, The Jersey Journal has compiled the following list of 131 men.

Undoubtedly the list is not complete. If any reader wishes to supply additional names, they will be published after verification with the armed forces.

The names are listed alphabetically, followed by the man's home community, the branch of service and the date of his death. If the date of death is not listed, it is unavailable in the records checked.

Robert Allen, North Bergen, Army, May 5, 1968.

Joseph Amejka, Jersey City, Marines, Nov. 11, 1968.

Frank Andrisano, Bayonne, Marines, Nov. 19, 1967.

David Atkins, Kearny, Marines, Sept. 2, 1969.

Richard Bambrick, Jersey City, Army, April 8, 1968.

Raymond Bardet, North Bergen, Army, May 28, 1968.

Lawrence Barnes, Jersey City, Marines, Dec. 27, 1967.

Bernard Barrios, West New York, Army, April 6, 1966.

Alfred Bauer, North Bergen, Navy, Jan. 16, 1969.

George Beeres, Union City, Army, Feb. 11, 1966.

Thomas Beklempis, Bayonne, Marines, March 28, 1967.

Michael Branin, Jr., Kearny, Army, Nov. 13, 1968.

Gerald Breen, West New York, Army, March 5, 1967.

Timothy Brennan, Weehawken, Army.

Raymond Brereton, Hoboken, Marines, Feb. 26, 1968.

Hans Bretschneider, Hoboken, Army, July 9, 1966.

Robert Brockmann, Hoboken, Army, Oct. 7, 1966.

Peter Brydun, Jersey City, Army, Dec. 10, 1967.

Ronald Bukowski, Jersey City, Marines, May 2, 1968.

Joseph Bursis, Jr., Jersey City, Army, Dec. 3, 1968.

Dennis Cannito, West New York, Army, Aug. 26, 1969.

Robert Casey, Guttenberg, Navy, May 16, 1968.

Salvatore Cemelli, Weehawken, Army, Dec. 8, 1966.

Lawrence Covington, Jersey City, Marines, Jan. 8, 1968.

Charles Crawford, Jersey City, Army, Feb. 9, 1963.

Donald Cruden, Jersey City, Marines, Dec. 27, 1967.

Daniel Cummings, Jersey City, Army, Jan. 17, 1967.

John Dabonka, West New York, Army, Feb. 2, 1967.

James Dalton, Jersey City, Army, Aug. 30, 1968.

Timothy Daly, Hoboken, Army, Feb. 3, 1967.

Joshua Daniels, Jersey City, Army.

Adamo de Angelis, North Bergen, Army.

Gregory Delguidice, Jersey City, Army, Aug. 13, 1969.

Edward Delikat Jr., Bayonne, Army, May 13, 1970.

Stanley Demboski, Jersey City, Army, March 4, 1966.

Alfred Desimone, Jersey City, Marines, June 24, 1969.

Stanley Diehl, North Bergen, Army.

John Duffy, Bayonne, Army, April 28, 1968.

Jasper Ellison, Jersey City, Marines, June 14, 1968.

Joseph Falato, West New York, Army, Feb. 15, 1967.

Michael Fallon, Jersey City, Army, May 27, 1968.

Jesse Felder, Jersey City, Army, June 29, 1966.

William Feskin, Hoboken, Army, May 2, 1967.

John Folger, Bayonne, Army, May 13, 1969.

Michael Ford, Jersey City, Army, May 20, 1968.

James Gaines, Jr., Jersey City, Army, Feb. 2, 1969.

Joseph Gerwatkoski, Jersey City, Army, Jan. 19, 1968.

Frederick Goczal, Bayonne, Marines, Sept. 5, 1968.

Jeffrey Goss, Jersey City, Army, March 17, 1969.

Robert Gotthardt, Jersey City, Army, May 12, 1968.

Kenneth Greene, Jersey City, Army, March 14, 1968.

Malcolm Grim, Jersey City, Army, Jan. 23, 1970.

John Hall Jr., Jersey City, Marines, Jan. 24, 1968.

James Hanlon, Kearny, Army, Feb. 27, 1969.

Larry High, Hoboken, Marines, Sept. 23, 1967.

Eugene Hill, Jersey City, Army, Aug. 23, 1968.

Bradford Hipple, Jersey City, Marines, May 29, 1968.

Harold Holmes, Jersey City, Army, March 3, 1968.

William Jackson, Bayonne, Army, March 15, 1969.

John Jacobson, Bayonne, Army, Oct. 7, 1969.

Jerome Jacobs, Bayonne, Army, May 5, 1968.

Chester Jarmolinski, Jersey City, Marines, April 16, 1969.

Clifford Jenkins, Jersey City, Army, June 12, 1968.

James Johnson, Jersey City, July 2, 1969.

John Jones, Jersey City, Army, Oct. 21, 1967.

William Jursza, Bayonne, Army, April 27, 1968.

Wladislaw Kaus, Bayonne, Army, April 13, 1970.

Robert Keenan, Jersey City, Army, April 26, 1966.

Francis Keller, Bayonne, Army, May 28, 1970.

Leonard Keller, Bayonne, Army, March 10, 1970.

John Koch, Jersey City, Army, Oct. 3, 1970.

Stanley Kopcinski, Bayonne, Marines, May 14, 1966.

Francis Kulbatski, Jersey City, Army, Feb. 15, 1969.

John Lavell, Bayonne, Army, July 29, 1970.

Fred Le Blanc, Bayonne, Army, Feb. 2, 1970.

Oneal Legette, Jersey City, Army, Dec. 5, 1965.

Frank Lyons, Jersey City, Army, June 16, 1966.

George Lyons, Jersey City, Army, June 22, 1969.

Waclaw Maczulski, Bayonne, Army, March 21, 1968.

Francis Mack, Jersey City, Navy, Aug. 17, 1966.

Michael Majeski, Jersey City, Army, July 27, 1968.

Garry Matorella, Bayonne, Marine, May 31, 1968.

George Matuscsak, Kearny, Army, Aug. 8, 1966.

Thomas McDermott, West New York, Army, Dec. 2, 1967.

Gregory McFadden, Jersey City, Army, Nov. 11, 1967.

Francis McQuire, Bayonne, Army, March 20, 1967.

Emery Mikula, Jersey City, Army, Oct. 13, 1966.

Anthony Mione, Bayonne, Army, Aug. 22, 1969.

Joseph Mobus, Harrison, Army, Aug. 19, 1969.

Albert Molnar, North Bergen, Army, Nov. 4, 1967.

Robert Morgan, Jersey City, Army.

John Morely, Bayonne, Army, Oct. 24, 1968.

Louis Muser, Hoboken, Army, Aug. 29, 1967.

Victor Negron, Bayonnen, Air Force, Sept. 19, 1967.

James Nugent, Jersey City, Army, Dec. 15, 1969.

Jose Ortiz-Burgos, West New York, Army, July 23, 1968.

Luis Ortiz-Corredore, Jersey City, Marines, Sept. 21, 1967.

John O'Shaughnessy, Jersey City, Army, Feb. 7, 1966.

Ismael Paredes, Jersey City, Army, Nov. 17, 1965.

William Pleasant, Jersey City, Army, Nov. 17, 1965.

John Priest, Jersey City, Army, Nov. 20, 1968.

Nelson Ramirez, West New York, Army, May 5, 1968.

Angel Ramos, Jersey City, Army, Oct. 10, 1963.

John Reck, North Bergen, Army, May 13, 1968.

David Robertson, Kearny, Army, June 27, 1968.

Gus Robinson, North Bergen, Army, April 1970.

Ricardo Romero, Jersey City, Army, April 13, 1969.

Vincent Salemi, North Bergen, Army, Dec. 11, 1968.

Raymond Schopmann, Secaucus, Army, Dec. 11, 1968.

Anthony Scivolino, Union City, Army, Dec. 12, 1966.

Donald Scott, Harrison, Marines, Aug. 2, 1968.

John Shaw, Jersey City, Army, Jan. 29, 1967.

Victore Sherman, North Bergen, Army, Feb. 1968.

Michael Sinibaldi, Kearny, Army, Aug. 14, 1968.
 Dennis Smith, Bayonne, Marines, April 4, 1968.
 James Sosnowski, Bayonne, Army, Feb. 16, 1968.
 Ovell Sprull, Jersey City, Army, Aug. 4, 1970.
 William Stefko, Jersey City, Army, Jan. 9, 1970.
 Dennis Sydor, Jersey City, Army, July 4, 1969.
 Robert Trivisonno, North Bergen, Army, Nov. 15, 1968.
 Anthony Urrutia, Jersey City, Army, April, 1969.
 Edgar Vallecillo, West New York, Marines, June 6, 1967.
 Carlos Vega-Lopez, Jersey City, Army, Dec. 1968.
 Thomas Welsh, Kearny, Army, May 16, 1966.
 John West, North Bergen, Army, March 7, 1969.
 Alfred Wiggins, Jersey City, Army, June 5, 1970.
 Frank Williams, West New York, Army, June, 1968.
 Elroy Wilson, Jersey City, Army, April 12, 1969.
 Sylvester Wilson, Jersey City, Army, Nov. 24, 1967.
 James Witt, Bayonne, Marines, March 17, 1968.
 Gerald Wynn, Arlington, Army, Nov. 14, 1967.

THE INDIAN OCEAN I: WORLD POWERS JOCKEY TO FILL VACUUM

HON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, Ray McHugh, the distinguished Washington bureau chief of the Copley News Service, has recently returned from an extensive factfinding mission. Of special interest are his views on the very pivotal arena of the Indian Ocean and, since his tour included the region from the Strait of Malacca to the Persian Gulf and the Middle East, I believe his observations are worth noting. This article is entitled, "World Powers Jockey To Fill Vacuum." I believe it to be a very objective commentary on the subject. The article follows:

THE INDIAN OCEAN I: WORLD POWERS JOCKEY TO FILL VACUUM
 (By Ray McHugh)

MALACCA, MALAYSIA.—The crumbling Porta de Santiago sleeps in the tropical sun, no longer alert for British or Dutch men-of-war, pirate raiders from Brunei or Chinese war junks.

It ignores the strategic Strait of Malacca at its feet and the giant tankers and freighters of a score of nations that beat past in unending procession between the Indian Ocean and the Pacific carrying the riches of East and West, the new world and the old. No alarm is sounded at the sight of sleek gray American or Russian warships.

The old brick wall and portal is the last vestige of Portuguese power that discovered and once dominated the Indian Ocean. In the town behind, Dutch and British churches and homes fade in the equatorial heat, silent reminders of the rise and fall of other European empires.

But the struggle for control of the strait highway to the Pacific has not ended. In

fact, the entire 24 million square miles of the Indian Ocean has curiously reverted to the status in which Vasco de Gama found it when he rounded the Cape of Good Hope in 1498.

For 400 years Europe's trader-colonial powers dominated this ocean.

First Portugal, then Holland, and finally Britain which held sway from Suez to Malacca for more than two centuries. But in 1971 Britain, too, bowed to the tides of history and withdrew leaving a power vacuum.

Russia's growing navy and merchant marine is already probing that vacuum. The U.S. Navy is under heavy pressure to reestablish Western supremacy.

The Indian Ocean is unique in that it does not touch any of the world's superpowers. Yet all have a vital interest. The United States and the Soviet Union have the naval power to assert, but Communist China views the waters as a back-door route through which Moscow might try to "encircle" the Chinese mainland. Japan sees the Indian Ocean as perhaps its most important lifeline. More than 80 per cent of its oil flows from the Persian Gulf and the Strait of Malacca is the funnel through which Japan pours its technology and investments into Southeast Asia, India, the Arab nations and Europe.

For Western Europe the ocean is the carrier for its raw materials, oil, textiles, manufactured goods, technology and, above all, it is the link to now-independent former colonies where old ties of empire are still profitable lines of commerce.

British freighters still steam across the usually calm blue-green waters to Bombay, Calcutta, Mombasa, Singapore, Penang, Rangoon and on through the straits to Hong Kong and Tokyo. Dutch ships still dominate the pathways to Jakarta and the myriad ports of Indonesia. Portugal lost its last foothold in Asia a decade ago when India seized the enclave of Goa, but Lisbon fiercely defends its claim to Mozambique on East Africa's coast.

Even France, never a major threat to dominate the Indian Ocean, particularly after its defeat at Trafalgar and the failure of Napoleon, clings to French Somaliland on the same East African coast and the remote, but strategic, Reunion islands. And Paris continues to hope that old ties can be reestablished with war-torn Indochina.

But change, not tradition, is the mood in this part of the world. Of 33 states of the littoral of the Indian Ocean, only two can trace their sovereignty into antiquity—Iran and Ethiopia. The others have come into being as a result of the upheavals of World War I and World War II.

They range in size from India to Singapore. And each has felt the pressures of communism's challenge to the free world. But none has the power to police the ocean.

Red China has established a major economic-political foothold in Tanzania where Dar es Salaam greets a steady stream of Chinese ships bearing men and supplies to build its railroad to Zambia's rich copper fields. Peking's influence also is felt in the tiny sultanates of the Persian Gulf. The overwhelming Chinese population in Singapore and the substantial Chinese minority in Malaysia are potential targets. Close relations are maintained with Pakistan, which remains an Asian power despite its 1971 humiliation in which India helped Bangladesh (East Pakistan) achieve independence.

Russia has followed a typical "third party" course in its Indian Ocean strategy.

Its support of the Arab cause against Israel has won it important footholds in Yemen and Iraq. Somalia has been a virtual Soviet puppet for a decade. Soviet technicians and perhaps naval men have free rein in Aden, the old British bastion that controls the entrance to the Red Sea. Although

Yemen denies it, the Soviet navy apparently has important rights on the island of Socotra that dominates the westward approaches to the closed Suez Canal.

Russian warships and submarines also are welcome at Goa, Bombay and Visakhapatnam on India's coast. Its fishing trawlers have important rights in the island state of Mauritius and Moscow is cautiously edging into Singapore's shipyard picture.

India has shown some indications of a growing nervousness about its ties to the Soviets, but the persistent fear of Communist Chinese intentions and a "once-bitten-twice-shy" aloofness in Washington works against Premier Indira Gandhi, Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Rush and Undersecretary Joseph Sisco have just visited New Delhi to measure Indian attitudes.

Singapore, Malaysia and Indonesia have thrown up a barrier of suspicion that so far, has stymied Soviet ambitions in the eastern ocean and Premier Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore has made it plain that he wants a major American naval presence in the area, plus, continued airbases in Thailand to cool Soviet ambitions.

Malaysia and Indonesia both prefer a neutralized Southeast Asia, free of big power influence, but officials in both countries make it plain that their hopes are timed with reality.

"We don't want the United States to be as 'obvious' as it was in Vietnam," said a Malaysian government spokesman.

"But we don't want you to leave the area right now. Perhaps you could retreat just over the horizon?"

History, unfortunately, sets few precedents for foreign policy and naval planners in Washington. The Indian Ocean has been dominated by one power or another for the last 400 years.

Since czarist times Russia has dreamed of expanding southward to claim warm water ports. Britain blocked those ambitions in the 19th Century. Adolf Hitler rejected Joseph Stalin's bid for control of Iran when the two dictators figuratively carved up the world in their 1939 "nonaggression" treaty. President Franklin D. Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill denied similar Soviet demands at Yalta.

The cold war had its beginnings in Iran's northernmost province of Azerbaijan. Russia surrendered its control over the strategic Caspian Sea region only after a tense showdown with the late President Harry Truman.

Had Truman not stood firm, Soviet influence would have quickly spread over Iran and perhaps Pakistan, diplomats agree. Stalin would have had his route to the Indian Ocean by 1949 or 1950.

RETIREMENT OF DILLON GRAHAM

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 24, 1973

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the Washington Press Corps and the Members of the House of Representatives have lost a dedicated and conscientious journalist in the retirement of Dillon Graham of the Associated Press.

Because of his assignment of recent years in covering activities of interest to the southeastern part of the country, I had numerous contacts with Mr. Graham. He was always informed, sensible, and courteous in his interviews. His reports were interesting and accurate in

the highest traditions of the journalism profession. He has served the people well by engaging his knowledge and expertise to provide balanced accounts of the activities in the Congress.

Like others who knew him, I will miss Dillon Graham. He has my best wishes for many enjoyable and rewarding years in his retirement.

"STOP THE PRICE SWINDLE," A STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT EDWARD J. CARLOUGH OF THE SHEET METAL WORKERS UNION

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I insert at this point in the RECORD the text of an article in the April 1973 issue of the Sheet Metal Workers Journal by Edward J. Carlough, general president of the Sheet Metal Workers International Association, AFL-CIO.

The editorial, entitled, "Stop the Price Swindle," follows:

STOP THE PRICE SWINDLE

The working people of this country are being swindled down to their socks by a political administration that's either too ignorant to understand us, or just doesn't give a damn. Make no mistake about it! Despite President Nixon's professed admiration for the "hard hats," the guy in overalls is getting it in the neck. We need more than a "hard hat" to help us. We need a full suit of armor to protect us from the economic body blows of this Administration. Let's take a look at the score card.

While 3 million union construction workers and their families continue to work under mandatory wage controls, and the rest of working people labor in the shadow—and negotiate under the threat—of "voluntary" (stick-in-the-closet) controls, everybody else in this country is going crazy with the blessing of the government.

Item—Business Week magazine has now revealed that the 880 biggest companies in the United States last year made profits—after taxes—of 52.6 billion dollars, an all-time record. This was in a year when the guy in overalls had his wages frozen part of the year, and controlled the rest of the year.

Item—During the period January 1971–January 1973, overall lumber prices rose by 56 percent in this country. According to the National Association of Home Builders, this rise in lumber prices alone has added \$1,200 to the site cost of a \$28,000 home, during the past two years. During this entire period of course, the wages of construction workers who build these houses has been controlled.

Item—During the period January 1, 1972–December 31, 1972, profits of building material supplies rose by an overall rate of 31 percent.

Item—Within the past two weeks, several leading banks have announced a ½ percent rise in their prime interest rate, which will both further swell the already swollen profits of bankers while further squeezing the ability of working people to buy the necessities of life on credit.

We could go on and on, but why bother. President Nixon's Phase III has become, in the title of a best-selling novel, *The Day of the Jackal*, and the guy in overalls is the prey. And the biggest jackal of them all is

the food industry. Nixon's Secretary of Agriculture, Earl Butz said a few weeks ago, that anyone who advocates a freeze on food prices is a "damn fool." Put me at the top of the "damn fool" list. I'm not just advocating—I'm saying it's got to be.

On the evening of March 29, President Nixon went on national television and appeared to be joining the rest of us on Secretary Butz's "damn fool" list, when he announced a freeze on beef, lamb and pork prices, excluding sale of live cattle. Upon closer inspection of the President's message, we can't put him on that list. That fact is Richard Nixon is nobody's fool, but after this latest action, I get the feeling he thinks a lot of the rest of us are.

First, he didn't roll back meat prices, he froze them—and at their highest levels in twenty years. Second, his action leaves untouched live cattle prices, and the morning after the President's speech the Agriculture Department announced that live cattle prices rose another nine percent the previous thirty days. Third, he took no action whatsoever on any other food prices, nothing on interest rates, nothing on rent, nothing on lumber or home prices, nothing on soaring medical costs. Let's lay it out in language everyone can understand. *What we got from the President on March 29 was not relief, it was Phase 3½ of the Price Swindle.*

Food prices in grocery stores last month rocketed 2.4 percent, the biggest single month's rise in food prices since the government has been keeping records. If that same rise continued during the rest of the year, food prices would climb a sickening 28 percent by the end of the year. If you want to see a real swindle, tell your wife you'll go shopping next Saturday, instead of her. You'll find two and even three different prices on a can of beans or a package of beef. The lower prices are taped over or hastily inked out, and the higher prices are what we're forced to pay in the great swindle. Earl Butz calls us "damn fools" and his boss, Richard Nixon, advises us to eat fish. When the French peasants protested about the price of bread in the 18th Century, Marie Antoinette told them to eat cake. 200 years later we get a guy in our country who tells us to eat fish. That's what it's all about. To this administration we're a bunch of peasants. And so long as we act like a bunch of peasants, we're going to be treated like them.

We so-called great and powerful American trade unionists have become a tray of cream puffs. We're being gouged by the price fixers and clobbered by the tax collectors, while all the time our unemployment rate continues at over 5 percent nationally, and over 10 percent for construction workers. We're so puffed up and polite with our middle class status—we great "silent majority"—that the jackals are eating us alive.

It's time to remember again where we came from . . . It's time to remember again what militant trade unionism is all about . . . It's time to start marching to the sound of a different drummer—that old drummer who screamed and scratched and got us where we are . . . It's time to begin being ourselves again!

We're up on Capitol Hill right now banging away at the Congress on this whole subject of controls. Our position is straight-forward. It's the same one we've had since controls initially began in the construction industry in early 1971. We'll support controls that are fair and equitable to all; we won't buy a straitjacket for our members wages while the price jackals roam the countryside. We're asking for an immediate freeze—and roll-back—on food, rent, and medical prices, and interest rates, and effective price control on all the other necessities of life that our members and their families need to buy to

maintain a decent standard of living. And we need your help! If you've never written your Congressman, write him now. Tell him, or her, to support your Union's position on amendments to the Economic Stabilization Act. Tell them you're tired of being pushed around. And don't accept any "eat fish" answers. The next thing you know they'll tell us to go barefooted to protest rising shoe prices. What are we supposed to do when the price of our pants goes up? Get arrested? Don't accept any silly, do without, do-it-yourself answers.

And write the White House . . . especially those of you who voted for Mr. Nixon last time. Tell him we labor people are beef-eaters, but we want the price to be right. In the words of one politician, "send him a message."

And if all of this doesn't work, maybe we'll just throw a picket line around the White House and start Phase IV.

NEW ENGLAND AS A REGION

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, regionalism is an extremely important concept in solving the severe economic problems of New England. The southern States have proven how successful the regional approach to economic problems can be.

Philip H. Hoff knows the problems that face New England quite well since he was the Governor of Vermont from 1962 to 1969. He is a strong supporter of a unified New England effort in the economic field. His article, from the May 1973 issue of *New Englander*, provides an excellent testimony for and the benefits to be derived from regionalism. I hereby request that the article, "Let's Launch the United States of New England," be included in the RECORD.

The article follows:

LET'S LAUNCH THE UNITED STATES OF NEW ENGLAND

Six years as governor of Vermont established for me the need and potential for a unified regional approach in numerous areas both private and governmental. Nothing demonstrates the need for such an approach more forcibly than the matter of energy.

New England is sadly lacking in energy resources and, because of this, has the highest energy rates in the country. While there is some hope for the future in nuclear energy and the possibility of oil off our New England coast, these, at best, are long-term solutions.

Oil in commercial quantities has yet to be established, and the environmental implications are enormous. The great promise of nuclear power has been badly tarnished. The Vermont Yankee plant, for example, which was widely advertised as producing four-mill power when ground was broken in 1966, will come in at 13½ mills and probably more.

Politically we have been unable to shake off the yoke of the oil import quota system which works to the advantage of certain American oil companies at our expense.

All of this occurs at a time when the unstated but, nevertheless, clear national policy of cheap energy and unlimited consumption will be replaced in the near future by a stated national energy policy largely decided in Washington. The implications of that

policy are staggering. It will have a profound impact upon such things as the quality of life, economic growth and development, distribution of wealth, and the environment. It is clear that those with energy will prosper and those without will suffer.

It is important to understand that the formulation and establishment of a national energy policy is a political question. The question is not so much whether there will be a national energy policy, rather, what that policy will be, who will control it, and what its impact will be here in New England.

In the face of this, New England should at this moment be mobilizing every political force at its command. In particular, three groups, the New England Council, the New England Governors' Conference and the New England Congressional delegation should be in full motion. Failure to so mobilize will certainly bring about a further decline in the influence and fortunes of New England in the national scheme of things.

New Englanders are traditionally an independent and self-sufficient lot, traits to be nurtured and encouraged. But it is clear that in an era of increasing interdependence, independence can creep into a form of provincialism which works to the disadvantage of everyone.

The defeat in the 1966 Vermont legislature which would have provided legislation to create a vehicle for the importation of some two million kilowatts of cheap Canadian power is a classic example of this kind of provincialism. By no means would it have entirely solved New England's electrical energy problems, but it would have been a decided boost and given us some breathing room.

In that situation, intelligent and healthy cooperation between the private and public sectors was replaced by suspicion and distrust, and the opportunity was lost. Now power interests in the State of New York have picked up this block of power.

The activities of the congressional delegations and governors from the Southern states provide a fruitful and interesting comparison. They meet frequently. The lines of communications between members of the delegation and the governors are nurtured and encouraged. Staff work is thorough. By emphasizing those matters which bind them together and minimizing those matters that divided them, they manage to adopt a common approach on most matters vital to their region and thus exercise an influence far greater than their numbers would seemingly indicate. In addition, they work very closely with the business interests of their region.

While the New England delegation has a loose organization, the fact is that, until recently at least, meetings were infrequent and poorly attended with very little staff preparation. As a result, very little has occurred. In the latter part of the 1960's, the New England Governors' Conference held one of its meetings in Washington to which the New England Congressional delegation was invited with the hope of further meetings and meaningful cooperation. The delegation put in an appearance and was at all times cordial but showed no enthusiasm, and no further attempts at meetings were made.

The New England Council, representing the business interests of New England, long ago saw the need for regional cooperation in business matters. Ultimately the Council saw that political cooperation was essential to its objectives, and its members were instrumental in bringing the New England Governors' Conference into being.

For many years the Council supplied the New England governors with a part-time secretariat. This worked well during the formative years of the Conference, but in the 1960's, as the scope of the work increased and meetings went from a couple of times a year to five or six a year, it became apparent

that a full-time secretary and staff was needed and that it was unreasonable to impose this burden on the Council.

Moreover, it was felt that from a public relations viewpoint it was best that any hint of the Governors' Conference being a captive organization be removed. Thus, a full-time secretary and staff, hired and paid for by the Governors' Conference, was established. It has worked reasonably well.

Regrettably, this move seemed to tarnish the special relationship between the Conference and the Council. Day-to-day consultation and communication between the two groups diminished, much to the regret of the Governors' Conference. Particularly regrettable was the apparent retreat of the Council from matters of social concern.

Historically, the New England Council has been the bastion of a regional outlook. Over the years it has proven itself an enlightened organization in the sense that it recognized that it must concern itself not simply with the problems of New England but the social problems as well. Its seeming vacation from matters of social concern is most unfortunate. Recently it has showed signs of a return to its concerns of old, and it is hoped that there will also be a return to the special relationship with the New England Governors' Conference.

It is difficult to understand why this should be a deterrent to the formation of an effective New England Congressional Caucus. The time has come for the business and other interests of New England to stop considering themselves as mortal enemies and start identifying and working together in those areas in which we share common concerns.

It also would be helpful to explore in detail those areas of difference with the hope of achieving better understanding and meaningful accommodation so that we can create unified positions on the part of our Congressional delegation.

The same could be said of the New England Governors' Conference. Failure to adopt such an approach can only result in a divided Caucus and Conference, with a resultant loss of effective political influence.

In the end, we would all be the losers. This is certainly true in the energy area, but the same can be said of many other areas of mutual concern.

I would hope that the research arms of the Governors' Conference and the Caucus can be vastly expanded to secure maximum input from all segments and interests of New England. The greatest resource that we have is our colleges and universities. The array of talent in these institutions is enormous, but we have yet to effectively tap that talent. The means must be found for establishing and supporting a meaningful research effort embodying this potential.

The need for an exhaustive and unified New England effort in the energy field is readily apparent. Using the energy field as a springboard, let us create vehicles which will minimize our differences and maximize our agreements to the end that the position of New England in the national scheme will be assured.

VOTE FOR NASA AUTHORIZATION BILL

HON. JOHN W. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, during the vote on final passage of the NASA authorization bill, I was engaged in a conference having to do with the anti-impoundment feature of the Na-

tional Science Foundation authorization bill.

When I entered the House Chamber, the gavel had already been pounded, announcing that the time for voting had elapsed. You, as well as the entire membership of the House, are well acquainted with my long record of support for NASA's authorization.

I was present during the Committee of the Whole's deliberations and voted, as the RECORD will show, in support of the committee bill. I regret the inadvertence that caused me not to be present during vote on final passage and wish to say that had I been present, I would have voted for the bill.

PRESSURE AGAINST CHINESE NATIONALISTS ON TAIWAN

HON. ROBERT J. HUBER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Speaker, America's media has been giving great play to the efforts of our Government to more nearly normalize relations with Peking, a move most of us applaud.

Too few journalists, however, have looked at the other side of the coin and discussed the compelling arguments for continuing close economic, military, and cultural ties with our staunchest and most reliable allies, the Republic of China and its freedom-loving citizens. Even fewer media reports have detailed the efforts of the Communist Chinese to keep "unremitting pressure against the Chinese Nationalists on Taiwan," as the May 21, 1973, Christian Science Monitor expressed it.

The article relates two recent, specific examples of naked Communist power plays. The first tells of the ultimatum—and ultimatum is the only word that seems to apply—given the New York Times to quit running paid advertisements unfriendly to the Peoples' Republic of China or that paper would not receive permission to open a news bureau in Peking. The second incident is of a similar nature. Japan's government-owned international airline was told to drop their flights to Taiwan if they wanted to serve Peking and Shanghai.

I commend the article, reprinted below, to the attention of my colleagues.

[From the Christian Science Monitor]

PEKING KEEPS UP PRESSURE AGAINST TAIWAN NATIONALISTS

(By Henry S. Hayward)

HONG KONG.—China is keeping up unremitting pressure against the Chinese Nationalists on the island of Taiwan.

The squeeze takes many forms, all of which tend to show Peking's sensitivity about Taiwan's continued separate existence.

At an American journalistic level, for example, the Chinese protest against anti-Peking political advertisements in the New York Times can scarcely be viewed out of context with that newspaper's application for permission to open a news bureau in Peking.

The implication is that if anti-Chinese

Communist ads continue, the Times application is not likely to be granted.

AIRLINE PRESSURED

Some weeks ago Peking also put direct pressure on Japan's international airline—and indirectly on the Japanese Government—to terminate lucrative flights to and from Taiwan as the price for obtaining desired air rights to fly to Peking and Shanghai.

There once again the Chinese political motif stood out strongly in what ordinarily would be considered a normal commercial venture involving a mutual exchange of air services. In the process, many a Western or Asian businessman or government official is being reminded that the mainland Chinese mean exactly what they say about their real friends renouncing the Nationalists on Taiwan.

In an equally obvious intensification of the propaganda battle with Taiwan, Peking reportedly is stepping up its barrage of radio broadcasts aimed at the ears of the islanders.

The theme of the broadcasts, which are not new in themselves but only in their increased frequency, is for native Taiwanese, and any former mainlanders willing to listen, to accept the inevitable—reunification with the mainland.

For many years past, such appeals from the Peoples Republic have awakened very little response on the Nationalist-dominated island. But Peking appears to be working on the principle that endless hammer blows of his sort eventually will shatter the rock.

One hears unconfirmed reports that some Taiwan students and businessmen living in the United States or Europe have been persuaded by Communist overtures to make secret trips to Peking for an on-the-scene presentation of the mainland position. Such visits, which in some cases may include a chat with Prime Minister Chou En-lai, are deliberately kept secret, it is said, so as not to impair the visitor's ability to return to Taiwan.

The step-up in broadcasting activity meanwhile follows apparently unproductive appeals by two former Nationalists long resident on the mainland for an open or secret dialogue between the two sides.

A NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF POPULATION SCIENCES

HON. FRANK HORTON

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. HORTON. Mr. Speaker, on May 24, I joined with my colleague from California (Mr. BROWN) and 25 additional cosponsors in introducing legislation to create a National Institute of Population Sciences within the National Institutes of Health. I would like to urge my colleagues on the Public Health and Environment Subcommittee to give this proposal their serious consideration at the earliest possible date.

The new National Institute would be responsible for the programs currently carried out by the Center for Population Research now housed within the National Institute for Child Health and Human Development—NICHD. In my judgment, the work of the Center for Population Research is among the most important programs contained within NIH, but its present location has been beneficial neither for population research nor for the other areas of NICHD's responsibility—aging, mental retardation, neonatology, and development processes. Last year, Congress attempted to solve part of this problem of overly diverse functions by passing a bill to create a separate Institute for problems of the aging.

Since the establishment of the Center for Population Research in 1968, the progress of population research is not heartening. The Center is not moving ahead fast enough to provide us with the new knowledge about reproductive biology and contraception that we need so badly. The response to the passage of State abortion laws has revealed that hundreds of thousands of women have been unable to exercise adequate control over conception. The debate on abortion is a debate over a massive human tragedy. A full solution to this tragedy cannot be reached until every couple who wants to can exercise control over conception in a manner that is within their financial means, accessible, safe, and acceptable to their individual ethical and religious beliefs. These goals will remain elusive unless we give the Federal population research effort the priority and direction it so urgently needs.

The present location of population sciences within NICHD has created three types of problems. First, the linkage within one Institute of such diverse scientific concerns has rendered it very difficult for each program to develop at its own appropriate rate. Two years ago, the House Appropriations Committee's report on this Institute made it clear that one of the considerations affecting the amount of funds for population research was a desire to maintain "balance" among the different activities of the Institute. The same very understandable reluctance to see the population component of NICHD totally outgrow the other components is visible in the declining rate of growth for CPR and in the increasing gap between HEW and other observers' estimates of what ought to be allocated to population research and what actually has been spent. We should not allow bureaucratic considerations to remain the determinant factor for funding allocations for the different programs of NICHD.

Second, the Director of the Institute and the NICHD Council are prevented from developing adequate expertise in any one of the areas of concern to the Institute. The Council, in particular, is comprised of experts in a number of very different fields, and has been unable to develop an adequate capability to exercise its assigned function of reviewing the decisions made by the various NIH study panels which review grant proposals. Since these study panels are in no way responsible even to the individual Institute, the Center for Population Research has no means whatever to establish priorities for the grant programs which comprise about half of its funding. This inability to establish priorities is particularly troublesome since, due to inadequate funding, CPR has been unable in past years to fund many grants of extremely high scientific merit.

Third, unlike most NIH Institutes, the Center for Population Research has an extremely important nonmedical responsibility: To advance our knowledge of and understanding about population dynamics. At present, the Center's program in the social sciences is inadequately funded. It has traditionally suffered from a lack of focus and from an inability to establish procedures more appropriate to social science research in place of those used throughout NIH for biomedical research.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, the present administrative structure of the population research program is hampering both the search for better understanding of population dynamics and the development of new knowledge about human reproduction. It is now several years since HEW first indicated that it would establish a separate Institute for this program. This question has also been studied by internal HEW panels, by the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, by the American Public Health Association, and by the American Academy for the Advancement of Science. Last year, the House Republican Task Force on Environment joined all of these groups in calling for a separate Institute for population sciences. I hope that Congress will now move quickly to respond to that call.

AN ADDRESS BY R. SARGENT SHRIVER, JR.

HON. JOHN BRADEMAS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD the text of an address, "In the Wake of Watergate: A Return to Justice," delivered on April 28, 1973, at the Kennedy-Johnson-King Dinner sponsored by the Alabama Democratic Conference.

The address was delivered by the Honorable R. Sargent Shriver, Jr., and I commend it to the attention of my colleagues.

The address follows:

IN THE WAKE OF WATERGATE: A RETURN TO JUSTICE

(By the Honorable R. Sargent Shriver, Jr.)

We meet tonight to renew the dreams of the past and to reach anew for a vision of the future.

And we remember the work and the words that stirred us in other times.

We remember that August day of freedom when Martin Luther King told thousands who marched on Washington and millions more who marched with him in spirit: "I have a dream."

We remember another day in the same year when John Kennedy said to a country caught between ancient prejudice and moral principle: "Race has no place in American life or law."

And we remember a moment of terrible agony when Dr. King was killed and Robert Kennedy comforted us with a plea to "tame the savageness of man and make gentle the life of the world."

And we remember a night when Lyndon Johnson committed the prestige and power of his office to the struggle for equal justice under law, and proclaimed to all the land: "We shall overcome."

LEGACY OF FORMER LEADERSHIP BETRAYED BY CYNICISM

But these voices are no longer heard in the land. And what has been lost is not just the men, but the moral leadership. They did so much that was right and changed so much that was wrong in America! Now their legacy has been betrayed at the highest levels of Government.

It has been betrayed by a cynical and false Southern strategy that insults the South. We do not need a Southern strategy in this nation, or a Northern strategy, or a Western or an Eastern strategy. We need to recover the American strategy expressed in our Declaration of Independence—that all men are created equal and have equal rights—before the law and in the courts, but also in the schools, on the streets and farms, and in the neighborhoods of this nation.

But our best and most traditional and most American hopes and ideals have been betrayed, not just in civil rights, but in every area of our national life.

Our leaders have told us that we have peace with honor in Southeast Asia. But we have just had sixty consecutive days of American bombing over there. Is that peace? Do we want an endless illegal war? Our officials may say peace, peace, but even Henry Kissinger now admits there is no peace.

And this Administration has accepted defeat with dishonor in the War on Poverty—which is the real war America must wage and win.

They sent an insensitive and inexperienced young man to dismantle OEO. He is an expert wrecker. He is destroying our national commitment to help deprived people help themselves. Instead, Mr. Nixon should have sent him to dismantle the White House high command.

PREACHING INITIATIVE WHILE DISMANTLING HOPE

The President has said: "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for yourself." And that is good advice for the wealthy. They can do for themselves—and do very well. But a hungry child cannot eat the New Federalism. The Puritan work ethic cannot create new jobs. Special revenue sharing cannot secure a fair share of our country's wealth to every citizen. Our officials may preach individual initiative, but they practice and permit individual suffering—for the other guy, never for themselves.

What they have really lost in Washington and in the White House is that passion for justice which has been at the heart of the proud moments in our history. In our own era, it was a passion for justice that led Martin Luther King to walk the streets of Selma and Chicago, and John Kennedy to oppose Bull Connor, and Robert Kennedy to seek a newer world, and Lyndon Johnson to sound again the cry for equality only weeks before he died and despite the pain that almost prevented him from speaking.

But today justice is denied. It is denied by official attempts to destroy the Voting Rights Act. It is denied by official plots to subvert legal services for the poor. Justice is denied—and even mocked—by the nomination to the Supreme Court of a man whose most famous public remark was a racial slur.

ADMINISTRATION BARBERS JUSTICE AWAY

And today justice is bartered away. It is bartered away when ITT offers a lavish subsidy to the Republican Convention, and the government then offers ITT a favorable anti-trust settlement. It is bartered away when the Assistant Attorney General of the United States in charge of the Criminal Division is forced to resign because he is heavily in debt to the central figure in a banking scandal. And justice is bartered away when the Attorney General phones across the ocean to intervene with Swiss authorities for an international financier under criminal investigation—and the financier immediately re-

pays the favor by giving thousands of dollars in cash to the Republican Party. By the way, how often did John Mitchell ever pick up the phone to help a Black man who was in trouble?

Worst of all, today injustice is done in the name of justice. Men who are sworn to control crime are charged with committing it instead.

What are we to say when, in the span of a single week, the former Attorney General is called before a Grand Jury in Washington, another Grand Jury in New York, and a court in Florida? We expect the Attorney General to appear in legal proceedings—but not as a potential defendant.

What are we to say when the Acting Director of the FBI is revealed to be, not an enforcer of law, but a pawn of politics—a man who has allowed a criminal investigation to be controlled by those who are under investigation?

WHITE HOUSE IS MADE OVER INTO TAMMANY HALL

What are we to say when many of the highest officials of the Executive Branch—including the President's top staff—are implicated in burglary, bugging, and obstruction of justice—and their only apparent defense is that they were all duped by each other?

What are we to say when they have made the White House—the home of Jefferson, Lincoln, and Roosevelt—into a Tammany Hall clubhouse fit for a modern day Boss Tweed?

George McGovern said during the campaign that: "This is the most corrupt administration in American history." For that, he was attacked, ridiculed, and rejected. But he spoke the truth—and everyone knows it now.

In Europe, officials and newspaper editors who have been our friends for a generation are today characterizing American political life as "a cesspool"—as "shameful" and "shameless," corrupt and dirty and untrustworthy. Pity the poor Peace Corps volunteer trying to represent American idealism to the people of foreign lands. Pity the VISTA volunteer; pity the loyal soldier, the West Pointer with his code of military conduct and honor; pity our children, who are taught to believe in America, as they observe the spectacle of White House staff leaders hastening to employ lawyers to defend themselves from criminal prosecution.

Truly these are days of dishonor for America, and each day brings new and even more incredible revelations. Just twenty-four hours ago, we learned that public funds—our taxes—were used to pay a White House official to invent documents to defame President Kennedy. And we also learned that the Acting FBI Director has destroyed evidence at the direction of the White House staff.

What kind of moral beliefs do these people have?

What do they think this country is all about?

This is not the Soviet Union, where the truth is what the government says it is.

COME CLEAN AS A HOUND'S TOOTH

This is the United States of America, and it is time for the President of the United States to heed the advice Dwight Eisenhower gave him twenty-one years ago during the Nixon fund scandal and "come clean as a hound's tooth." It is time for our national leadership to recognize that official injustice is the greatest of all violence.

And it is time for Americans to be able to say again: "We have a dream." All we can say today amidst the spreading scandal is: "We have a nightmare."

There have been months of cover-up. There have been attempts to make the press shut up. Now it is time for this Administration to open up.

It is not enough to entrust the investigation to an Assistant Attorney General who is subject to the President, who got his job

from John Mitchell and who plays golf with Mr. Mitchell's lawyer. The Watergate investigation must no longer be a family affair. No matter how fair and scrupulous the Administration now tries to be, in this case they can never be above suspicion. And in this case, the appearance of justice is as important as the substance of justice.

Therefore, I believe the President should ask five retired Justices of the Supreme Court—Chief Justice Warren, and Justices Reed, Clark, Whittaker and Goldberg—to serve on a panel responsible for selecting a Special Prosecutor with jurisdiction over every aspect of every case arising out of the Watergate Scandal. This Special Prosecutor should be someone independent of the Nixon Administration and free from partisan influence.

That person is easy to describe, but hard to find. But I do not understand how anyone who genuinely wants an honest, open investigation could object to a Special Prosecutor chosen—not by the interested parties or their political foes—but by the men of the greatest integrity and competence, who were themselves appointed to the highest court in the land by four different Presidents, Republican as well as Democratic. Mr. Nixon should move without delay to adopt this or a similar course of action. That is the only way to dispel the gathering clouds of suspicion and even conviction that the worst is true. We must prove that even in politics, there are some things that are not done.

WATERGATE CHALLENGE: THE PERFECTION OF JUSTICE

Yet our challenge is not only to leave Watergate to an impartial justice, but to learn from Watergate how to perfect justice in America.

We must begin with a commitment to restore honesty to political affairs. I do not mean honesty merely with respect to public money—though that is important. But what has been stolen in recent years is more important than money; it is nothing less than our tradition of talking straight and dealing straight with each other. As we have worried more about truth in advertising, we have seen more deception in government. Instead of trying to persuade people, government and politicians now try to propagandize them. The central aim seems to be to tell it like it isn't.

Past White House statements that were false were not called false, but "inoperative"—which somehow sounds a lot better. Just as "protective reaction" sounds better than it means—blowing up villages in Vietnam. Just as "pacification" sounds better than what it did—executing thousands of South Vietnamese civilians on mere suspicion and without trial as part of the Phoenix Program. Indeed, if the present trend continues, the Defense Department—which started out as the War Department—will end up as the Peace Department.

IMPROPER ACTIONS GARBED IN TECHNICAL TERMS

Tricky language is bad enough. But more than the manipulation of words is at stake here. Far worse is the calculated, continual evasion of moral questions in decision-making. Just as it is easier to kill with a bomb from 30,000 feet than with a bullet from thirty feet, so also it is easier to approve a policy that is wrong or painful if it can be masked in terms that make it sound right or technical.

The corruption of the language leads to the corruption of liberty. What we need in America, not just in this Administration, but in politics everywhere, are fewer hired hucksters and more honest men. We need politicians who use words to communicate meaning instead of abusing words to confuse meaning.

Eight years ago, Martin Luther King was told to be silent about the Vietnam War

because his opposition might offend the President and set back the cause of civil rights. It is to Lyndon Johnson's credit that he pushed on toward equality even as Dr. King spoke out. And it is to Martin Luther King's credit that he did speak out—that he told it as he saw it—and that he rejected the central tenet of the age of advertising: Never tell a man something that is hard for him to hear.

BENIGN NEGLECT IS MALIGNANT

Now we must hear and face the hard things—whether they are about Watergate, or discrimination, or the injustice which still blights our own land and which we still inflict on other lands. So let us hear no more the easy phrase "benign neglect"—for the neglect of minority rights is a malignancy in a free society. Let us hear no more the technical term "protective action"—for bombing by any other name still kills the same people. And let us hear no more about law and order from lawless men who prosecute the press and persecute priests, even while they themselves are plotting crimes and protecting criminals, according to the Director of the FBI.

And we must seek to change not only the character of our political debate but the shape of our public institutions.

This is another important lesson of Watergate—and it applies with special force to the Department of Justice.

In my view, the appropriate committees of the House and the Senate must investigate the Justice Department with the purpose of restructuring it from top to bottom.

The first step is to take politics out of law enforcement. We should restrict the power of the Attorney General to criminal investigation and prosecution, and require that the Attorney General be a career public official who serves for a fixed term of years, rather than a partisan appointee who serves at the pleasure of the President.

CREATE A DEPARTMENT COMMITTED TO JUSTICE

At the same time, we should create an expanded Department of Justice, headed by a Secretary of Justice, and committed to a positive concept of justice, not just the negative task of catching criminals. As I have said many times in recent years, justice is a more fundamental, all embracing concept than the criminal law. An expanded Department of Justice should take up the questions that finally determine whether people are treated as they should be—questions ranging from safe food and drugs and working conditions, to consumer rights, to a new assault on the slumlords who victimize the poor. The Department of Justice should be loved by the many, not just feared by the few. Its role in our society must be affirmative. It must be a source of change and reform. And it must be respected for the rights it guarantees and protects, rather than for the rights it invades.

An activist, open Department of Justice could make a difference in the way we live—as the Department of Justice once made a difference to those of you who lived in the South in the 1960s. That is also what the Poverty Program did at its best, when it sought innovative methods to protect the legal rights of the poor. I will never forget the tears in the eyes of an old man in Detroit who told me that the Neighborhood Legal Services attorney had helped him get a few precious dollars owed to him by a local merchant. He said to me: "Mr. Shriver, this is the first time I ever won anything, the first time anyone was on my side . . ."

RETURN GOVERNMENT TO THE SIDE OF THE PEOPLE

Now we must put government back on the side of the people. We must seek justice for the people, instead of injustice for them and permissiveness for powerful politicians in the

White House. We have a Secretary of Defense and the Treasury and Commerce. Now let us insist on a Secretary of Justice as well.

But ultimately the fight for justice must be won by the people themselves. Only the stubborn, intense efforts of citizens in places like this can move the system in the right direction. It was not an agency of government that struck the most important blow for justice in the 1950s. It was a lady named Rosa Parks, here in Montgomery, who decided that she would not go to the back of a bus because she was Black.

Now, when we are told that politics must be corrupt, or that nothing much can be done about poverty and discrimination, or that there is not enough money for quality education, we must reply: We will not go to the back of the bus. And if we bring the same determination and conviction to that effort that Rosa Parks brought with her when she boarded a bus in Montgomery sixteen years ago, then—like her—ultimately we will prevail.

Not long after the publication of the Pentagon Papers, Daniel Ellsberg received a letter from someone who wrote: "Are you the same Dan Ellsberg I used to know in college?" He replied: "I was not for a long time, but now I am again."

So let us look beyond the shame of Watergate, beyond a senseless war abroad and official injustice at home, to a future moment when we will ask: "Is this the America we believe in." And let us so conduct ourselves in these days of dishonor that we will be able to say on a later, better day: "America was not truly America for a long time, but now it is again."

GENESIS OF LEADERSHIP

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, a recent editorial in the Northern Virginia Sun summarizes most aptly the importance of our national space program. This editorial which appeared in the Tuesday, April 24, edition of the Northern Virginia Sun, outlines the crucial need for the development of new technologies and the important role that space plays in this effort. The editorial follows:

GENESIS OF LEADERSHIP

One of the great plus factors of the U.S. space program has been the development of new knowledge and new technologies permitting us to make and do things never done before. To meet space age requirements, new techniques of management and problem solving had to be developed that are applicable to almost any human activity.

A major U.S. company that has been a pioneer in the development of space technologies and hardware, and is developing the revolutionary new Space Shuttle, is also a major producer of a wide range of commercial products, including everything from heavy-duty truck axles to miniature calculating machines. This company is now investing \$10 million to speed the transfer of aerospace technology to commercial activities. The president of the company has observed of his own firm, "A decade ago we were so engrossed in getting ready for the moon it never occurred to us we were simultaneously preparing men and techniques for

use in industries that, at the time, seemed more remote than the moon itself."

The Space Shuttle is now the central effort of the U.S. space program. Its importance to the nation is, at this point, incalculable. With its capacity to carry 60,000-pound payloads into space, four times as much as we have up till now been capable of lifting, the Shuttle will be able to transport and make the space environment available for the use of hundreds of scientists, engineers and technical people, instead of merely a handful of highly-trained astronauts. Oil exploration teams, for example, could explore in two or three weeks the entire surface of the Earth with the aid of the most advanced sensing devices known to man.

Most significantly, the Space Shuttle will carry on the advance of technology which will lead down paths now unknown and uncover benefits now unimagined, but which will inevitably contribute to the technological leadership of the United States. This will be vital to the military security and economic well-being of the U.S.—to our grandchildren and upwards of 250 million other Americans likely to be living here by the year 2000.

JAPAN'S SURPLUS

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, Japan, according to her information services report as released by the consulate general in New York, again is acting to ease for us supposedly the oversized trade balance in that country's favor.

The report lists a five-point program, formally adopted recently by the Japanese cabinet ministers, to do the following: Expand imports, restrain exports, liberalize capital transactions, expand economic cooperation and, perhaps as window dressing, "strengthen welfare measures" at home.

The point of this program, however, is that it is the third such unilateral effort in the last 2 years made by Japan to correct the trade imbalance with the United States. The first was undertaken in January 1971. The second was last May. Both, it is obvious by the new program, failed of their purposes. The trade balance remains heavily in Japan's favor. So another program has come about.

Included in this new one is a 20-percent across-the-board tariff reduction on a long list of items and a cut of 1 percent in the interest rate charged by Japan's Export-Import Bank on loans for import financing and a corresponding 1 percent increase in the rate on export financing. Also, the Japanese promise to expand their import quotas by 30 percent or more over those of the last fiscal year.

Should we Americans take heart from these developments? If the past provides any lesson, we should not because we are merely seeing once more a country with which we do billions of dollars' worth of business annually pledging itself to be a little less unfair in its dealings if we only persist in doing nothing about the situation on our own. In other words, we are in the process of being lulled

again into putting up with Japan's discriminatory measures against our products while permitting her products to flood our markets in growing volume at severe loss in American jobs and dollars.

The list of products reportedly in line for Japanese tariff reductions, as published in the report, is long, but nowhere in it can be seen a threat to Japanese sales in its home market. Most are processed foods, some of little demand in Japan, and machine parts. Notably included are "transistors"—that Japanese item so prevalent here. Imagine a U.S. transistor manufacturer meeting Japan's home price even after a tariff decrease. Not included in the list are steel, autos, and the other major factors in our trade imbalance. These still are to suffer Japanese import barriers far in excess of any erected here.

The disparity in Japanese-United States trade never will be rectified by leaving the job to the privileged party alone. It is nonsense to expect this. The Japanese are not trade dummies. They have demonstrated that repeatedly in their rising prosperity since World War II. They are not going to give up the overall advantage as long as they can hold it. What is needed are moves on our part to get our countries on equal trading grounds by matching, if need be, tariff for tariff, quota for quota and import restriction for import restriction.

Until such a series of events takes place and also until Japan is compelled to assume her proper share of the free world defense burden, Japan products will continue to replace American jobs and threaten American manufacturers in the American market. The administration must face up to this fact and quit consoling itself on periodic Japanese proposals, to solve the problem by Japanese means which never go far enough. We cannot let this matter run on much longer.

THE LATE HONORABLE J. EDGAR HOOVER

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. ROONEY of New York. Mr. Speaker, I noted recently that a former Assistant Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, William C. Sullivan, in a viciously untruthful statement alleged that certain confidential files were kept from the late J. Edgar Hoover because the Director in his last years "was not of sound mind."

In a very intelligent move Mr. Sullivan was forced to resign from the FBI by Director Hoover on October 6, 1971. I must state that on March 2, 1972, the late Director Hoover was the principal witness at an extended hearing before my appropriations subcommittee on the Department of Justice and the Bureau's fiscal year 1973 budget requests. I presided at that hearing and Director Hoover discussed the activities of the

FBI in his usual minute detail and his usual knowledgeable and informative way. Over a period of almost 25 years J. Edgar Hoover never denied the subcommittee the truth and intimate details of any activity.

As other members of my subcommittee on Department of Justice appropriations have already stated, the late highly competent Director Hoover was in full possession of his faculties on that day and on a number of occasions around that time, and did not portray any characteristics at all of being of unsound mind as alluded to by the unfortunate Mr. Sullivan who resented his having been fired.

In life the late Director Hoover, who I have no hesitancy in saying was my sincere and accepted friend, accepted the brickbats of his renegade opponents as the price for his dedication to the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is regrettable that Sullivan, for his own expediency, has been fit to attempt to discredit a great man after his death.

THE 125TH ANNIVERSARY OF DYKE AND SPENCERIAN COLLEGE, 1848-1973

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, the 125th anniversary of the founding of this college in Cleveland, Ohio, is an opportunity to pay tribute to innovations and techniques that have contributed to the progress of our economic and industrial system. E. G. Folsom opened the first commercial school in 1848 near Cleveland's Public Square. Later a chain of like practical schools of business sprung up in cities and towns throughout the country. Platt Rogers Spencer, Sr., the "father of penmanship"—a style developed for bookkeeping, but eventually to become the handwriting style taught in all the elementary schools of the Nation—became principal of the college for several of its earliest years.

Folsom's School enrolled two students named Bryant and Stratton who, upon completing their course of studies, formed a partnership that culminated in a new system of schools emphasizing applied business practices that was a model for hundreds of other schools that followed. Among the early graduates of the college who were to become leaders of the business community were John D. Rockefeller, Sr., 1855, and Harvey S. Firestone, Sr., 1887.

Among the institution's investors, during the time when the school was operated as an incorporated proprietorship, were businessmen of vision including Samuel Mather, Daniel Eells, T.C. and J. L. Severance, Liberty Holden, and Truman Handy—all powerful influences on the growth of Cleveland as a major urban center. They invested in the school, because they were convinced that the institution would have a salutary im-

pact on the growth of their city and its industry.

The first typewriting classes in America were offered by the college, and textbooks published by teachers and administrators of the institution were adopted as standard classroom texts in commercial classes of both high schools and colleges in every State. The respect accorded the college is evidenced by eight medals awarded during national and international expositions between 1893 and 1936.

Ernest E. Merville—president of Spencian College, 1904-42—was one of seven business educators mobilized by President Woodrow Wilson as a task force during World War I. This task force prepared women for governmental office responsibilities to release men for military duty. Later, Mr. Merville became a consultant who planned curriculums adopted by 42 States for commercial education programs in high schools.

The college has an illustrious past, and it is fitting to commemorate its achievements, because these achievements have contributed to the vitality of the Cleveland community and the evolution of business as a profession. It is appropriate that this occasion coincides with the institution's recent enrollment growth signifying renewed interest in a practical approach to higher education.

The merger of Dyke School and Spencian College, its reincorporation as a not-for-profit institution, and authorization by the Ohio Board of Regents to award the bachelor of science degree have been followed by substantive recognition of the college's academic status. In 1972, the college was admitted to full membership in the Ohio College Association and was awarded an "A" rating in the register of the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers. In January 1973, the college achieved full membership in the Cleveland Commission on Higher Education.

Mr. Speaker, I salute Dyke College for its illustrious history in the field of business education and wish them well as they branch out into the public administration area in the fall of this year.

CLOSING COAST GUARD STATIONS IN MICHIGAN

HON. CHARLES E. CHAMBERLAIN

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Speaker, the recently announced plans of the U.S. Coast Guard to close six search and rescue stations in Michigan has caused a great deal of concern within our State. An editorial in the Jackson Citizen Patriot very aptly demonstrates this concern, and I insert it into the RECORD so that others may also be aware of the problem. With boat registrations on the increase, the imposition of such budget restraints on the U.S. Coast Guard's

search and rescue operations should be given most careful consideration.

The editorial follows:

COAST GUARD CUTS SACRIFICE SAFETY

We're all for governmental economy, but when safety is sacrificed, that's a different matter.

We applaud the protests submitted by Michigan Senators Philip A. Hart and Robert P. Griffin, asking the U.S. Coast Guard to explain why six search and rescue stations in Michigan are being closed.

Stations affected are at South Haven, Manistee, Beaver Island, Harbor Beach, Portage and Munising. The Coast Guard says rescue duties will be handled by adjacent stations which will rely heavily on helicopters to reach disabled boats.

The six Michigan stations were among 13 in the nation closed by Coast Guard officials, who cited an economy move dictated by the White House. The Coast Guard also said the closed stations had a lighter work load than others.

In his protest, Sen. Griffin said, "Statistically, it may appear that the workload of these stations is below the national average. But it must be taken into account that their search and rescue operations are not spread over the entire year, but are concentrated during a few very busy summer months."

Because of introduction of coho and chinook salmon on the Great Lakes and restoration of lake trout, boat activity has increased greatly. Michigan leads all states with 535,000 registered watercraft plus 120,000 nonpower boats that are not registered, say Department of National Resources officials.

The Coast Guard estimates that the Michigan closings will eliminate 74 jobs and save \$508,000 a year.

If only one life is lost because of this economy measure, the savings mean nothing.

No matter how many claims made by the Coast Guard that helicopters from other stations will take over the slack, there will still be considerable time delays.

The primary purpose of Coast Guard duties is to prevent loss of life and property due to unsafe or illegal practices.

We hope the Coast Guard command weighs carefully the protests of the Michigan senators. Safety should be the deciding factor.

AP'S DILLON GRAHAM RETIRES

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 24, 1973

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, it is a pleasure to join our colleagues today in paying tribute to Dillon Graham, who is retiring this month after 44 years of continuous service with the Associated Press. Twenty-five of those years were spent right here in the Capitol covering the House of Representatives.

It has been my privilege to work with and know Dillon since I first came to the House in 1955. He has represented during that time the finest aspects of a true journalist. He has been consistently accurate and fair in his reporting and has always gotten his story.

Dillon Graham will be very much missed around these Halls and Chambers, but I know we all wish him and his wife, Gigi, a healthy and happy retirement. It is richly deserved.

MEMORIAL DAY IN SHARPSBURG

HON. GOODLOE E. BYRON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, each year since 1971 I have participated in the annual Memorial Day ceremonies in Sharpsburg, Md. This is always a moving experience. There is a parade followed by speeches in the National Cemetery of the Antietam National Battlefield. I would like to share with my colleagues an article by Wilmer M. Mumma entitled "A Quiet Town—A Big Day" about the ceremonies in Sharpsburg. The article follows:

A QUIET TOWN—A BIG DAY

(By Wilmer M. Mumma)

Decoration Day has been second only to Christmas Day in historic Sharpsburg, Maryland, since its inception well over 100 years ago in 1867.

This annual affair is Christmas, Fourth of July, Sunday School picnic and family reunion all rolled into one. With flags galore, it is highlighted by band concerts, wreath layings, speaking and a huge parade, all within a small but clean country town. Sharpsburg awakes that morning to a population of some eight hundred and through-out the day swells to eight or ten thousand people. Most of these people have returned year after year to witness and enjoy a program that has varied little in the past century in this small hilly village which itself has changed but little more since that historic day, September 17, 1862.

Here, in and about the village and on the several banks of the Antietam Creek, was fought the bloodiest single-day battle of the Civil War. There fell here in one day more brave men (all fighting, sometimes brother against brother, for a cause they felt right) than in any other battle of the Civil War, some 23,000. More men died here on that fateful day than in any other one day battle of any war until Hiroshima at the end of World War II. Mansfield fell, Burnside made his mark in history and if McClellan had followed through, the war could have ended here. Instead it went down in history as an indecisive victory for the Union and gave President Lincoln cause to issue his Proclamation of Emancipation. It was here that Clara Barton first tended the wounded and it is said to be the birthplace of the American Red Cross.

Here, on a hill overlooking the battlefield and town, guarded by a 45 foot granite monument (the Private Soldier, known as "Simon") some 4,800 Union soldiers bivouac peacefully in their final camping ground.

This bit of history is known as Sharpsburg to the South and as Antietam to the North and it is this bit of history that the townspeople of Sharpsburg and surrounding communities commemorate every Memorial Day.

The National and Citizens' Cemeteries, having been scrupulously mowed and groomed, are the scene of much activity on the day before the "Day". Flags by the thousands are placed, on each at the grave of every soldier of every war from the Revolution on. Sharpsburg has never failed to give her share to the service of her country. Hundreds of car loads of flowers are heaped upon the graves in both cemeteries. This goes on, sometimes, far into the night and this same activity has gone on for the past one hundred years. From horses and carriages to automobiles, and more recently on aerial flower

drop, transportation has been the most noticeable change.

People are up before the sun on that "Day" every year. Flags are out by the score, surrounding the town green, and banners and flags by the dozen wave over the town square. By the time the shadows lengthen enough to be measured, the town is ready for the influx of visitors. The reviewing is up and recored. Red, white and blue abound. The stores are heavily laden with goodies. Eating stands are in evidence on almost every main street corner. Soda pop and ice cream by the truckful roll in. Countless hotdogs and hamburgers are prepared, not to mention the many family picnics planned by the townspeople.

The balloon and novelty men are there too, displaying their wares and by 10 a.m. that "Day", the bands begin to arrive along with people and more people. At 11 o'clock, the oldest active brass band in the United States (the famous Rohrersville Band, founded in 1837) gives a concert in the town square. This band has missed only two Decoration Days in Sharpsburg in the past century.

Promptly at 12 noon, wreathes by the dozen are laid at the foot of the soldiers' monument in front of the Town Hall by the various service organizations, lead by the Officers and Ladies of Antietam Post 236 American Legion of Sharpsburg, Maryland. This Post sponsors and funds the activities of the day. The firing squad is furnished by the reactivated troop of "Sharpsburg Rifles" in full regalia of the period.

This writer recalls the return of the Civil War Veterans on this historic day, both Blue and Gray. As a lad, he remembers seeing them escorted from Antietam Station (of the N. & W. R.R. one mile west of town) under the beautiful arch of Norway Maples which extended two miles, from the station to the National Cemetery. These trees were planted in 1888 for the purpose of providing shade for the return of these Blue and Gray Veterans to the various conclaves at Antietam. At first, many came and marched but as the ravages of time thinned their ranks there became but few and in 1923 this writer recalls seeing the last of them, just two, riding in an open touring car. Although this may have been the end of that era, the writer is proud of the fact that the Brave veterans of World War I & II and more lately of Korea and Viet Nam have not let this institution fall by the wayside nor the Flag to the ground and are proudly marching and honoring the country they had elected to defend.

On or about 2 in the afternoon, the large parade forms at the west end of town and moves an easterly course through town and up the "Hill" to the National Cemetery. Here, after the strains of Chopin's Funeral Dirge, a program of speaking and remembrance is held.

After the speaking, the crowds disperse and the many people return to their homes and friends for an evening of feasting, celebrating and reminiscing.

Then as dusk draws near, the town thins out and by nightfall returns to the small sleepy village, tired but proud, and, by the morning after, is looking forward to another year and another big "Day".

TRIBUTE TO COLONEL DALFERES

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, it is with mixed emotions that I note the retire-

ment from active duty of a good friend and fellow Louisianian, a truly outstanding Air Force officer, Col. George L. J. Dalferes. George has been serving as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Legislative Affairs, a position which he has filled with distinction. To this, I can personally attest. During his service in Legislative Affairs, he has consistently anticipated the needs and questions of my committee in particular and the Congress in general. He has always been forthright in his dealings with us even when he had to tell us something we did not want to hear.

I am happy that Colonel Dalferes is capping a long and distinguished career in the Air Force, but his absence will certainly be felt by those of us on the Hill who have learned to trust his judgment and to depend on him for assistance. I know that all my colleagues want to join me in wishing George and his family the very best for the future.

YOUNG SOVIET JEW RELEASED

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, the Talmud says:

And whosoever preserves a single soul of Israel, the Scripture ascribes to him as though he had preserved a complete world.

It was with great joy in my heart that I heard a young Soviet Jew for whom I had interceded during my trip to Moscow in January was released from that country and granted an exit visa to Israel.

This week he journeyed to this country to share that joy with me. The youth is 22-year-old Matvei Gerranovich Weig.

This is a heartening and wonderful development. I only hope that all those being kept in the Soviet Union against their will shall also be allowed one day soon to be released and reunited with their families.

When I visited the Soviet Union last January, I was the first American legislator to ever be granted an interview with Andrei Verein, head of the Office of Visas and Registrations—OVIR—in the MVD. He indicated he was impressed with my accomplishments as a police officer during my 23 years on the New York City police force. We talked about police matters and then I tactfully brought up the question of Soviet Jewry and the specific cases of five young men, one of which was Weig.

He looked a little put out at first, but asked me to give him the names of the five. I wrote them on a piece of paper. He took it and said he would see what he could do.

All during my discussions in Moscow, the Soviet officials were surprised to hear how much importance was placed by the American people on the problems of the Soviet Jews. They were especially impressed with the arguments being presented by myself—a non-Jew.

The release of this youth should give

us all reason to renew our commitment not to grant most-favored nation status to the Soviet Union until they completely remove their oppressive exit visa tax and stop the harassment of the Soviet Jews. Any talk that they have relaxed their policies is false. Of the five young men for whom I pleaded, only one was released. The rest will have to "wait for next year."

In the interim, they will suffer persecution, loss of jobs, possible arrest and imprisonment. The price of freedom in the Soviet Union is especially dear.

ST. STANISLAUS "MOTHER CHURCH OF POLONIA," OBSERVES CENTENNIAL

HON. THADDEUS J. DULSKI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. DULSKI. Mr. Speaker, St. Stanislaus B.M. Church will hold its 100th anniversary celebration June 3, 1973.

Known as the "Mother Church of Polonia," St. Stanislaus has been the center of daily life as well as spiritual inspiration to the Polish community in Buffalo since newly ordained Father John Pitass organized the parish June 8, 1873. Although the church has been rebuilt and refurbished several times since completion of the first modest church, school, and rectory in early 1874, its influence has remained constant and steadfast for Polish immigrants and their descendants in the Buffalo area for the past century.

Symbolic of St. Stanislaus' constancy has been the permanence of its pastors—only three men have served there since its founding. The present pastor, Monsignor Peter J. Adamski, P.A., began his service in 1945, and has been most active in furthering the educational goals of the parish.

An article in the Magnificat for May 24, 1973, describes "the center of Polish Catholicism in Buffalo," and the dedicated work of the pastors of St. Stanislaus, and I would like to share that inspiring history with my colleagues at this time:

[From the Magnificat, May, 24, 1973]

"MOTHER CHURCH OF POLONIA" TO NOTE
100TH ANNIVERSARY

(By Cecelia Viggo)

St. Stanislaus B.M. Church, Peckham and Wilson Sts., is not just another parish about to celebrate its 100th anniversary. To the Polish community in Buffalo, St. Stanislaus is the "Mother Church of Polonia." The Church was not only a source of spiritual strength to the immigrants, it nurtured them intellectually, was the hub of their social and commercial life, and even influenced the direction of their settlement.

There had been Polish immigrants to Buffalo as early as 1830, but the real immigration did not begin until the 1870's. At first, the newcomers who settled on Ash, Spruce, Walnut, Sycamore and Genesee Streets, attended St. Mary's Church, on Pine and Broadway. A little later, St. Michael's Church offered a special Mass for them in the side chapel each Sunday.

But as more and more immigrants came, it became increasingly clear that they needed their own Church and their own pastor. The Polish in Buffalo were first assisted by Rev. John Gartner, a Bohemian priest, who helped them found the St. Stanislaus Bishop and Martyr Society, the group which was to be the nucleus of the future parish.

While Father Gartner was meeting with the society during a sojourn in Rome, Buffalo Bishop John Ryan happened to meet a Polish student from Silesia who was completing his theological studies in the Holy City.

That encounter was to have great significance for the future of the Polish people in Buffalo. For Bishop Ryan convinced the seminarian, Rev. John Pitass, to come to Buffalo and to minister there.

On June 7, 1873, Bishop Ryan ordained Father Pitass. The following day, the young priest called a meeting and organized St. Stanislaus B.M. parish. About 82 families enrolled.

While still a new priest, Father Pitass had become the director of a parish. But there was one hitch—he had to build his Church first. While struggling to get necessary money to start St. Stanislaus, the priest met Joseph Bork, a German real estate agent who owned tracts of land east of Buffalo. The agent donated the land which was to become the site of the new Church.

Within a few months after the June 8 meeting, work had begun on the new church and it was completed Jan. 25, 1874. A joyful congregation went on horseback in an informal "parade" to the dedication, presided over by Bishop Ryan. The first Church was a simple structure which combined a church, school and rectory.

"The area around St. Stanislaus was wilderness," observes Sister M. Donata, CSSF, editor of Ave Marie, a Polish publication. "The land had been surveyed, but there were no streets or sidewalks. It was still farmland." In this area, realtor Bork began building homes. By the time of the Church's dedication, 50 frame houses surrounded it.

"To a large extent," comments Sister Ellen Marie Kuznicki, CSSF, an assistant professor of social sciences and French at Villa Maria College, "the Polish immigrants did not dislocate any other group when they settled in Buffalo. They built their first homes around St. Stanislaus in open country, to the east of the city, and from that starting point, many immigrants moved further east."

By 1874, St. Stanislaus B.M. school was organized. Classes not only provided secular and religious education, but also helped the newcomers preserve their Polish culture and language.

Seven years after the school's beginning, Father Pitass secured the assistance of the Felician order.

One of the first parish censuses, taken about 1875, listed about 1,042 parishioners. "356 donors," Sister Ellen Marie relates, "gave \$118 to the Church during the year, at a time when a weekly wage was scarcely more than \$3.50."

By 1881, the original Church could no longer accommodate its congregation, swollen by hundreds and hundreds of new immigrants. Father Pitass planned a large two-level church, big enough, he hoped, to serve as the parish for the entire Polish population of Buffalo. Groundbreaking took place on Aug. 10, 1882. A little less than four years later, on Oct. 17, 1886, the new Church, whose upper level was built of flint stone with Lockport trimmings, was dedicated by Bishop Ryan. The building still serves as parish Church. Several years later, its distinctive towers were added.

By the 1890's, the parish had increased to almost 20,000 families. In the years from 1887-1891, the number of Polish immigrants to Buffalo had jumped from 15,000 per year to 25,000 per year. "By the turn of the century,"

comments present pastor, Msgr. Peter Adamski, "St. Stanislaus was one of the largest parishes in the country." Due to the great influx of immigrants, Father Pitass realized that no one Church could hope to serve all of Buffalo's Polish population. So the pastor began to help other parishes to organize. First to be founded was St. Adalbert, Bishop and Martyr.

St. Stanislaus school was also experiencing growing pains. Father Pitass built a large two-story building in Peckham St., between Wilson and Fillmore Aves., in 1882. At first, the building housed classrooms and the living quarters of the Felician Sisters. Soon, however, classrooms took up the entire building, and a separate convent was erected next to the school. When the new Church was completed, more classrooms were added in the original Church building.

But this proved only to be an interim measure. In 1887, the pastor and his trustees decided to build a new school to house all the school children. A four-story brick school was ready for use by September 1890. The Felician Sisters had been entrusted only with the instruction of the female pupils; male teachers supervised the boys. But in 1890, the Sisters took charge of both boys and girls up to grade four; 16 years later, they administered the entire school. Father Pitass, himself, however, planned out the course of studies for the children until 1913.

In 1891, a 20-acre site on Pine Ridge Rd. was blessed to be used as a burial ground for the deceased members of the parish.

The last large project undertaken by the pastor was the completion of the towers, and the installation of the bells and clocks which had been designed for the new Church. Begun around 1907, the project was fulfilled when the statues which adorn the roof of the Church were blessed on Aug. 7, 1910.

While planning the erection of a new rectory after fire destroyed the old building, Rev. John Pitass died Dec. 11, 1912. After serving at St. Stanislaus for 39 years, the entire duration of his pastoral career, Father Pitass had earned the distinction of founder and patriarch of the Polish community in Buffalo.

On Jan. 12, 1914, the second pastor of St. Stanislaus was installed. He was Rev. Dr. Alexander Pitass, a native of Silesia and a nephew of Father John Pitass. Energetic and learned, Father Pitass renovated the Church by the addition of a new marble main altar and rails and the installation of electricity. In 1916, he also began construction of a new brick convent.

Like his uncle, Father Pitass was concerned with other parishes, and was instrumental in the organization of St. John Gualbert Church. Fire struck the parish twice. In 1920, fire damaged the school's fourth floor. This damage was repaired and red brick structure on the corner of Wilson and Peckham Streets was acquired and remodeled into an auditorium-hall for parish functions. In 1923, during a renovation of the church for the parish's 50th anniversary, fire again broke out, inflicting considerable damage to the bells, clocks and stained glass windows.

Despite these mishaps, St. Stanislaus celebrated its golden anniversary from Oct. 28-31 with several religious and social events. Father Pitass also compiled a historical memoir of the Church's growth, in honor of the occasion. During his 30 years at St. Stanislaus, Father Pitass was made a Monsignor in 1925, and witnessed and played an active role in the Polish American Congress in 1944. That same year, the priest died. His health had been failing steadily for some time.

For a year parish assistant, Rev. Stanislaus Kulpinski, now pastor of Queen of Martyrs, served as administrator. July 2, 1945 marked the installation of St. Stanislaus' third and present pastor, Msgr. Peter Adamski, P.A. A

native of Poland, Msgr. Adamski came to America as a young man.

He attended St. Bonaventure University, and was ordained there June 10, 1915. Following assignments as an assistant at St. Stanislaus, St. Casmir and Holy Trinity parishes, he became pastor of St. John Gualbert parish. He served there for 26 years, until his appointment as pastor of St. Stanislaus B.M.

As St. Stanislaus' leader, Msgr. Adamski's first concern was education. In September, 1945 he began a high school program for the parish school. Through his efforts, two diocesan high schools were established the following year: Bishop Colton High School for girls and Bishop Ryan High for boys. Msgr. Adamski leased the parish school's third and fourth floors to Bishop Colton, when no suitable quarters for the school were available.

As parish enrollment declined and Bishop Colton's needs increased, Msgr. Adamski leased the lower Church section to the diocese; this area housed the Bishop Colton High School annex. When plans were made to build a high school, Msgr. Adamski relinquished the parish garden, providing the diocese with a site for the new school.

As pastor, Msgr. Adamski made considerable repairs on the Church buildings and renovated the Church interior. Two new side altars, St. Joseph's and Our Lady of Czestochowa, were installed in the Church in 1956. And in 1960, the parish built a new social center.

The priest, who was named a Monsignor in 1942 and further honored by the title, Prothonotary Apostolic in 1958, is well known to those of Polish descent throughout Western New York and Canada, through his Sunday Mass broadcasts on radio station WWOL, aired each week since 1945.

In 1965, Msgr. Adamski celebrated his 50th jubilee as a priest. At that time, the late Bishop McNulty praised the pastor, a "great priest of God . . . held in veneration by clergy, religious and faithful of the diocese as well as his parishioners." An editorial honoring the Monsignor in the Am-Pol Eagle observed: "He has tried to propagate and keep alive the heritage of Polonia and through his radio broadcasts and sermons, has been able to bring the 'Word of God' to hundreds of thousands all over the area and also bring the people a chance to hear Christ's message in the Polish language. The real record of Msgr. Adamski's service to his community lies in the hundreds of projects in Polonia that have become a reality because he had the patience and the unending determination to champion their cause."

St. Stanislaus' congregation has decreased in the past years, as Polish immigration has stopped and as more and more parishioners move to the suburbs. Nevertheless, St. Stanislaus remains vital. Many parish clubs are still active and the parish is still known as the center of Polish Catholicism in Buffalo.

DILLON GRAHAM

HON. BO GINN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 24, 1973

Mr. GINN. Mr. Speaker, one of Washington's most distinguished journalists, Mr. Dillon Graham, will retire from his position here with the Associated Press tomorrow. I would like to take this opportunity to pay personal tribute to Mr. Graham both for his exceptional professional performance and his own personal dedication as an outstanding citizen.

It has been my honor to know Mr. Graham for more than a decade during my previous service as a staff member in the House and the Senate. He is retiring after 25 years of service as a Capitol correspondent for the Associated Press and after some 44 years of total service with the Associated Press.

There has been a good deal of criticism of the news media from many sources during recent years. Much of the criticism has had some validity to it, and I believe that the press in general has listened to the criticism with an open mind. Like any enterprise, the news media has its faults and it has employees who do less than their best. But Dillon Graham is one of the handful of men in any profession who deliver only the highest quality of work. As a result, the whole of the Fourth Estate has enjoyed a reflected good name in the eyes of those of us who have dealt with Mr. Graham.

He is a penetrating inquisitor, a hard worker, and a man who has dedicated himself to giving his readers the very best quality of news reporting that can be delivered.

I think that all too often we in government forget that the press plays a crucial role in our democracy. Our democratic institutions are fragile. They are strong for only so long as our people are well informed and for only so long as our leaders put the public interest ahead of their own interests. The press is the guardian of those interests and Dillon Graham has never forgotten that responsibility. He is a newsman in the highest sense of the word, and I can think of no better testament to his service than to say just that.

I want Dillon to know that his years of labor have had an important impact on preserving those things that are good in government. There are very few men who can say that. I salute Dillon today, and I am confident that his good citizenship will continue to be important to us in the years to come.

U.S. BOMBING IN CAMBODIA

HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the continuation of American bombing operations in Cambodia is a national disgrace. Despite unmistakable mandates by the Congress to cease all U.S. military operations in Cambodia, the administration has continued to ignore arrogantly the expressed desires of the American people. This callous flouting of governmental responsibility and democratic principle adds to the present national lack of confidence in the administration.

WCBS-TV in New York City recently broadcast a fine editorial sharply criticizing the administration for its insistence on continued U.S. military involvement in Cambodia's interneine

struggle, the text of which I request to have printed in the RECORD:

CAMBODIAN BOMBING

In January a cease-fire was signed in Paris and Americans rejoiced that, for them at least, the war in Indochina was over. But in the three months since then, the United States has dropped 146,000 tons of bombs on Cambodia and Laos at a cost of almost \$260 million. But the real price of this bombing is nine Americans dead, two missing, three planes lost in action, and countless numbers of Cambodians and Laotians killed or left homeless.

In the past, the administration's rationale for such brutal, massive bombing was that we were protecting American troops. Now the reason given for the daily bombing of Cambodia—where the fighting has been the heaviest—is to keep the Lon Nol government in power and thus prevent the country from being used as a staging area for an attack on the Saigon government.

This continued daily bombing appears to indicate an open-ended commitment to fight a war most Americans do not support. A recent Harris poll shows that Americans disapprove of the bombing of Cambodia 49 percent to 33 per cent. And Congress also expressed its resistance when last Thursday the House of Representatives refused to vote additional funds to pay for the continued bombing of Cambodia. It was the first time that the House voted to curtail funds for the war.

The Senate took even stronger action yesterday. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee approved an amendment sponsored by Republican Sen. Clifford Case of New Jersey and Democratic Sen. Frank Church of Idaho that would cut off all funds for military purposes in Indochina unless specifically authorized by Congress. We hope the Case-Church amendment is passed by Congress.

It seems incredible to us that after 12 years of war—after all our troops are out and our prisoners of war released—that it is still necessary to call for the end of American military involvement in Indochina—involvement that does not have the support of Congress or the American people. The Harris poll last week showed that 70 per cent of the American public feels that the United States involvement in Vietnam was a "national mistake." A wise man once suggested that the nation that doesn't learn from its mistakes is doomed to repeat them.

SCHOOLBUS SAFETY LEGISLATION NEEDED

HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, 76 Members of Congress have joined with me in sponsoring a Schoolbus Safety Act of 1973. Recently the Subcommittee on Commerce and Finance of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee conducted 2 days of excellent hearings which placed on the record the need for schoolbus safety legislation now.

This legislation is gaining nationwide support. Recently, the three Bee newspapers—the Sacramento Bee, the Fresno Bee, and the Modesto Bee—editorially endorsed schoolbus safety legislation. The newspaper concludes that:

Parents must have every assurance that when their children board the schoolbus,

the risk is as minimal as the law and its administrators can make it. There is really not such a thing as too much safety.

I am sure that many of my colleagues agree that there is an immediate need for schoolbus legislation. For their information, I would like to include the editorial which appeared on May 19 in the RECORD. The editorial follows:

PROTECTING LIVES OF SCHOOLCHILDREN

How safe are school buses?

A Department of Transportation official insists a child is 50 times less likely to get hurt on a school bus than when he is driven to school in his mother's car, and no new laws are needed.

Not so, says Rep. Les Aspin, of Wisc., co-sponsor with Rep. John E. Moss of Sacramento, of a bill to make the government speed up rules on school bus safety.

In Aspin's view, the school bus is probably the unsafest vehicle on the road. He is talking about vast fleet of 250,000 buses which carry 20 million youngsters to classes throughout the country.

The Moss-Aspin bill would require the DOT to issue comprehensive new school bus safety standards within six months, to investigate every new school bus by the manufacturer and distributor, look into every school bus-related fatality and build a prototype of a safe schoolbus.

The records list 150 persons killed and 5,600 injured in 1971-72 accidents involving a school bus. True, it is a lower death rate than for autos but this should hardly discourage any effort to reduce ever-present potential danger.

Parents must have every assurance that when their child boards a school bus, the risk is as minimal as the law and its administrators can make it. There really is not such a thing as too much safety.

ENERGY: OFF IN ALL DIRECTIONS

HON. RICHARD T. HANNA

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. HANNA. Mr. Speaker, the short article below from the May issue of Government Executive says a great deal; in fact, it may just put the whole discussion of energy into the proverbial "nutshell." A fragmented and disjointed structure cannot produce policy in any true sense of the word. We cannot afford the high cost of "muddling through," as Mr. Raynes puts it. We will only overcome the energy crisis with a coordinated, positive, and imaginative program:

ENERGY: OFF IN ALL DIRECTIONS

Last March, five "energy" associations—the American Gas Association, the American Petroleum Institute, Atomic Industrial Forum, Edison Electric Institute and National Coal Association—jointly blamed piecemeal Federal policy and public apathy for the U.S. energy crisis.

Added Government Executive author John Wilpers, confirming the indictment (as the result of research for a series on the subject): "More than 60 Federal agencies are involved in the energy problem, in one way or another."

Will Congress straighten out the clutter? They may not have the tools. Noted Burt Raynes, chairman of Rohr Industries, in an interview while he was in Washington last month for a National Association of Manufacturers meeting on the crisis:

"Congress is being torn by so many people, they probably are going to go a little bit in all directions." As with other things, he hopes "eventually we'll muddle through." As to the proposal that anti-pollution standards (which tend to increase fuel consumption) be shelved while the energy crisis is on, Raynes said:

"First, the crisis is going to be with us a long time. Second, those anti-pollution Acts Sen. Edmund S. Muskie (D-Maine) got through Congress are great Acts." Raynes' primary answer to the dilemma: fuel conservation. Unfortunately for his proposal, at the five-group meeting attended by several hundred top industrialists, he was the only one who spoke up for conservation. Everyone else seemed interested only in looking for alternative (to oil and coal) sources of fuel. "We homo sapiens," said Raynes afterwards, succinctly, "are a greedy bunch."

THE CROSS-FLORIDA BARGE CANAL MUST BE PUT TO REST PERMANENTLY

HON. L. A. (SKIP) BAFALIS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. BAFALIS. Mr. Speaker, 2 years ago, President Nixon made a decision which won unanimous approval from conservationists and environmental groups all across the Nation—he ordered a halt to construction of the reckless and extremely damaging Cross-Florida Barge Canal.

But there are those who refuse to accept that decision, who would have the Congress ignore the dire warnings issued by the Council on Environmental Quality, the U.S. Geological Survey, the Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission, and every other scientific body which studied the canal and its effects.

Those warnings were specific and left no room for doubt.

As the Council on Environmental Quality put it:

This project could seriously affect the environment in Florida by degrading water quality, altering the water supply in central Florida, vitally affecting the fish and wildlife of the area and combining what are now separate ecological systems.

Potential pollution from the project may be transferred to the Florida aquifer, setting off a destructive chain reaction affecting the water supply for many users.

But that was not all. CEQ also warned:

The Canal could add to the spread of pests from the Gulf to the Atlantic Coast where they would spread virtually unobstructed throughout the East Coast Waterways.

The U.S. Geological Survey studied the canal and issued its own warnings of:

Potential aquifer contamination and pollution of canal waters which could affect estuarine waters and their ecologies.

Then there was the study by 126 Florida scientists who condemned the canal as "a classic example of the reckless degradation of the natural environment," and the Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission report which warned that the Rodman Reservoir, a small part of the canal system, "created ecological problems almost beyond comprehension."

So, Mr. Speaker, it is obvious that the canal must be allowed to die. The Congress must say once and for all that it will not support any project so obviously detrimental to man's quest for the beauties of nature and—more important—to man's need for fresh, drinkable water.

But even if that were not the case—even if the canal could be considered solely on economic grounds—it would still be a tragic waste of the taxpayers' money.

The Corps of Engineers says the canal has a 1 to 1.4 cost benefit ratio—but 25 percent of the alleged benefits come in the form of recreation, according to the Council on Environmental Quality.

Yet the Florida Game and Fresh Water Fish Commission, in a 1970 study, challenged that, saying:

The previously assumed benefits from fishing and hunting will not be realized throughout the project life of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal.

In fact, the Council on Environmental Quality said the long-term effect of the canal:

Would be replacement of the present desirable sport fishery by what are largely trash fish, including gars, bowfin, shad and bullhead.

If that is the case, and studies have proven that it is, there can be no real defense of the Cross-Florida Barge Canal on economic grounds.

That leaves us with no solid justification for the project.

On the other hand, there is more than enough justification for stopping it—and not just for the reasons already outlined.

As President Nixon stated in his January 1971 order halting construction:

A national treasure is involved in the case of the Barge Canal—The Oklawaha River, a uniquely beautiful, semitropical stream, one of the very few of its kind in the United States, which would be destroyed by construction of the Canal.

Now, there are those who will say the Federal Government has already invested \$53 million in this proposed 185-mile ditch and, to keep that investment from being wasted, should spend at least another \$150 million to finish the canal.

That is a spurious argument and everyone knows it.

I am also opposed to the request, so often repeated, for another study on the canal.

I know of no other project in history which has been studied so much. First suggested back in 1836, the concept of a canal across Florida was studied eight times prior to 1930 and heaven only knows how many times since.

And practically every study said no, the canal should not be built.

Now, the canal's backers want a study of alternative routes. But there is no need for such a study. A 100-man U.S. Forest Service Task Force, in drawing up the final environmental impact statement on the canal, looked at possible alternative routes and said no.

The Forest Service said in a study undertaken after the presidential order halting construction:

Many of the above environmental considerations apply to the canal with the alterna-

tive routes as much as to the original canal route: The dangers of pollution of surface waters and consequent threat of pollution to the aquifer apply to the canal with alternative routes since the major areas of interconnection between the aquifer and the canal lie west of the proposed alternative routes, in the parts of the canal where the route would remain unchanged.

The Forest Service also emphasized:

Regardless of the route chosen, the canal will provide a direct infestation route and means of transport of potential pest organisms.

So the dangers are still there, even if the canal is rerouted away from the scenic Oklawaha.

But even more telling is the Forest Service's concern that routing the canal a few miles away from the scenic Oklawaha River may not be enough to save the river itself.

The proposed bypass would protect the Oklawaha from direct physical damage.

Said the Forest Service:

However, there may be indirect impacts from altered surface and subsurface water levels or regimes.

And, the Service added:

The canal, running parallel to the main river course, will alter the sub-surface water level which will have an effect upon the vegetation and wildlife of the surrounding area, including the river valley.

Therefore, it is readily apparent that the Cross-Florida Barge Canal is a bad deal no matter where you put it.

In fact, if it had not been for World War II and the desire to protect U.S. shipping from Nazi submarines, I doubt that the canal would ever have been authorized by Congress.

The U-boat menace is gone. And in these days of missile-firing submarines, a canal offers no real protection.

So, where, I ask, where can you find justification for this ditch?

There is none. And most people of Florida realize that.

They support the President's decision to halt construction on this project. I support that decision. I oppose the further funding.

But most of all, I oppose these continued attempts to circumvent a well-thought-out and environmentally sound order to kill the canal.

The only way to stop these efforts, once and for all, is to withdraw Congressional authorization for the canal.

Therefore, a week ago, I introduced a bill H.R. 7904 to do just that.

Today, I am reintroducing that bill with 21 cosponsors—Representatives C. W. "BILL" YOUNG, DANTE FASCELL, WILLIAM LEHMAN, J. HERBERT BURKE, LOU FREY of Florida; JAMES ABDNOR, GLENN ANDERSON, LAMAR BAKER, JAMES CLEVELAND, THAD COCHRAN, PAUL CRONIN, JIM GROVER, ROBERT HANRAHAN, WILLIAM KETCHUM, MATTHEW RINALDO, JOHN SAYLOR, E. G. SHUSTER, GENE SNYDER, GERRY STUDDS, GENE TAYLOR, and WILLIAM WALSH.

Let me emphasize one thing: my purpose in so doing is not to do battle with my distinguished colleagues from Florida who, although a minority of the delegation, support this project.

They are men whose wisdom and judgment I admire and respect. I consider them my friends and I value their friendship highly.

But this is an issue which I feel must be resolved.

And I know of no better way to do this than to subject the Cross-Florida Barge Canal to a straight up-and-down vote of the Congress.

Once the Congress has spoken, we can move on and consider legislation to give the Oklawaha River the "wild river" status recommended by the administration.

AMTRAK: HERE TO STAY—AND GROW

HON. WILLIAM H. HUDNUT III

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 22, 1973

Mr. HUDNUT. Mr. Speaker, the May 1973 issue of *Railway Age* included a very interesting article on the National Railroad Passenger Corp. known as Amtrak. It is noted that Amtrak's 1,200 unit fleet of stainless steel passenger cars is undergoing refurbishing at nine locations, one of which is the Penn Central's shop located at Beech Grove, Ind., in my congressional district. This work constitutes an important contribution to the economy of my district and of central Indiana.

The Amtrak passenger service operation has been depicted by some as being an ailing operation, but this article paints a different picture. I believe it will be of particular interest to all Members at this time in view of the fact that Amtrak's authorization request is before the Congress. Therefore, I am pleased to insert this piece for the benefit of my colleagues who may have missed seeing it:

AMTRAK: HERE TO STAY—AND GROW

Amtrak continues to be depicted by its enemies (and, sad to say, by some of its friends) as an ailing, awkward enterprise with one foot in the grave and the other in its mouth. This issue's cover story will, we hope, help to correct that picture.

Amtrak's ridership is up; its losses are down; it has a capital investment program for FY 1974 bigger than that of most Class I railroads. The 13 contracting railroads are operating more Amtrak trains than they did two years ago. There is, obviously, considerable merit in President Roger Lewis's claim that the Amtrak experiment can now be pronounced a success. He is not unaware of the mountain of problems that Amtrak still must tunnel through. Poor on-time performance is a source of great worry (though it must be remembered that a train is late when it is five minutes off schedule; a plane is not late until it has missed its schedule by 15 minutes). And the 13 railroads which Mr. Lewis deals with are not always anxious to take the extra step toward better service. A patient, tough bargainer, Mr. Lewis is working hard behind the scenes to correct this.

As for Amtrak's future, Mr. Lewis has good reason to be optimistic, based on the recent findings of a Harbridge House study. The study found, in the first place, that rail service is already far more important in the national picture than that well-worn statistic—that rail accounts for less than 1% of

all intercity passenger travel—would indicate. That statistic, suggests Harbridge House, is misleading because the total transportation market includes many areas which have no rail service at all. Considering only those market areas served by rail, the rail share rises to 5.9%. In the New York-Washington corridor, the rail share is 18.6%.

As for the future, Harbridge House made these points:

Over-all travel demand is rising. DOT forecasts a 105% increase in commercial travel during the present decade, from 195 billion passenger miles in 1970 to 400 billion in 1980; and a further doubling in the following decade.

The ability of autos and buses to cope with this demand will be constrained by a slowdown in construction of new highways and arterial roads due to greater public awareness of the high economic and social costs. Meanwhile, airports are approaching capacity and air congestion problems are worsening.

It has been demonstrated by the Metroliner that improved rail service will bring riders back to the rails. Public attitudes also favor rails. A Louis Harris & Associates survey found that the public, by an 82-10% majority, feels it must have the rail option.

(There is evidence that even unimproved service will bring riders back to the rails. The New York Times recently reported that 100 people a day are now riding trains between New York and Montreal on a newly-restored service, though that service is far from ideal. That's one-tenth as many people as the airlines carry between those two points daily. Which may be one reason why Eastern Airlines last week introduced air shuttle service on the run.)

RIDERSHIP WILL INCREASE

Harbridge House concluded: "Rail ridership will increase as the ability of other modes to grow is subjected to an increasing number of constraints resulting in a corresponding deterioration in quality of service."

Amtrak seems to be here not only to stay—but to grow.

Isn't it a fact that the Amtrak system, after July 1, will be a much-shrunken version of the network that the National Railroad Passenger Corp. began business with two years ago?

Isn't it also true that Amtrak is so hard put to meet its \$260,000-a-day operating losses that there's next to nothing left to invest in new cars and locomotives?

And isn't it irrefutably a matter of record that Amtrak has nothing to pour into roadway improvements?

In a word—no.

The facts, which may come as a shock to Amtrak' poor-mouthers, are these:

Even if its much-publicized service reductions are permitted by the ICC to become effective after the beginning of FY 1974, Amtrak will still be operating more trains over more route miles than it did on May 1, 1971. The planned reductions include abandonment of the "Floridian" with substitute service offered between Chicago and Florida via Richmond; elimination of the New York-Washington-Kansas City and the Newport News-Richmond schedules; and some service combinations in the West. But they are more than compensated for by experimental services which Amtrak has introduced since 1971 and is retaining (e.g., the "North Coast Hiawatha") and other new services added with the financial assistance of state and local governments.

Amtrak, though anticipating a \$95.6-million loss in FY 1974, has nonetheless been able to budget \$150 million for capital improvements—far more than most Class I roads will spend. This will include \$40 million for new cars (\$15 million for locomotive-hauled equipment, for which specs are now being rushed to completion; and \$25

million for new corridor cars—possibly trailers cars to beef up the Metroliners); plus \$13 million for refurbishing old cars. Another \$27 million will go for new locomotives, and \$4 million for overhaul of old ones. All of this comes on top of locomotive expenditures which totaled \$32.5 million in FY 1973; plus a car-and-related-facility investment estimated at \$65.1 million. (The latter included the purchase of two ANF-Frangeco turbotrains from France and two United Aircraft turbos from Canada. The French trains will be shipped June 15 and will arrive in Chicago via the St. Lawrence Seaway around July 15. The Canadian trains will arrive a little earlier. All are to go into service in the Chicago-St. Louis and Chicago-Milwaukee corridors around Sept. 1.)

And \$50 million—a third of the total capital budget—will go into roadway in FY 1974, mostly for corridor improvements. This is in addition to \$16 million earmarked for station and other facility improvements.

Does all of this sound like a company that is preparing for a going-out-of-business sale? Hardly. Nor does Amtrak President Roger Lewis talk much like the "liquidator" that he says people were calling him a scant two years ago.

Amtrak has big problems, still—and one of the biggest, from Lewis's point of view, is poor on-time performance. In March the 6,072 trains operated by Amtrak had average on-time performance of 68%—up from, February's 66.7% but down from the 75% averaged in 1972. This is something Lewis is anxious to correct. What he would like to see is incentives for good performance, penalties for the reverse.

Lewis also has his problems with the 13 railroads that run his trains. Right now he's hassling with Southern Pacific over Amtrak's proposal for a new Dallas-Houston service. SP says it will take \$7.5 million to bring the line up to passenger-train standards. The matter is in arbitration.

But on the whole Lewis is pleased with Amtrak's first two years, and bullish for its future. So is Amtrak's marketing vice president, Harold Graham, whose estimate is that Amtrak will attract an additional 2 million riders this year, a 15% increase, and who is skilfully using a \$4-million ad budget to make his forecast come true. ("We tell them how they get there and what it costs; this is what the pre-Amtrak American public did not know about trains.")

As Amtrak approached its second birthday, Railway Age talked with its president—about the corporation's first two years, and its immediate future.

RA. If Amtrak is to grow, or even maintain its status quo, it is clearly going to require a lot of money. Is that money available?

Lewis. The Secretary of Transportation sits on \$8 billion a year. It's a question of whether the money already available is going to be channeled to railroads or to airways or to highways. What we have to prove is that railroad passenger service is viable, provides a solid option, and that people will use it. That's what we're busy doing. This country can do what it wants to do. If it feels that railroad passenger service is important, then it is going to have railroad passenger service.

RA. Do you have the feeling that the importance of this service is beginning to get across?

Lewis. I think that beginning is the key word. I felt two years ago that there was no beginning. Many of the people I was talking to had already made up their minds that this thing wasn't viable. They called me a liquidator, among other things. But when we began to bring the deficit down, and ridership up, people began to think, "If they can do that with those resources, maybe we ought to think about giving them more." So you could say the beginning has begun.

RA. Then the Amtrak experiment has been, so far, a success?

LEWIS. Yes, and I'll tell you why. Look at it first from the point of view of public policy. The railroads of this country reported a loss of nearly \$500 million on the operation of passenger services in 1969. When Amtrak was created, the route mileage was cut in about half. That was the first big step. In our first year we lost \$156 million. In the second year we lost \$124 million, and we absorbed a \$23 million labor increase. In the third year the loss is going to be about \$95 million, though we will absorb another \$20 million increase. Now that's pretty good, from \$500 million to \$124 million to \$95 million in a period of rapidly rising prices.

And that isn't the whole story. We had Arthur Andersen compute what the railroads are now paying in Federal income taxes, due to their being relieved of their passenger-service losses, which they were not paying before. That comes to around \$80 million. So in three years, to go from a \$500 million clipping down to \$95 million, with a credit for \$80 million—I'd say that's very good government policy.

Now look at it from the point of view of the passenger. Everybody loves options. And we now have the option of railroad passenger service. That can take the pressure off the problem that's worrying the public most—which is automobile congestion around the big cities. And a third thing was established by the study which Harbridge House did for us recently. The pressure on the bus and the airplane is going to grow. Costs are going to rise. But the private rail right of way is relatively underutilized. We can carry an enormous increase in traffic without increasing our costs.

Yes, Amtrak is a success. And the proof is that the system we have been discussing with the DOT and the OMB and the Congress isn't very different from the system we began with. Even if we drop certain services—if we're permitted to do that by the ICC—we will still be operating more route miles and more trains than we were operating in the basic system in May 1971. So in a sense people have bought the experiment by agreeing to continue it.

RA. You're looking forward to a good third year in terms of ridership?

Lewis. I think the signs are all go. I think the railroad is going to grow.

That is not to say we don't have some big problems. There's the question of costs, and we're going to talk to the railroads about that. We are certainly going to talk to the railroads about performance. The contract that we signed with the railroads was not a bad contract. But we have learned some things we want, and railroads have learned some things they want. The contracts probably ought to be reviewed. It's only the cost provisions that are reopenable, but whenever you get into costs you always get into other things. I think our main concern is that we have not clearly spelled out performance standards, and that we don't have incentives for doing better or penalties for doing worse.

If we want to improve performance standards beyond the levels possible on May 1, 1971, then we may have to give the railroads the money, or furnish them the equipment. If it's a problem of holding performance to the levels that were possible on May 1, then it's a matter of holding the railroads responsible. Now, we have some money for right of way improvements. It's unsatisfactory, I know, to fix up other people's property but there are certain places where the gain is going to be so significant that we're going to find a way to do it.

A SMOOTHER METROLINER RIDE

A big chunk of the \$50 million which Amtrak has available for right of way improvement in FY '74 will go into the Northeast Corridor. But as Lewis has often observed, it isn't just track, but a track/truck combination, that provides a smooth ride.

And Metroliner trucks are now coming in for attention.

The Federal Railroad Administration has just awarded a contract for the design, fabrication, testing and supply of improved trucks for the Metroliners. The \$3.8-million project is being undertaken by the Ground Transportation Division of LTV Aerospace Corp.

"Redesign of the Metroliner trucks is contemplated as the most important step that can be taken to improve the quality of ride in these passenger cars," says Federal Railroad Administrator John W. Ingram. "Only when reliable and comfortable rail services are available to the public will rail passenger service be able to take its full place in the national transportation system."

Six competitive proposals were evaluated by FRA. As awarded, LTV will test a newly designed Metroliner truck prior to fabrication of four prototypes. These prototype trucks will then be thoroughly road tested and the results evaluated. If the results meet expectations, it is FRA's intent to equip the remainder of the fleet with the new trucks; this will involve production of an additional 96 under the contract.

Actually, the LTV entry is a service-proven design from the Swiss firm of SIG, beefed up for service under the heavy Metroliner cars. Many of Swiss Federal Railway passenger coaches already have the SIG-ML truck or its predecessor design. In addition to the Swiss truck finally accepted, FRA also appraised other overseas designs.

OLD EQUIPMENT GETS NEW LIFE AND NEW LOOK

Until new ones come along, refurbished locomotives and passenger cars are being called upon to provide Amtrak service with the vehicular attractiveness and comfort—and importantly, the reliability—that will enable it to thrive and grow. Currently, three railroad shops—Milwaukee Road's shop in Milwaukee; Seaboard Coast Line's, in Jacksonville, Fla.; and Illinois Central Gulf's Paducah (Ky.) shops—are engaged in the task of completely reworking vital components, replacing some, and giving 15-to-20-year-old Amtrak locomotives a thorough spruce-up. A fourth shop, located in the East, is expected to join these three in the refurbishing program at some time in the future.

Amtrak's 1,200-unit fleet of stainless steel passenger cars, mostly post-World War II vintage, is undergoing refurbishing at nine locations, some railroad-operated and the others commercially-operated. Performing this work are: Santa Fe's Topeka (Kan.) shops; Burlington Northern's Como Shop, St. Paul, Minn.; ICG's Woodcrest Shop, south of Chicago; Penn Central's Beech Grove Shop at Indianapolis; Jacksonville (Fla.) Terminal Co., in cooperation with Hoover Industries; Pullman-Standard, Chicago; Hamburg Industries, Hamburg, S.C.; Auto-Liner, Omaha, Neb.; and Rohr Systems, Mira Loma Calif.

More than a facelift. Neither the locomotive program nor the one for the cars should be regarded as merely stop-gap, glossed-over efforts at a superficial lift. At the Milwaukee Road shops, for example, 17-year-old, 2,400-hp E9 passenger locomotives, part of Amtrak's 262-unit fleet, are emerging from the assembly station with at least another 15 years of service life built into them. Performance of the units that have been coming out of the Milwaukee Road shops at the rate of one a month since the first of the year has been superior. These first of 13 units contracted for refurbishing at the Milwaukee location are operating the St. Louis-Chicago-Milwaukee run (and sometimes to the Twin Cities). And, says David C. Goehring, Amtrak's general superintendent-locomotives, "They're proving themselves to be Class One passenger train haulers."

In a way, the units emerging from all three shops doing the Amtrak work are probably much better performers than when they were

new. Some of the more notable improvements the Milwaukee Road shop is making are:

Installing 645E cylinder assemblies in modified and reconditioned Model 567 engines.

Upgrading the traction motors to D77 status.

Equipping each unit with a pair of rebuilt steam boilers.

Replacing all the wiring, about 3½ miles of it.

Increasing fuel capacity by 25%.

Fitting exhaust manifolds with retention type internal spark arrestors.

New devices which were unknown when the E9 was first designed are being incorporated into various systems of the refurbished units. Magnetic switch-gears, emergency fuel trip systems, compatible electric and pneumatic sanding system, retention type rather than flush toilets—these and scores of other examples of new technology are part of the latter-day units. Furthermore, certain weaknesses in the original design are being corrected. "No locomotive is ever designed perfectly," advises R. J. Donovan, Milwaukee Road's supervisor-diesel maintenance. "Over the years we've been able to determine the weak areas of the original design, and now we're correcting them in this program."

Milwaukee Road is, in fact, stripping each unit down to its bare skeleton. Trucks are disassembled and completely reworked, body work is performed where necessary, and eventually—after everything is put back in its designated place and Amtrak's colors and logo are added—a unit still rated at 2,400 hp, but fully capable of generating a lot more than that, is ready for load test and finally, intercity service. At a cost equal to about half that of a new unit, Amtrak has acquired a locomotive that can haul seven or eight cars without even straining.

"Better reliability." The car-refurbishing program although not as extensive or involved as the locomotive program, is, nevertheless, every bit as effective. The work being performed at the Pullman-Standard plant in Chicago is typical of what all the car shops—both railroad and commercial—are doing. Cars of all types—chair cars, baggage-dormitory cars, lounge cars, and so forth—are entered in the program. Before they leave the shops they have been assigned to for the refurbishing, each of the cars undergoes a complete examination inside and out. As happens with the locomotives, all trucks are disassembled and re-worked. All "rotating" equipment is removed, examined and replaced or re-worked before going back on the car. Truck springs are calibrated, certain parts are magnafluxed, brakes are thoroughly examined, couplers are checked, batteries are replaced, diaphragm canvas is replaced, and so forth. Actually, there is probably as much work done beneath the car and in areas that passengers will never see as there is in the areas where people will have direct contact. All this type of work adds up to better reliability, and that's one of Amtrak's major goals in the program.

Inside, seats are being renovated and fitted with new covers, windows and window shades are being put in first class shape, exposed surfaces are getting a new coating of paint, floors and wainscoting are being carpeted and, all in all, each car is being "jazzed up" to appeal to today's traveler. Air-liner influence is evident in many areas and perhaps even a little bit of the Auto-Train spirit has been picked up. For example, the seating in the coach-bar cars is a rich purple, a color which Auto-Train used with rare abandon—and very effectively—in its cars.

Amtrak is fortunate to have shops in various parts of the nation that are capable of performing the high-caliber refurbishing work needed to improve the standards of its existing equipment. Having engaged in extensive rebuilding programs on their own

1950-era freight locomotives, the three shops with the Amtrak locomotives refurbishing contracts have been able to ease into the work with relatively few problems. The Milwaukee Road is coming off a year in which it completely re-worked 18 GP-9 freight units. Meanwhile, ICG has perhaps one of the most ambitious ongoing rebuild programs for freight units in the railroad industry today.

Although P-S hasn't built a new mainline passenger car since the early '60s, it has been able to keep active in the field of passenger-equipment construction by building commuter and transit cars. As a matter of fact, the Amtrak cars at the P-S plant are being refurbished in the company of commuter cars (both new and rebuilt) for service on the Erie Lackawanna, and gas turbine/electric cars in the early stages of construction for Garrett Corp. Meanwhile, preparatory work for the start of construction of a huge 752-car rapid transit order for the New York City Transit Authority is quite evident. P-S is geared to handle 160-200 Amtrak cars a year.

The total cost of Amtrak's car and locomotive program is estimated at \$60 million through FY 1974.

SUPPORT FOR AMENDING TITLE I OF ESEA

HON. ALBERT H. QUIE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. QUIE. Mr. Speaker, once again I am submitting to the RECORD excerpts from letters of educators from around the country in support of H.R. 5163, the Educationally Disadvantaged Children's Act of 1973. As you know, this is a bill designed to amend title I of ESEA by distributing the funds to educationally disadvantaged children not on the basis of economic need but directly on the basis of educational need as determined by criterion-referenced testing.

Every week the support for this bill is mounting. It is especially gratifying to note that people who work directly with children view this legislation as of clear benefit to these children. Many have said that the bill incorporates ideas they have long worked for in the schools. Among these are direct assessment of educational need, greater parental involvement in the education of their child, individualized plans of instruction, and improvement of existing instruments for assessment of educational achievement.

I invite all Members to read the letters which follow:

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA, DULUTH,
May 7, 1973.

I have received a copy of H.R. 5163, the new ESEA Title I authorization bill, and after reviewing it, I am impressed with what I consider to be some very progressive elements within the bill. I am particularly pleased to see the emphasis on individualized educational planning for children, since the use of Title I funds is aimed at children who have experienced significant learning difficulties. . . .

In summary, it appears to me that this bill is a significant improvement over the existing Title I legislation, and I would like very much to see it enacted. If I can be of any help, please do not hesitate to let me know.

M. STEPHEN LILLY,
Associate Professor of Special Education.

VIRGINIA STATE DEPARTMENT
OF EDUCATION,
May 16, 1973.

Your letter to Dr. Woodrow W. Wilkerson requesting him to review your Bill (HR 5163) and react to it has been referred to me for acknowledgment. My reaction to your Bill will be largely as it relates to Virginia's Standards of Quality.

1. The principle of this Bill is educationally sound; that is, it is based on documented educational need. As I read it, aid would be available to any child in any public school once educational need is established.

2. The requirement of an educational plan and the involvement of parents is not in conflict with the Standards of Quality, nor are the requirements for assessment and individualized programs. . . .

4. The planning required for each child in the program, and the provision for non-public school participants are acceptable.

5. Requirements on the State agency are not excessive, nor do they appear inconsistent with what we are now doing under Standards of Quality. Indeed, the Quile Bill would appear to require a strong department of education as do the Standards of Quality.

It is my feeling that the implementation of this Bill would be compatible with our aims under the Standards of Quality and Objectives.

ROBERT V. TURNER,
Special Assistant for Federal Programs
and Relations.

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF
PUBLIC POLICY,
Cambridge, Mass., May 14, 1973.

Thanks for the Quile bill, which I studied with interest. . . .

The proposed revision in the fund distribution formula makes sense, both educationally and politically. I'm for it, 100 percent. . . .

CHRISTOPHER JENCKS.

LEADERSHIP TRAINING INSTITUTE/
SPECIAL EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY
OF MINNESOTA, MINNEAPOLIS,
April 27, 1973.

I'm very interested in your proposal and pleased to offer my reactions. First let me say that I'm grateful to you for the interest and strong leadership you have offered in the area represented by this legislation. All of us in Minnesota take much pride in your work.

There has always been a kind of embarrassment about the assumption that low income was a good index to educational disadvantage. The ESEA Title I requirements along this line apparently have been such as to target only schools and not individuals which has helped some—but surely you are right in seeking a more directly relevant criterion for fund distribution. Even more clearly you are right in insisting on something more current than 1960 data in setting fund distribution rates.

Your proposal to use criterion-referenced tests on basic skills—as administered by an independent agency—is as good an index for distribution as I've heard. . . .

I'm interested and agree with you in the emphasis you give to basic academic skills. An idea along this line which I've found useful is a distinction made by George Stoddard (in his book entitled *The Dual Progress Plan*) between "cultural imperatives" and "cultural electives". He believes, as I do, that a public school system owes every child an opportunity to master the truly basic tools of his culture or the "cultural imperatives"; these are the fundamental tools which equip him to open up wide varieties of awareness opportunities. In the case of the handicapped we often have to deal with some other "imperatives" such as physical mobility, ability to speak intelligibly, and so on. It is

important, of course, for schools to move on to some of the "electives"; but I agree that the first and fundamental obligation in insuring a "right to education" is to deliver on the basics or imperatives. . . .

A key point in your proposal which I applaud is that it would definitely include many handicapped children in programs. Under the old ESEA arrangements there has been a continuing ambiguity about that point and it would be helpful to have your new slant on it.

Thanks for hearing me out.

MAYNARD C. REYNOLDS,
Director.

LEADERSHIP TRAINING INSTITUTE/
SPECIAL EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY
OF MINNESOTA, MINNEAPOLIS,
April 16, 1973.

I have my own 'criterion referenced tests' which I apply to legislation aimed at improving educational opportunities for handicapped children. It includes such items as those which follow. My assessment of H.R. 5163 with respect to these criteria follow each item.

1. Does the bill establish essential parameters in the law while at the same time leaving responsibility for establishing regulatory details (which may need to be responsive to new evidence) to more readily modified authorities?

The bill scores well on this item to my way of thinking. I like the mechanism of the Commission which is in position to search for the best ways to define problems and control quality of performance.

Though the bill does get specific in such details as the primary basis on which the population to be served is to be defined, it leaves open to systematic inquiry how poor reading and math skills are to be operationally defined. . . .

2. Are the provisions of the bill such that improvement of the regular and special education system interface is enabled under the bill?

The bill seems well developed in this respect. I hope federal, state and local agencies have the wit to capitalize on its potential. What is more likely to deteriorate the interface than any of the bill's provisions is inadequate funding which will inevitably lead every system to attenuate its outreach in order to guard its funds. In the main, I think the directions of investment that you suggest be pursued if funds are short seem appropriate, given the way administrators have characteristically behaved in the past. Their "greatest good of the greatest number" and the "most able to profit" criterion have indeed been the basis for abrogation of the rights of the most disabled.

Ensuring that the physically or mentally handicapped children can be served via programs funded through this bill should make for smoother integration of systems.

3. Are eligible population definitions such that denigrating labeling and prejudicial categorization of children is minimized?

The bill scores high on this count since child targets are described in terms of socially-relevant skills rather than on presumed child or background defects and the responsibility for failure to achieve the skill is placed on the instructional methods used. . . .

4. Does the bill recognize and allow for the fact that the child learns from many teachers besides the certified ones he meets in school and under many conditions besides the classroom?

I'm glad your bill brings parents in on the educational team. That's essential. It also supports some parent choice in how their children shall be educated through giving aid to children enrolled in non-public schools.

5. At the same time that it enables at-

tention to the influence of broad factors contributing to educational achievement does it focus educational system attention on meeting basic obligations?

It has been our experience that encouraging educators to pin-point their objectives improves their performance. Though some may object that the bill's focus on reading and math fails to recognize the many other kinds of important things the schools are trying to promote. The bill does not prevent them from promoting other kinds of skills but does encourage them to at least help us achieve a literate citizenry, a legitimate minimum public expectation from tax-supported school systems. . . .

"I like the fact that districts must turn in proposals which SEAs then approve for funding. We (in Minnesota) have operated Title VI ESEA in that way to good effect. It has made it possible to encourage certain directions in school district functioning to insure adequate needs assessment and adequate systems for continuous monitoring of individual child progress under prescribed programs while still keeping basic responsibility for decisions and accountability as close as possible to the direct service."

"On the overall, there are so many good features in that bill that I'm eager to see it get adopted. As always, we're very glad you're there in Washington helping to set directions for educational effort at the federal level. Your thoughtful presence is reassuring at a time when federal level support for so many services essential to a better life for handicapped children seem to be in jeopardy. Your record of concern for them is so longstanding and action-effective that we hang on to hope that you will work to ensure a successful shift to less fractionation of effort (which I fervently favor) while at the same time ensuring that the rights of handicapped children are not abrogated."

EVELYN DENO,
Associate Director.

STATE OF MONTANA,
April 18, 1973.

After reading H.R. 5163, I think it is a particularly good move for young handicapped persons at a time when our needs for such services far exceed available resources. I heartily endorse your efforts!

DR. JACK L. RUDIO,
Supervisor, Special Education.

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT,
May 8, 1973.

I have read with interest H.R. 5163, which was recently introduced by you as a replacement for Title I, ESEA.

It is clear to me that H.R. 5163 is worthy of support for the following reasons:

1. It is directly aimed at educationally disadvantaged;

2. Need is determined through criterion referenced tests; and

3. It requires that an individualized program, approved by parents, be devised for each child served.

In summary, H.R. 5163 represents a major step forward in providing adequate instruction to the educationally disadvantaged.

DR. HUGH S. MCKENZIE,
Chairman, Special Education Program.

MITCHELL INDEPENDENT
SCHOOL DISTRICT No. 45,
Mitchell, S. Dak., May 9, 1973.

Our staff has been following closely the news releases on the stand you are taking concerning the development of an evaluation program for the educationally disadvantaged. We have been concerned about this very issue ever since the federal programs to aid disadvantaged students became a reality. At the time that President Johnson called the first Title I meeting in Washington in 1966 I remember that this concern was voiced by a number of us in attendance,

for past experience had shown us that present testing programs do not give us the kind of information that will insure admittance of students for whom the programs are intended.

At this time we are engaged in the annual evaluation of students who have been receiving services under Title I funding and, also, those who should be receiving the services during summer months. We have spent many hours trying to find the testing program that will allow students who are in great need of academic help to qualify for it. We are told that students cannot be admitted unless they score at certain levels below average on standardized instruments. Our whole thrust has been to train teachers who can, through observation and teacher-developed techniques, diagnose and prescribe the programs that can make an academic difference for these children. However, these diagnostic and prescriptive efforts are not considered valid criteria when it comes to the point of admitting students to the program. Federal auditors in the last two years have been very firm about the use of the standardized instruments.

Parents, teachers and administrators who live with this problem every day are very concerned. We surely want to and are obeying federal guidelines, but in so doing, we are having to exclude students who must have this help if they are to develop their potential.

This comes as a plea to you to continue in the direction you have taken concerning the development of new evaluative instruments. There are many of us who are depending on you.

Shirley Barns, Special Services Director; Darlene Lueken, Diagnostic Teacher; Beverly Dierks, Diagnostic Teacher; Mildred Willoughby, Diagnostic Teacher; Doris Hooker, Diagnostic Teacher; Jane Frick, Diagnostic Teacher; Mildred Lassegard, Developmental Teacher; Barbara Rebhuhn, Developmental Teacher; Elenor Holt, Developmental Teacher.

ARLINGTON, VA.

May 21, 1973.

Views of The Council for Exceptional Children on H.R. 5163—A bill to amend Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to provide for a more concerted and individualized attack on educational disadvantage based upon assessments of educational proficiency, and other purposes.

The Council for Exceptional Children supports the basic concept of H.R. 5163 to link federal education financial support monies to education, in this instance Title I of ESEA, to educational achievement. Despite years of federal assistance there still remains in almost all school districts throughout the country children who are excluded from education, children who fail to learn, and children whose potential is never challenged. It is important to note that in 1973, 50% of the 6 million handicapped children of school age and 13% of the gifted children of school age are receiving any special educational assistance.

These realities should not be interpreted as implying that present federal efforts such as Title I have been a failure. The reality is that no one really knows how successful or unsuccessful these programs have been in improving learning. The only measure of effectiveness that can legitimately be used presently are quantitative, such as how many programs are started, how many teachers are hired, and how many children are served. Other measures such as group achievement tests tell us that 60% of the children in a particular program improved 2 grade levels in reading, but these measures do not reflect

concern for the 40% who didn't or those children in the 60% who were capable of doing better. H.R. 5163 provides the mechanism for focusing on the learning needs of the individual child rather than groups of children, through the use of individualized written educational plans setting objectives, procedures for achieving the objectives and evaluation criteria and procedures. The requirement that these plans be mutually agreed upon by the schools, the parents and the child where appropriate is consistent with increasing litigation supporting the parental right to participate in educational decision making regarding their children, but even more importantly it may make the school and parents a united force to help children.

"For these reasons The Council for Exceptional Children supports the provisions in H.R. 5163 that direct funds to children's learning needs..."

FREDERICK J. WEINTRAUB,
Assistant Executive Director for Governmental Relations, The Council for Exceptional Children.

THE LATE HONORABLE WILLIAM O. MILLS

HON. MARJORIE S. HOLT

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mrs. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, last week we suffered the loss of a dedicated Representative and good friend. I think the following article by Norman Harrington provides an accurate portrayal of the character of our departed colleague WILLIAM O. MILLS:

[From the News American, May 27, 1973]

MILLS' DEATH AN ENIGMA

(By Norman Harrington)

EASTON.—Why did he do it? One hundred and sixty-seven days ago, William O. Mills won one of the most smashing election victories in First Congressional District history.

The Easton Republican, who had been elected May 25, 1971, in a special contest to fill the seat vacated when his former boss and mentor, Rogers C. B. Morton, was named Secretary of the Interior, took 214 of the 216 precincts in the sprawling 13-county area. The official tally showed he polled 69.90 per cent of the 114,742 votes cast, swamping his Democratic opponent, Del. John R. Hargreaves of Caroline county by a plurality of 45,670.

Bill Mills was buried Saturday, the victim of a self-inflicted gunshot blast.

Why did he do it?

I have known Bill Mills for 23 years, since he came to Easton in 1950 as commercial manager for the C. & P. Telephone Company. I was editor of the weekly Eastern Star Democrat at the time, and as he joined the Morton campaign trail, ran the Morton staff for a decade and then became a Congressman in his own right, a close relationship continued.

Yet, why did he do it?

I can't answer that question with any more certainty than can members of his family, the countless friends of both political parties whose respect and admiration he earned throughout the district, or especially, Rog Morton who told Lee Belser of the News American Washington Bureau on Friday that Mills' death was a "mystery" to him.

Sure, there was that overplayed bit about a \$25,000 contribution from the President's

campaign committee to Mills' special congressional race in 1971 which went unreported under Maryland law.

But commit suicide over that?

Mills noted in response that ordinarily such details were the responsibility of his campaign manager, a veteran of seven successful contests during each of which he had meticulously detailed receipts and disbursements and filed reports on time in Annapolis even if it meant driving there, rather than trust mail delivery. When the chairman in this instance was apparently assured that no less a person than the attorney general of the United States was heading the President's committee and that all necessary reports would be made, how could there be any question in his mind that everything was being done according to law?

But charges were made and innuendos hinted.

Others would have regarded this as a minor thing, a correctible mistake, an oversight, at most a slap on the wrist and a campaign issue for next year's opponent.

Bill Mills took the charges to heart, no matter how untrue he knew them to be. This was his nature.

Outwardly, he appeared always smiling seemingly unflappable. Inwardly, anything imputing his integrity or even hinting of dishonesty got to him.

It is a sad commentary but the political arena can be a rough place for a man like Bill Mills who was really quite thin-skinned and easily hurt.

To say that in this he was being a characteristically simple, honest, hard-working Eastern Shoreman through and through would be something understood fully by only another native.

Perhaps others will understand if I say Bill Mills was the kind of a person, who, finding a dime on the pavement near a parking meter, would go up and down both sides of the block to locate the person who dropped it rather than put it in his pocket.

Someone else described Mills as so conscientious that if he felt a single letter had gone out from his office in a franked envelope that should have a stamp, he would rush to the nearest post office to give the postmaster eight cents.

That explains why he got so up tight when a charge was made by his opponent during one campaign that he had abused the franking privilege for a political mailing. He agonized over that for weeks, although it was wholly without basis in fact.

The sheer size of Maryland's First Congressional District, encompassing as it does, nearly half of the state's geography and its proximity to Washington is a man-killing job for anyone who represents it on the Hill.

The Congressman and his aides must be in Washington during the day and appear at functions throughout the District at night.

There's no way to avoid it and survive politically.

Mills had hoped to get some respite this summer on a boat he had purchased and in fact, discussed certain details with the broker the day before his death. He had figured he and his family could enjoy the boat this year, because all next summer he would be on the campaign trail.

Parenthetically, it should be said that money could hardly have been a factor in what he did.

He had continued to live modestly as a congressman in the same house he had built as a telephone company employee in Clifton, a suburb of Easton, 15 years ago.

Mills was undoubtedly physically exhausted when the disclosure of the campaign contribution hit. He described the harassment he and his staff endured from Washington news media as "unbelievable."

"They would call and make the most outlandish statements, hoping to get an angered response," he asserted.

Come to think of it, his wariness of metropolitan media had been apparent over the years; he felt somehow that anything he said would be distorted. They found him inaccessible, while the experience of newsmen in the First District was the opposite—he was always available and spoke in complete candor. Fact is, I guess his country boy innate distrust of the city never left him.

When I talked with Mills on Wednesday morning, he did appear disturbed by what he regarded as suprious charges, by the unfairness of it all not only to him, but to his family, to his staff and those who worked for him previously and because of death in a tragic automobile accident were no longer able to defend themselves.

Mills was obviously unaware of any details of the \$25,000 contribution other than the fact that help had been promised from the President's committee for his special election campaign.

"Golly, if I had known this was hanging over me all these months, I don't know what I would have done," he said. The first he knew about it was what he read in the papers.

He said he thought under the circumstances he should cancel several public appearances, especially commencement addresses, because of "this cloud over me." I said, "Bill, there's no cloud. People will believe you. Just tell them the truth."

He changed his mind and decided to go ahead with his schedule.

There was more conversation about the ambiguity of the election contribution reported law—how a candidate is responsible for making reports of expenditures and has absolutely no control over any group that decides to raise money and spend it in his behalf. Mills mentioned specifically an organization in Annapolis that had raised and spent \$8,000 in the special election campaign.

"The first I knew about it was when they filled a report which, fortunately, they did," he said.

Mills appeared in better spirits when I left him. He certainly gave no indication of extreme depression or other sign of suicidal intent. House colleagues, aides and others who were with him throughout the day and evening have confirmed this impression.

Mills talked with George Detrich, news director of Easton radio station WEMD at 10 o'clock Wednesday evening. He made a tape which was replayed on the air before news of his death came shortly before 8 a.m. Thursday. Mills' voice sounded a bit strained according to some who heard it but that could have been an afterthought on their part.

LEGISLATION AIMED AT PREVENTING AIRCRAFT PIRACY

HON. JOSEPH J. MARAZITI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. MARAZITI. Mr. Speaker, with the Congress considering legislation aimed at preventing the crime of aircraft piracy, I am today introducing a bill with three unique features.

First, as many others do, my bill provides for the death penalty if a person is convicted of the crime of aircraft piracy. However, it specifically states that there will be no death penalty if the hijacker ceases his actions and surrenders to the captain of the aircraft. This allows the captain to bargain with the hijacker and provides the neces-

sary incentive for the hijacker to return the craft and its passengers unharmed.

Second, when Mr. Hoover was in charge of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, there was an understanding between that agency and the airline pilots that no action would be taken without the prior knowledge and approval of the captain of the aircraft. Since the passing of Mr. Hoover this agreement has not been honored by the FBI. My bill mandates that as long as the captain of the aircraft is on board, any action without his prior approval, shall not be taken by the FBI or its agents.

Third, many bills provide for boycotts of flights to nations that harbor hijackers and also to those nations which continue to allow flights to nations that harbor hijackers. My bill would strengthen these first and secondary boycotts by providing that no foreign aid of any sort would be given to these nations.

We are extremely lucky that no plane has been lost with all passengers and crew. Unless we act immediately and forcefully to stem this heinous crime, we may very well bear witness to a hijacking with a tragic ending. The time to act is now—tomorrow—next week may be too late.

OBJECTIONS TO EFFORTS TO CLOSE THE RHODESIAN GOVERNMENT'S WASHINGTON-BASED INFORMATION OFFICE

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, a congressional committee is trying to stifle dissenting views legitimately voiced by the Rhodesian Government by putting its Washington Information Office out of business.

The House of Representatives' Subcommittee on Africa, chaired by Representative CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR., Democrat of Michigan, is holding hearings that could lead either to closing the Office or to deportation of its two-man staff.

Subcommittee testimony seems designed to prove that the Office is violating sections of the United Nations resolution imposing sanctions against Southern Rhodesia's government because it legally requires separation of blacks and whites.

Although the separation policy, known as apartheid, is part of the problem, it is not the issue in this instance. What is at issue is whether another government's office and its staff will be denied its legal rights because it disagrees with a subcommittee and whether Americans who might be interested in that government's views will be denied the access to them guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution.

Barbara Rogers, a key witness, testified that the United States could make a contribution, "in the context of tightening the enforcement of sanctions by

closing down the Rhodesian Information Office."

The present method of funding the Office, she told the subcommittee, is likely to be illegal.

The section of the sanctions to which Ms. Rogers referred prohibits U.N. members from making funds available to Rhodesia.

Ms. Rogers says she is a "research consultant" who uses a desk in Representative DIGGS' office. She also uses his franked envelopes. Ms. Rogers admitted that she is "not exactly" on DIGGS' staff.

Another section of the sanctions orders U.N. members to prevent Rhodesians from entering their countries.

The acting commissioner of the U.S. Immigration and the Naturalization Service, James Greene, reviewed the status of the Information Office's two-man staff at Representative DIGGS' request.

Greene testified that the Office's Kenneth Towsey entered the United States in March 1964, 4 years before the sanctions, and legally was granted "permanent resident alien status" in December 1967, 5 months before the sanctions. There is no legal basis for deporting Towsey.

Henry Hopper, the other Information Office staffer, came to the United States in September 1966, more than 2½ years before the sanctions. His application for permanent resident alien status was pending when sanctions were imposed and his legal status is that of a nonimmigrant foreign government official, Greene testified. Hopper is not legally required to leave the country, either.

We have come to a sad state if we must copy the style of Communist countries that close those foreign government and nongovernment offices with which they disagree.

CHICAGO TRIBUNE AND CHICAGO SUN-TIMES RECEIVE PULITZER PRIZES

HON. ROBERT P. HANRAHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. HANRAHAN. Mr. Speaker, recently two Chicago newspapers were honored when they received Pulitzer prizes for the work they had done in reporting: The Chicago Tribune and the Chicago Sun-Times.

Mr. Ron Powers received the Pulitzer from the Sun-Times for criticism. Ten of Mr. Powers' columns were cited for excellence.

The Chicago Tribune received the award for the best general local reporting. This award came as the result of the in-depth investigation and all-out war against the rigging of elections in the Chicago area.

The following is an account of the newspaper's role in uncovering the city vote fraud. It is a good example what the press is capable of and the service that good reporting provides for the community.

[From the Chicago Tribune, May 8, 1973]

HOW TRIBUNE EXPOSED CITY VOTE FRAUD

For years, vote fraud in Chicago was a topic like the weather.

People talked about it, often deplored it, but no one believed you could do anything about it.

That was before The Tribune launched its year-long, all-out war against the entrenched and cynical system of rigging elections that had become a way of life here.

As a result of this campaign, veteran vote-fraud fighters acclaimed last November's election in Chicago as the most honest in decades.

And yesterday, the effort won the Pulitzer Prize for general local reporting, the most coveted award in journalism.

Here are some of the highlights of The Tribune's campaign against vote fraud:

More than 1,000 specific acts of frauds exposed and documented from the primary election of March 21, 1972.

Seventy-nine election workers indicted for vote fraud in the March primary by a federal grand jury called as a result of The Tribune disclosures. The grand jury is still meeting on the fraud issue.

Thirty election workers found guilty and sentenced for fraud.

Forty-four indicted election workers awaiting trial and five others cleared of wrongdoing.

Twenty-six reporters assigned to work on different aspects of the investigation. Many served as election judges and poll watchers in both the March primary and the November general election. One worked undercover as a clerk in the Board of Election Commissioners.

But the statistics, impressive as some of them may be, don't begin to tell the vast scope of the project or show just how much hard work went into it.

No one has attempted to total the thousands of man-hours spent by Tribune reporters—often in tedious chores such as poring over election records to dig out evidence of fraud.

No one has kept track of the miles of city streets walked by Tribune staff members to expose ghost voters and track down cheating election officials. And no one kept count of the threats, slurs and other abuse some reporters endured—in polling places and elsewhere—from those who didn't want to see elections conducted honestly in Chicago.

The idea for a comprehensive campaign against vote fraud came in December, 1971, from George Bliss, now chief investigative reporter for The Tribune, then head of its investigative task force.

Bliss, a veteran Tribune staff member, won a Pulitzer Prize of his own in 1962 for exposing corruption in the Metropolitan Sanitary District.

With the support of Clayton Kirkpatrick, editor of The Tribune, Bliss spent all of 1972 directing the campaign to expose vote fraud with the skill of a master craftsman.

Members of the Task Force, Pamela Zekman, William Currie, now an assistant city editor, and Philip Caputo, now The Tribune's Rome correspondent, played major roles in the campaign thruout the year. Other reporters were enlisted as needed.

Among them were Ronald Koutlak, science editor, and Casey Bukro, environment editor, both prize-winners in their own fields, who worked in precinct polling places to gather evidence of fraud.

With so many reporters involved, the campaign was primarily a team effort. But the work of one reporter was in a class by itself.

William Mullen, a general assignment reporter, wangled a clerk's job in the office of the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners and gathered material that guaranteed the success of The Tribune's campaign.

The election board keeps the records and administers elections in Chicago. The office is completely controlled by the ruling Democratic Party here and has long been suspected as the nerve center for rigging elections.

The only trouble was that no outsider ever got into a position where he could see how things worked. Mullen changed all that.

With an unassuming manner that disguises his quick mind and sharp eye for detail, Mullen won acceptance by the Democratic Party patronage workers who staff the office and soon got access to the files.

In those files lay the whole sordid story of vote fraud in Chicago.

Obtaining this material was essential to the success of Bliss' plan.

Chicago newspapers, including The Tribune, had been writing about vote fraud for generations. The stories were almost always the same:

Many charges, a few facts, and no results.

The Tribune's new campaign differed from the others. It concerned itself not with accusations alone, but with facts—the kind of overwhelming evidence a prosecutor can take into court to convict the guilty.

Once he had the facts, Bliss knew exactly where to take them—to James R. Thompson, the United States attorney in Chicago. Thompson, a Republican appointee, already had a reputation of being a smart, tough, and thoroughly honest prosecutor.

Bliss knew that if The Tribune got the evidence, Thompson would prosecute.

It was important that some election cheats went to jail—as a warning to others.

The failure to convict was what made previous newspaper efforts to expose vote fraud a joke in the eyes of those rigging elections. As soon as the newspaper stories stopped, the politicians went back to their old tricks.

Bliss' plan was based on exposing fraud in the March primary in such massive detail that the heat generated would ensure an honest election in November.

In late 1971, Bliss knew that Mayor Daley's regular Democratic organization faced some tough primary fights from Daniel Walker, Edward V. Hanrahan, and others. The potential for fraud was there.

The Tribune began its investigation where many others ended—with a search for ghost voters.

These are the thousands of people who wind up listed as registered voters in certain inner-city and transient neighborhoods, even tho they don't live there. Some have died, others moved away years ago.

Yet every election day, votes are cast in the names of these missing persons—in violation of the law.

Before the primary in March, the Task Force pinpointed 14 precincts in 6 West and South side wards where past experience in vote fraud investigations indicated election day cheating could be expected.

Then, registered letters were sent to 5,495 persons listed as voters in those precincts. About 700 letters, just under 13 per cent, came back with the notation that the person couldn't be found.

Task Force members, personally checking out each suspected ghost, confirmed that the vast majority were dead, or had moved. Sixty-two of them were registered as living on various vacant lots or in abandoned buildings.

The Tribune drew up lists of these ghosts and set out to see if attempts would be made to cast ballots in their names in the primary.

This meant getting reporters into the polling places in an official capacity—as election judges, for example.

The effort paid off. Votes by the score were cast in the name of the ghosts despite challenges by reporters serving as judges.

This was possible because of the way polling places are operated in some areas of the city.

According to law, the operation of a polling place and the counting of ballots is the responsibility of the election judges.

There are supposed to be five of them in each polling place—sometimes three Democrats and two Republicans, other times three Republicans and two Democrats. All are officers of the Circuit Court who have sworn to uphold the election laws.

But in precincts where vote fraud is rampant, there are no Republican judges, just Democrats posing as Republicans.

The real boss in these polling places is the Democratic precinct captain, tho by law he has no right in the polling place at all, except to cast his own vote.

His job is to round up votes for his party's candidates. When he picks all the judges and can order them around like so many flunkies, the potential for fraud is enormous.

The Democratic precinct captain is, of course, a party patronage worker employed in some government office controlled by a leader of the party organization. He will keep his patronage job as long as he functions successfully as a precinct captain. His interest in honest elections is often overshadowed by his desire to remain employed.

The Republican Party, smaller and with far fewer patronage workers in Chicago, relies on volunteers—often suburbanites—to be judges in many city polling places.

Recruited in the past from the ranks of young lawyers, college students, and members of civic watchdog organizations, volunteer Republican election judges have told harrowing tales of the treatment they receive in some precincts.

Often their credentials as judges were ignored and they were shunted aside or even thrown bodily out of polling places.

Their accounts of what happened to them made interesting stories in the press, but that's about all.

In the March primary, however, Republican judges in 14 suspected precincts included trained newspaper reporters. Seventeen Tribune staff members, many of them young and thus unknown to the aging Democratic Party leadership, volunteered for this duty.

Eight investigators for the Better Government Association, a civic group specializing in exposing fraud, also agreed to serve.

All were given intensive training in how to spot fraud. The Republicans gladly sponsored them as judges—or as poll watchers—a less responsible job that still permits a person to spend the day in a polling place.

Afterwards, the reporters and B.G.A. investigators came back with similar reports to those told by Republican volunteers in other elections.

There was ghost voting, there were threats, there were irregularities. The identities of voters were not checked. The precinct captains ran everything.

There was campaigning in the polling place, party workers went into the voting booths with voters and tampered with the voting machines—all in violation of the law.

In many of the precincts, the so-called Republican judges who were supposed to be serving with the reporter-judges admitted being Democrats in disguise.

This, of course, was talk, not proof. By Election Day, the reporters had seen and heard plenty, but hard evidence that would stand up in court was still in short supply.

That's where Mullen came in. Bliss learned in May that there was an opening for a clerk at the election board office and the lone Republican on the three-member board would be allowed to fill it with a Republican appointee.

Edmund J. Kucharski, Cook County Republican chairman, agreed to place a Tribune reporter in the job.

Mullen was picked. A reporter with proven skill, he had never covered politics and was unknown to the politicians.

Tho no one ever suspected him of being

a Tribune employee, at first he faced suspicion as a Republican. Of the 200 employees in the election board office, 196 were dedicated Democrats.

For a while, assistants to Stanley Kusper, the election board chairman, followed Mullen after he left the office at night, but this surveillance was soon dropped.

Mullen's assignment was tough. He had to gather a lot of information for The Tribune without attracting attention. He had to work very hard without preparing to, since hard work alone arouses suspicion in a patronage office such as the election board.

Mullen had lists of judges who had taken the oath as Republicans, but were suspected of being Democrats. He checked and found many pseudo-Republican judges with long voting records as Democrats—a violation of the law.

All of this was on record because prior to 1972 a voter had to declare his political party before he could vote in a primary election—and no good Democratic party worker ever misses voting in a primary.

But Mullen found much more.

There were hundreds of signatures on applications for ballots—those records you have to sign before being allowed to vote—which even to his untrained eye looked like forgeries. Ballot application after ballot application carried signatures of different citizens, but the handwriting appeared identical.

Each night after work at the election board, Mullen turned over documents with these signatures to Bliss, who had them examined by handwriting experts. The experts confirmed that they were forgeries.

Bliss and Mullen spent their days off, and the Task Force members worked full time, contacting people whose names had been forged.

One had died before the primary. Another was confined to a hospital on Election Day. Scores of others said that they had not voted in the primary and the signature on the ballot application was not theirs.

Evidence of more than 1,000 cases of election fraud in the primary was uncovered. Mullen is certain that with the large staff available to it, a conscientious election board could find thousands of additional examples.

After four months, Mullen left the election board. The evidence of ghost voters, phony judges, and forged signatures was turned over to the federal prosecutor, while The Tribune began publishing a series of articles on Mullen's findings.

Five days after The Tribune series began, the federal grand jury indicted 40 election judges for fraud. Two weeks later, 35 more were indicted, and since then four others have been indicted.

Of the 79 indicted, 27 pleaded guilty, 3 were found guilty by juries, and 44 are awaiting trial. Sentences so far have ranged from two years' probation to two years in prison. Two persons were acquitted and charges against three others were dropped.

The general election last November, the far from perfect, was considered a vast improvement over previous elections, including the March primary. There were complaints of fraud in November, but not as many as in the past.

HONOR ROLL FOR A PULITZER

Here is the honor roll of those who helped clean up elections in Chicago.

George Bliss, chief investigative reporter.
William Mullen, general assignment reporter.

Task force members: Pamela Zekman.
William Currie, now an assistant city editor.

Philip Caputo, now the Tribune's Rome Correspondent.

Investigative reporters:
Thomas Powers.

John O'Brien.
Casey Bukro, environment editor.
Ronald Kotulak, science editor.
General assignment reporters:
Peter Negronda.
William Crawford.
Daniel Egler.
James Eisener.
Cornelia Honchar.
Marla Opp.
Clarence Page.
Brenda Stone.
David Thompson, now a rewriter.
Gerry West, now a photographer.
Former Tribune reporters:
Kathleen Burns.
Luci Horton.
Angela Parker.
Judy Roberts.
Terri Schultz.
Jeannye Thorton.
Sally Wagner Jones.
Better Government Association employees:
J. Terrence Brunner, director.
William A. Recktenwald, chief investigator.
Investigators: Harold Bergan, Richard Samuels, William Hood, Patrick Oster, Charles Neubauer, Michael Fastert, Geoffrey Sjoström, and Scott Kreutz.

PEOPLES TEMPLE CHRISTIAN CHURCH SUPPORTS FIRST AMENDMENT

HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, I was recently made aware of the fact that the congregation of the Peoples Temple Christian Church of Redwood Valley, Calif., has donated a total of \$4,400 for the defense of William Farr and other reporters jailed for refusing to reveal their sources of information. I would like to commend the Rev. James W. Jones, who is pastor of the church, and every member of his congregation for this outstanding demonstration of their commitment to the principles on which this country was founded.

I would like to include in the RECORD at this point a few items which appeared in the press recently about Peoples Temple. The first is an article from the IAPA News, which is published bimonthly by the Inter American Press Association. This item appeared in the February-March edition, and reads as follows:

CHURCH DONATION AIDS FIGHT FOR PRESS FREEDOM

The Inter American Press Association, we all know, operates strictly on dues paid by members and does not solicit outside contributions for its main task of defending and promoting freedom of information in the Americas. Recently, however, we received an unsolicited contribution that moved us deeply. We accepted it with gratitude and full appreciation of the high principles that moved the donors.

The donation of \$250 came from the congregation of the Peoples Temple Christian Church, of Redwood Valley, California, whose pastor, the Reverend James W. Jones, has sparked a campaign in defense of the First Amendment to the constitution.

"We believe," wrote James R. Pugh, in behalf of the Board of Elders, "that the Amer-

ican way of life is being threatened by the recent jailings of news reporters for refusal to reveal their sources. As a church, we feel a responsibility to defend the free speech clause of the First Amendment, for without it America will have lost freedom of conscience and the climate will become ripe for totalitarianism."

The elders voted the donation after hearing the Rev. Jones read "to an overflow congregation" excerpts from a report on the state of the press in the U.S. made by Brady Black, editor of the Cincinnati Enquirer, and regional vice chairman of the IAPA's Committee on Freedom of the Press, at the IAPA's annual meeting last October in Chile. Mr. Black," the covering letter said, "gave a lucid and convincing account of developments in our country constituting a threat to the people's right to know." The letter was addressed to Francis Dale, Publisher of The Enquirer.

Mr. Pugh reported that a grand total of \$4,400 had been contributed by the congregation, made up of "ordinary working people of all backgrounds," for the defense of William Farr and other reporters jailed for refusing to reveal their sources of information.

"No acknowledgement for this contribution is necessary," wrote Mr. Pugh. "We wish simply to demonstrate . . . that there are churches and other groups in society which are not connected with the institutional press who do indeed care about this threat to freedom of speech, press and conscience."

He said the donation was "to be used as you see fit in defense of a free press."

The Peoples Temple Christian Church, under the Rev. Jones does not only take a stand on constitutional rights. The church also has established a drug rehabilitation program, two convalescent homes, a 40-acre home for mentally retarded boys, three senior citizen's homes and an animal shelter.

The next item appeared in the San Francisco Chronicle of January 17 of this year, and without further introduction, I place it in the RECORD:

A CHURCH GIVES \$4,400 TO THE PRESS

Twelve newspapers—among them The Chronicle—and a newsmagazine and a television station have been awarded grants totaling \$4400 by Peoples Temple Christian Church of the Disciples of Christ for use "in the defense of a free press."

Announcement of the grants was made yesterday in Ukiah, Mendocino county, by the board of trustees of the church, which has a statewide membership of more than 7500.

THREAT

Speaking for the board, trustee James R. Pugh said:

"We believe the American way of life is being threatened by the recent jailings of news reporters for refusal to reveal their sources.

"As a church, we feel a responsibility to defend the free speech clause of the First Amendment, for without it America will have lost freedom of conscience and the climate will become ripe for totalitarianism."

Pugh said the church's pastor, the Rev. Jim Jones, had "publicly commended" The Chronicle and its "fine editorial staff" for taking a strong editorial position in defense of the First Amendment and for "the high quality of the newspaper."

"The San Francisco Chronicle has shown itself to be fair, lucid, comprehensive and courageous in confronting many issues head on," trustee Pugh said.

SOCIAL

Called less formally Peoples Temple, the church is best known and highly regarded for its social works which include housing and feeding senior citizens and medical con-

valescents, maintaining a home for retarded boys, rehabilitating youthful drug users, and assisting non-members as well as members of the faith through college and legal difficulties.

In accepting the grant in behalf of The Chronicle, Charles de Young Thieriot, editor and publisher, expressed his thanks to the Peoples Temple Christian Church.

Thieriot said the \$500 awarded to The Chronicle will be turned over to Sigma Delta Chi, the professional journalistic society, which is active in defense of freedom of the press.

And next I would like to share with our colleagues the text of a resolution which the Christian Church of Northern California-Nevada—Disciples of Christ—passed by an overwhelming margin on May 19 at their 1973 annual meeting. The resolution was offered by the First Christian Church of San Jose and won broad support from the 230 delegates attending the convention at the First Christian Church of Modesto, Calif. The delegates represented about 16,000 members from 79 congregations.

The text of the resolution follows:

Whereas, the church stands for freedom, and the free flow of information, and

Whereas, the public media, namely the press, is under increased challenge as to its exercising freedom in news and programming, as guaranteed by the First Amendment of the Constitution, and

Whereas, one of our congregations, *Peoples Temple Christian Church*, Redwood Valley, California, has made a financial contribution for use in defense of a free press as guaranteed by the First Amendment;

Therefore, be it resolved that the Christian Church of Northern California-Nevada (Disciples of Christ) meeting in its Annual Meeting May 18, 19 and 20, 1973, at First Christian Church, Modesto, California, encourage its member congregations to make their voice heard in support of a free and responsible press by either making financial contributions to insure a free and responsible press or by letting our elected officials, representatives of the communications media, and others know that we oppose any action which infringes on the First Amendment.

And be it further resolved that the Christian Church of Northern California-Nevada (Disciples of Christ), meeting in its Annual Meeting, May 18, 19 and 20, 1973 at First Christian Church, Modesto, California make known to our elected officials, representatives of communications media, and others our support of a free and responsible press and our commitment to that position and our rejection of any action which infringes on the First Amendment.

The Church Board, First Christian Church San Jose, California.

VEYSEY ASKS LEGISLATION TO ENCOURAGE MEMBERS TO RETIRE AT 70 YEARS

HON. VICTOR V. VEYSEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. VEYSEY. Mr. Speaker, last week I introduced, and this week I will offer for the cosponsorship of our colleagues, legislation to equitably solve the problem of superannuation which this Nation increasingly associates with the Congress.

With some real justification, the American public is becoming more critical of the fact that Members of Congress can remain overly long in office, sometimes to the detriment of the legislative process, because we have no mechanism to encourage retirement of our elder statesmen.

My legislation, H.R. 7982, will provide such a retirement procedure—one which will encourage retirement at the age of 70, by decreasing our retirement benefits by 10 percent for each year we hold these seats after that age.

Mr. Speaker, I have seen a similar system work in California where I served for 8 years in the legislature. There, our judicial retirement system has been an important factor in improving the efficiency of our State court system. Our judges retire with dignity, serving not only their own best interests, but the best interests of the public, encouraged by a retirement plan with tapering benefits such as I propose for the Congress.

I appeal for serious consideration of this legislation at the earliest possible time. We must take an unselfish attitude in our approach to this problem, before we can ever hope to restore the American public's confidence in its legislative arm.

CAMBODIA MUST NOT BECOME ANOTHER VIETNAM

HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, today the Armed Forces of the United States are engaged in the daily bombing of Cambodia. Congress has not given any permission for such a course of action. Yet the President and the Pentagon, in unprecedented defiance of the will of Congress and opinions of the mass of Americans, continue to pursue this sterile policy.

To begin with, no legitimate, effective, long-term gains can or will emerge as a result of this endeavor. We are only turning the Cambodian landscape into another cratered surface similar to that of South Vietnam. In the process, we are earning for ourselves still more hatred and vilification by millions of people who previously have been relatively well disposed toward our Nation.

Further, we are once more handing to the enemies of America yet another club with which to beat her. In the eyes of most of the world, we are now compounding in Cambodia by this illegal bombing the mistake and waste of our involvement in South Vietnam.

Such offensive bombing is costing the taxpayers of the United States millions upon millions of desperately needed dollars. How senseless to pound the jungles of Cambodia with high explosives at random in the hope of rolling back an irresistible tide of nationalism. In the long run we do more for the Communists by such action than we aid any so-called allies over the short term.

The regime we are allegedly allied with in Cambodia commands little respect, devotion or loyalty from the people it purports to represent. No coherent, responsible government exists there. We have merely propped up a group of individuals willing to mouth a few pro-American anti-Communist slogans, and called them a government.

In the end, the result shall be the same. Nationalist elements will inevitably and eventually force a change in Government or take over the nation. The little group now in control will enjoy luxurious exile in Europe on American dollars as a result of continued lack of understanding of the U.S. Government.

Did we not learn from the disaster in neighboring Vietnam? Have we no sense or memory of previous calamities? Are we, as Santayana stated, doomed to repeat past mistakes? Under this administration's existing Cambodian policies, we not only may, but are actually engaged at this moment in doing exactly that.

I will not condone going to war by Executive order, as was the case in Vietnam. I do not believe that Congress will ever again tolerate such a policy.

No legislation empowering the President to wage war has been passed. Therefore, the Cambodian bombing offensive is an illegal prosecution of conflict by Presidential order, without constitutionally required congressional sanction.

The prisoners are home. The Pentagon has expressed its satisfaction that all our men who can be identified have been accounted for, and efforts are underway to attempt to account for the missing in action.

Cambodian bombing does not protect American troops. Nor does it cover any withdrawal.

We have no treaty commitments to Cambodia, and have never had any. Every Cambodian Government on record has rejected formal ties with us in defense arrangements. What is going on there is a civil war, just as was the case in Vietnam. Finally, we have no critical interests at stake there. American security is not endangered. All we are doing is wasting money and endangering American lives in support of a dictatorship.

What, then, is the cause of our aberrant behavior and continued illegal involvement? The action of the President is the only answer; action which makes it appear he believes he is a law unto himself.

Congress has not declared war against Cambodia. To correct that misapprehension this Congress has already voted to put off further funding of our Cambodian involvement. The entire Cambodian imbroglio is not worth the life of another American boy, and the Congress has so stated by its recent action. Yet, this administration, arrogantly and unrealistically, still sees fit to serve notice upon the Nation and Congress that bombing will continue.

With these facts before us, our source of action is clear. Congress must reassert its constitutional right to make war. Already a series of measures curbing the President's usurpation of this power are winding their way through the Congress.

It is my belief that one or more of these bills will eventually emerge as new law. I fully support these endeavors and shall cast my vote for the one which will most strongly draw the line against repetition of what has transpired and is continuing. The President has already shown unprecedented behavior in continuing his present course of action and is precipitating an inevitable clash between the executive and legislative branches of Government.

Is it not time for these two branches to coordinate their efforts, so that the actions of both will truly serve the American people—in the best interest of the American people?

A RELIGIOUS CALL FOR AMNESTY

HON. ROBERT F. DRINAN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. DRINAN. Mr. Speaker, I bring to the attention of my colleagues a remarkable statement on behalf of amnesty issued on Memorial Day 1973 by the national executive board of the Roman Catholic Conference of Major Superiors of Men. This group promotes the interests of more than 40,000 Catholic priests and brothers in the United States.

This statement has been approved by all of the 14 members on the national board of the Conference of Major Superiors of Men after lengthy discussions of the issues involved in the amnesty question.

I insert here the full text of the statement on amnesty followed by the names of the priests and brothers who signed the proclamation:

A RELIGIOUS CALL FOR AMNESTY

Aware of the need to speak to value issues in American society, and mindful of our role as religious leaders within the Catholic community, we members of the National Executive Board of the Conference of Major Superiors of Men address ourselves to the critical question of amnesty.

We consider amnesty to be a positive act of compassion directed to our fellow citizens who are in prison or in exile because of their response to laws relating to military service. It is a proclamation that these persons are free to return to their families and homes, exempt from all legal prosecution for whatever actions they may have felt obliged to take regarding participation in the Vietnam war. It restores them to their full legal status of living and working in the United States as free and useful members of society.

Amnesty does not mean "forgiving"; it is a judgment of condemnation, not an act of condonation. It is simply an act of "forgetting," a wiping clean of the slate, an overlooking of any past legal transgression.

A. WHY AMNESTY NOW?

We feel that the most urgent need facing the United States at this moment is the need for reconciliation. After a decade of bitter dispute over the Vietnam war, we Americans need to be brought together, to bind up our wounds, to unite in a common purpose to promote peace and justice.

Thousands of young men are currently in prison or in exile from the U.S. because of the positions which they took on the Viet-

nam war. Their status is both a symbol and a cause of division in our country. Amnesty would be a healing and reconciling measure designed to overlook the past and move a united nation into the future. It would restore confidence in the ability of our government and its people to foster a sense of renewed purpose, especially as we approach the 1976 Bicentennial Celebration.

B. WHAT KIND OF AMNESTY?

We feel that the criterion to be used in deciding what kind of amnesty is chosen is clear: what best promotes the goal of reconciliation? We believe that a *universal* and *unconditional* amnesty will do the most at this time to promote reconciliation.

1. It should apply to all individuals who have broken laws regarding conscription into military service or who have withdrawn from participation in military service. This will affect those who have avoided the draft through going underground or leaving the country, those who have been imprisoned because of non-cooperation or forms of conscientious objection not recognized by our courts, and those who have left military service or have been imprisoned because of refusal to take part in combat. (We are not speaking here of criminal offenses unrelated to the draft and the war.)

2. If it is to be a true forgetting, the amnesty must not impose any penalizing conditions, such as alternative service or recording the facts of the case in public records. Any penalizing conditions would not heal division nor restore harmony to the nation.

C. CALL FOR AMNESTY?

As American Catholic religious leaders committed to justice and peace, we call upon the President and the Congress to take the necessary steps to grant such an immediate universal and unconditional amnesty.

We are aware of the political difficulties involved in such an action and of the heated debate to which the issue of amnesty gives rise. There are certainly honest differences of opinion about the desirability, feasibility, and consequences of such action. However, it is our considered opinion that the amnesty we call for is the surest path to the promotion of reconciliation in our nation.

D. PLEDGE FOR ACTION

In order to commit ourselves to the task of reconciliation, we are taking the following actions:

1. We are sending a copy of our Call to all of the members of the Conference of Major Superiors of Men, inviting them to share this statement with their own communities, to thereby stir up discussion and reaction, and to send their response to us.

2. We are communicating our position directly to President Nixon and to all the members of the Congress.

3. We are inviting members of the Conference of Major Superiors of Men to join their signatures to ours in support of this statement on amnesty at the Annual Assembly in June, 1973.

4. We are asking the American Catholic Theological Society to commission a task force on the theological dimensions of amnesty in order to deepen the understanding and further acceptance of this act of reconciliation by Americans.

MEMBERS OF THE CISM NATIONAL EXECUTIVE BOARD

Rev. Paul M. Boyle, C.P., President, Conference of Major Superiors of Men, 5700 N. Harlem Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60631.

Rev. Alan McCoy, O.F.M., 1500 34th Avenue, Oakland, California 94601.

Rev. Joseph Francis, S.V.D., 2181 West 25th Street, Los Angeles, California 90018.

Brother Leonard Voegtli, F.M.S., 1044 Northern Blvd., Roslyn, New York 11576.

Rev. Flavian Dougherty, C.P., 1901 West Street, Union City, New Jersey 07087.

Rev. Thomas Stransky, C.S.P., 86 Dromore Road, Scarsdale, New York 10583.

Rt. Rev. Jerome J. Tremel, O. Praem., St. Norbert Abbey, De Pere, Wisconsin 54115.

Rev. Charles Hughes, P.O. Box 46404, Cincinnati, Ohio 45246.

Rev. William G. Guindon, S.J., 393 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02115.

Rev. Michael F. Daniel, S.A., P.O. Box 167, Chappaqua, New York 10514.

Rev. Donald Ehr, S.V.D., 1025 Michigan Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20017.

Brother Francis Beck, F.S.C., De La Salle Provincialate, Lafayette, Louisiana 70501.

Rev. Justin Ryska, O.S.M., 3401 So. Home Avenue, Berwyn, Illinois 60402.

Rev. Stephen M. Ryan, O.S.M., 5210 Somerset Street, Buena Park, California 90620.

REV. JAMES GERALD JOYCE, O.P., OF ST. DOMINIC CHURCH IN YOUNGSTOWN, OHIO, RECEIVES GOVERNOR'S AWARD FOR COMMUNITY ACTION

HON. CHARLES J. CARNEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. CARNEY of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, recently I was advised that the Governor's Award for Community Action has been presented to the Reverend James Gerald Joyce, O.P., of St. Dominic Church in Youngstown. Ohio Governor John J. Gilligan singled out Reverend Joyce for his interest and efforts in behalf of his fellow senior citizens. The award was made by State Representative Thomas Gilmartin of Youngstown at a gathering of the St. Dominic Senior Citizens Group in Friar Hall.

Father Joyce, who spent more than half his priestly life in the mission fields of China, at age 73 is still working actively to make the lives of his fellow senior citizens more meaningful. He has served as moderator of many parish organizations, especially as organizer and director of the senior citizens group, which was formed 5 years ago for all faiths and has been a model group in Youngstown.

Throughout his long and active life, Father Joyce has shown compassion for his fellow man. His first assignment was to the foreign missions in Fukien, China in the 1930's, where he served until 1955. During that period he was known affectionately as *Hus Shen Fu*—Noble Spiritual Father—to older Chinese and as *Big Shot Spiritual Father* to the children.

With two other Dominican friars, the Revs. Frederick Gordon and Joseph Hyde, laboring in Fukien, Father Joyce was placed under house arrest in 1953 on trumped up charges of being capitalist American spies. From August 20, 1953, to September 1955, the three were in solitary confinement in separate 10-foot square cells, and never permitted to see or talk with one another or communicate with the outside world. Their release received worldwide notice. Today

all three priests are together again as assistants at St. Dominic's.

Upon his return to the United States, Father Joyce served in St. Gertrude Parish, Cincinnati, for 6 years, the Dominican Mission Band, and presently St. Dominic's.

Mr. Speaker, it is indeed a pleasure and a privilege to acknowledge the accomplishments of this fine human being.

CHEMICAL WARFARE (V)

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, the American misadventure in Southeast Asia may best be symbolized in the years to come by our utilization of poisonous chemicals in that war.

The following articles just recently appeared in newspapers in New York.

[From the Daily News, May 2, 1973]

S. VIET SHRIMP CALLED TAINTED BY DEFOOLIANT

SAIGON, May.—Japanese newspapers have quoted a South Vietnamese botanist as saying that marine life in the South China Sea has been contaminated by defoliant chemicals dropped on forests by American planes during the Vietnam war.

Japan's Social and Health Ministry disclosed today in Yokohama that it has impounded 24 tons of frozen shrimp from South Vietnam pending the outcome of tests. The action was apparently based on the press reports.

The botanist, Pham Hoang Ho, a sanitary engineer employed by South Vietnam's Agriculture Ministry, could not be reached for comment.

FOREIGN EXCHANGE

In the last year, at least 20 firms have gone into the frozen shrimp and sea food business in South Vietnam. The country has been counting on one of the world's last largely untapped fishing grounds to provide it with badly needed foreign exchange.

A finding by Japan that the shrimp are unfit for human consumption would virtually rule out foreign markets for shrimp, crabs, and fish.

It would also revive the 1970 controversy in which use of Agent Orange, one of three defoliants employed in the United States Air Force "Ranch Hand" operation, was banned because it was found to cause birth defects in animals.

Use of two other defoliants, Agent Blue and Agent White, continued, but their use was restricted to the immediate adjacent areas around U.S. artillery firing bases.

[From The New York Times, Apr. 6, 1973]

CONTAMINATION OF VIETNAM RIVER FISH LAID TO DEFOOLIANT

(By Richard D. Lyons)

WASHINGTON, April 5.—Two Harvard biochemists have found that a component of a defoliant chemical used by United States forces in South Vietnam has contaminated fish and shellfish in Vietnamese waters and they say it may pose longterm hazards for the human population.

Dr. Matthew Meselson, a professor of biochemistry, and Robert Baughman, a graduate student, reported that they had detected dioxin, a contaminant part of the herbicide known as 2,4,5-T, in a variety of fish and

shrimp caught in South Vietnamese rivers and coastal waters. The rivers drain areas in which 45,000 tons of "agent orange," containing the herbicide, were sprayed between 1962 and 1970 to reduce forest and jungle growth that provided cover for Communist forces.

Dioxin is known to cause birth defects in animals and, in theory, may have the same effect on humans, but Dr. Meselson said in a telephone interview that it was not known what effect it has had or would have on people in South Vietnam.

"No massive problem has been seen there in public health but it either might have occurred on a very small scale it is yet to build up," he said.

The samples of marine life that the Harvard biochemists studied were collected in 1970. The researchers reported that a catfish had the highest amount of dioxin—814 parts per trillion—which, they said, would be a lethal dose for some animals such as guinea pigs.

A report in the biochemists' research was presented on Monday to a meeting at the National Institute of Environmental Health in Chapel Hill, N.C., and made public here by the Center for the Study of Responsive Law, which is directed by Ralph Nader, the consumer advocate.

A spokesman for the Pentagon said that the Department of Defense would have no immediate comment on the dioxin report.

Dr. Meselson said that dioxin "a nasty poison that is 100 times more toxic than the deadliest nerve gas" and had additional troublesome qualities. These, he said, are that it remains stable in an environment and that either it seems to collect in the tissues or its effects do.

For at least four years, questions have been raised about the safety of using 2,4,5-T. Dioxin apparently is formed in the herbicide during the manufacturing process, but relatively little is known about the substance.

Because of the uncertainties over the use of 2,4,5-T, the science adviser to President Nixon, Dr. Lee A. DuBridge, restricted the use of "agent orange" in 1969 to South Vietnamese areas remote from the population. At that time, Dr. DuBridge noted an unusually high incidence of fetal deformities in mice and rats.

The samples of marine life studied at Harvard were collected a year later along the Dong Nai and Saigon Rivers and on the coast of Can Gio, about 50 miles from Saigon.

The research was started by the herbicide assessment commission of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and was financially supported by that group, the Ford Foundation and the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences.

Officials of the center that made the study public also sent a letter to William D. Ruckelshaus, Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency, asking that he extend his partial ban on the domestic use of 2,4,5-T in view of the findings.

[From The Daily News, May 4, 1973]

CAMBO REBELS USE TOXIC GAS TO TAKE POST

PHNOM PENH, CAMBODIA, May 3.—Cambodian forces, attacking behind a "toxic gas" barrage, overran two battalions of government troops at an outpost southeast of Phnom Penh, killing 20 and capturing 580 others who were disabled by the gas, military sources said today.

The sources said the attack occurred Monday near Neak Luong, an important ferry town and naval outpost on the Mekong River about 35 miles southeast of Phnom Penh. They said details of the attack were sketchy. Only one of the prisoners escaped and returned.

The exact type of "toxic gas" used by the rebel forces was not disclosed. However, it was believed to be one of the varieties of

tear gas, which has been used widely by the allies and fairly frequently by the Communists in South Vietnam.

ATTACK NOT RECORDED

The gas attack near Neak Luong was not reported by the Cambodian high command, but was confirmed by Cambodian and United States military sources. Command spokesmen earlier had reported a number of "toxic gas" shellings against Cambodian forces in the area recently.

The heavy government losses along the Mekong jeopardized future supply convoys up the river to Phnom Penh from South Vietnam. The last river convoy to reach the Cambodian capital arrived on April 23.

Elsewhere in Cambodia, heavy fighting was reported around the provincial capital of Takeo, 55 miles south of Phnom Penh. The city has been surrounded since April 13.

In Saigon, the Viet Cong said today its forces had fired on a U.S. reconnaissance aircraft flying in an air corridor assigned to the International Commission for Control and Supervision over South Vietnam.

[From the New York Times, May 9, 1973]

VIETCONG SAY SAIGON SPRAYED CHEMICALS

SAIGON, SOUTH VIETNAM, May 8.—The Vietcong charged today that Saigon troops fighting in a Communist-held area had sprayed toxic chemicals that "ruined" more than 1,500 acres of land and caused serious illness to "large numbers of persons."

The area involved is within five miles of the site where a helicopter of the International Commission of Control and Supervision was fired on Sunday.

Capt. Phuong Nam, a Vietcong press officer, said the toxic chemicals were sprayed on an area in the Mekong delta near Hoa Hung, in Chuong Thien Province, about 100 miles southwest of Saigon. The helicopter was fired on in the same area but it was not hit and there were no injuries.

Captain Nam said the Vietcong filed an official protest Monday with the international commission over the spraying incident and asked truce supervisors to go to the area to investigate.

Swift and decisive actions must be taken by this legislative body to curb this increasing utilization of poisonous chemicals in war.

I will soon be introducing "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, heavily used in Vietnam.

The latter will halt the exportation of all classes of herbicides to Portugal and the Republic of South Africa, nations presently engaged in chemical aggressions against African citizens.

I welcome the support of my colleagues in these efforts to arrest the developing trend toward chemical warfare.

SALUTE TO WILLIAM C. KAHL
AND ROLLAND NOCK

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, in the next few days Wisconsin

educators will be paying warm tribute to two deserving individuals who, between them, have devoted 82 years to public education. These are extraordinary men: State Superintendent of Public Instruction William C. Kahl and the director of special education for the Appleton Public Schools, Mr. Rolland Nock.

In the past 42 years Bill Kahl has served, as teacher, principal, superintendent, and—since 1966—as State superintendent of public instruction for the State of Wisconsin. Education at every level—elementary, secondary, vocational, and higher education—is immeasurably stronger and better in our State, because of the efforts, imagination, and devotion of State Superintendent Bill Kahl.

During this same period, Rolland Nock has developed one of the truly outstanding programs offering special educational opportunities for handicapped children. He has built a staff of more than 50 people who work with children of central Wisconsin who are handicapped by deafness, orthopedic disabilities, speech defects, mental retardation, emotional problems, and learning disabilities.

Mr. Speaker, Wisconsin has been lucky to have the leadership and influence of Mr. Kahl and Mr. Nock. I join their many students and colleagues who are marking their retirement with the mixed feelings of appreciation, good wishes, and a sense of loss.

DISTINGUISHED NEWSMAN RETIREES

HON. TOM BEVILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 24, 1973

Mr. BEVILL. Mr. Speaker, it is a distinct honor for me to join today with my colleagues in the U.S. House of Representatives in paying tribute to Dillon Graham who retires on the 31st of May, following an outstanding career as a journalist.

As you know, Dillon has covered the legislative branch of the U.S. Government for the last 25 years and has been with Associated Press for 44 years. During this time Dillon has distinguished himself as one of the hardest working reporters on Capitol Hill, dedicated to seeking out the truth, and insistent on accuracy in reporting.

I am proud to say that Dillon is one of the hardest working and most dedicated reporters I have known during my public service career.

In these times when many reporters prefer to "gather" and "report" events from their offices, Dillon can be found in the corridors of the Capitol and in the office buildings of the Senate and House, talking with the Members, gathering the facts, doing the job right.

Dillon exemplifies the highest quali-

fications of a newsman it has been a privilege for me to know him during my service in the Congress.

Along with his friends and supporters, I am grateful for his many accomplishments and I am pleased to have this opportunity to wish him the very best during the coming years.

THE PEOPLE SPEAK

HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Ms. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, I respectfully insert into the RECORD just a few of the hundreds of letters that I have received regarding Watergate and requesting that the House investigate the conduct of the President to determine whether he should be impeached:

RALEIGH, N.C.

HON. BELLA ABZUG,
The House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN: To begin, let me say that I am not your biggest fan. I do not share your opinion on the matter of women's liberation. But please do forgive me, as I am only sixteen.

I saw on the CBS Evening News tonight that you plan to sponsor a bill establishing a committee to examine evidence for any future Presidential impeachment action. Bravo!!

In my opinion, the President should immediately resign. While there is any air of wrongdoing hanging over the White House, President Nixon cannot be the needed, effective leader. He, more than anyone else, should realize that.

Any impeachment action will have my complete support. I can't give money because I get \$1.50 per week for an allowance. But any volunteer organization in need of membership, can count on me to write letters, editorials, etc.

Please tell me what I can do to help either your proposed bill, or the impeachment proceedings.

To finish, let me say that after Senator Hubert Humphrey lost the Democratic Presidential nomination, I was bitter, and supported the President. In October, I realized the error of that action, and began to support Senator McGovern. I was a little too late. And besides, I gave the Nixon campaign a total of \$1.75 in contributions. That probably wasn't the largest contribution, but it burned me up when I thought that my \$1.75 might have paid part of Hunt's or McCord's salary. As I said before, please write to tell me what I can do to help. Thanks.

LONG BEACH, N.Y.,

May 23, 1973.

In view of the President's speech of this date it is obvious that Mr. Nixon has no hesitation of violating legal principles and the Constitution of the United States. He waves the flag and screams national security when convenient to cover illegal activities.

This man frightens me. God help us if he decides to create an international situation in order to take the heat away from himself. The question in my mind in addition is who will be made the scapegoat if he is allowed to continue.

My wife and I earnestly request you to support any move to remove Mr. Nixon from office.

NEW YORK, N.Y.,

May 18, 1973.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN ABZUG: I urge that you give serious consideration to the possibility of initiating impeachment proceedings against Mr. Nixon. There are some who would argue that such an action would seriously undermine the confidence of the people in the President and his office. It is my opinion that Mr. Nixon, by his arrogant, methodical usurpation of the rights of the individual and other branches of the government, has already rendered such an argument moot.

Watergate served primarily to more fully expose and underscore ongoing policies of illegal and unethical practices in the pursuit of power by the administration. The instances of such criminal activities as perjury, burglary, conspiracy, slander, etc., committed by the members of the Executive branch, has more deeply shattered the confidence in this high office than an impeachment proceeding, aimed at securing the truth, possibly could. It is Mr. Nixon's failure to make even one thing perfectly clear (except that we all need the help of Billy Graham's God) regarding Watergate that prompts my major concern.

Whether Mr. Nixon knew of Watergate or not does not change the fact that as the President, the chief executive, he demonstrated total ineptness in character assessment in selecting his most trusted aides; he willingly abdicated presidential powers and responsibilities to a few ersatz executives; and, was apparently gullible past the point of naivety and well into the realm of stupidity. Even now, while most of his former staff face indictment, and several former cabinet members are already under criminal indictment, Mr. Nixon advises a stunned nation and world that it was an unfortunate incident. Either this man is completely out of touch with reality (perhaps facts are simply too alien to his office to be recognized) or he is maintaining a "Divine Right" arrogance which deems it unseemly to account with candor and correct with dispatch. In either instance, there is no basis, pre- or post-Watergate, for confidence in this man as Chief Executive of this nation.

Rather than four more years of the present administration I would prefer to see us swap leaders with some tiny banana republic. I have every confidence, in this instance, that Mr. Nixon would easily adapt.

Sincerely,

EVANSTON, ILL.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN BELLA S. ABZUG: We have crime in the streets because we have crime in the White House. How can any foreign government trust Mr. Nixon's word when we Americans cannot trust his judgment? Please banish the—corruptibles—and save American integrity at home and abroad.

Former Republicans,

Dr. and Mrs. ———

WOOSTER, OHIO,

May 15, 1973.

HONORABLE BELLA ABZUG: As a concerned citizen, World War II Vet, College Graduate, Middle Management Executive and patriot I urge you to introduce legislation to establish a commission to investigate the circumstances of the "Watergate Affair," relative to improprieties in the office of the President. Only a thorough investigation of and conduction if necessary of an impeachment proceeding against Richard M. Nixon can

this stigma against the American Government be removed.

I talk with common people every day who feel that Mr. Nixon's and his associates conduct is typical of all politicians only the most dramatic and decisive repudiation of this, by an impeachment proceeding or censure, will demonstrate this is not the manner our electoral system functions in.

Yours truly,

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
May 25, 1973.

U.S. Representative BELLA ABZUG,
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN ABZUG: Although I have lived in and voted from New York State for the last 25 years, I spent my growingup years in Montana.

As a New York resident, as a Montana native, but far more importantly, as an American citizen, I wish to voice my outrage at all the elements involved in "the Watergate Affair"—and my hopes that the current investigations will unearth and lay bare every one of those elements.

I was taught, in my Montana schooldays, that in this country the three branches of government are co-equal. I fervently hope that Congress will now both remember and insist on that, and that should the President of the United States be proven to be unworthy of that office, the Congress that our forefathers invested with that power, will rectify this.

Sincerely yours,

NEW YORK, N.Y.,
May 23, 1973.

DEAR CONGRESSPERSON ABZUG: I hope to see you in the leadership of any movement to impeach Richard Nixon. I think you would agree that he has to be forced into a position of accountability both for what he may have done and for what he was negligent in stopping. It seems essential that he be stopped before he can consolidate more power and initiate another cover-up. I certainly hope the Congress won't be squeamish about initiating a process that should be no more feared than any other lawful jury trial.

Very truly yours,

MAY 20, 1973.

The present Watergate miasma is too stifling. The unending executive double talk, the tenuous pretensions of no knowledge and the repeated efforts to compromise many levels of Government indicate a morally bankrupt Administration. Resignations by "fall guys" or political lackeys will not restore faith in the Government. We have an Administration whose utter arrogance of power now mandates the President's resignation.

Whether the President personally knew or did not know of the many machinations of "Watergate" is not the basic issue, although assumption of the latter premise indicates an inordinate naivete. The repeated attempts to obstruct justice and the flagrant attempts to subvert our political processes have left a taint on the White House that only a prompt resignation could hope to erase. If Nixon loves his country and respects his office, as much as he incessantly publicly professes, then he must resign.

But if the President persists in maintaining his pomposity, if the President's Napoleonic egomania persists then Congress must take immediate impeachment action. Partisanship must be forgotten, the integrity of our Government is truly at stake. The integrity of the White House and Government

can only be restored by the forthright exit of the White House's present occupant.

Sincerely,

FAREWELL TO A REPORTER

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, May 24, 1973

Mr. HÉBERT. Mr. Speaker, Washington is a reporter's battleground, and there are many that fall by the wayside.

Therefore, it is with a touch of sadness that I say goodbye to Dillon Graham, who concludes an illustrious 44-year-career with the Associated Press, 25 of those years spent covering the Nation's Capital.

In these trying times, we need more reporters who report events accurately and effectively, but above all, those who never succumb to pressure and grab for headlines.

Dillon is a reporter's reporter. He always got his story, and he did so in a courteous, professional manner. Those of us who are subjected to the press because of our positions in government appreciate the Dillon Grahams, and in all honesty, there are too few of them.

Dillon has performed his task of keeping the public informed above and beyond the call of duty, and I wish him all the best upon his retirement.

DETROIT UKRAINIANS TO MARK ANNIVERSARY OF STALIN'S "FAMINE" AND ITS 7 MILLION VICTIMS

HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, we have a sort of emerging United States-Russian détente today, but we should be careful not to romanticize the state of the world.

As I have stated on other occasions, there is a very dark side to the nature of the Soviet Union. This dark side is especially underlined in the tragic history of the Ukrainian people during this century.

The Ukrainian-American community of Greater Detroit is calling attention to the continuing plight of the Ukraine. The observance notes the anniversary of the devastating famine imposed by the Soviet Union 40 years ago.

A press release on this matter, issued by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., is set forth below:

UKRAINIAN CONGRESS COMMITTEE OF AMERICA, INC.—PRESS RELEASE

Sunday, May 27, 1973, Detroit's 100,000 Ukrainian-Americans will join with others around the world in a solemn commemoration of the deaths of seven million of their

countrymen who perished in a Kremlin-imposed famine 40 years ago.

A rally at Cobo Hall and march to Kennedy Square will launch a "year of remembrance", according to Michael Smyk of Detroit, Chairman of the Commemoration Committee. Special masses and services also are to be held in the Ukrainian Catholic, Orthodox and Protestant Churches of Metropolitan Detroit.

The famine of 1932-33 wiped out 19 percent of Ukraine's rural population. Additional hundreds of thousands perished in the Urban centers, Smyk said, but it was the avowed policy of Joseph Stalin to attach Ukrainian nationalism by destroying what he considered to be its base: the farmer.

In his 1935 book, "Marxism and National Colonial Problems," the Russian premier wrote: "The peasantry represents in itself the main force of the nationalistic movement. Without the peasantry, there could be no strong national movement. That's exactly what we have in mind when we say that the national problem is, in essence, a problem of peasants."

Smyk warned that the pattern of "Stalin's famine," its brutal efficiency so similar to Hitler's "final solution" in exterminating six million European Jews, offered a grim reminder that nothing has changed in Moscow's policy, particularly toward its satellite republics.

"The starvation of Ukrainian farmers was not an isolated attack on dissidents, but a forward step in Russian colonialism," Smyk said.

"Lenin had recognized Ukrainian sovereignty soon after the Bolshevik revolution, but this recognition of independence then became only lip service while every vestige of independent nationalism was trampled."

Collectivization of Ukrainian farms in the 1920's proceeded faster and more smoothly than it did even in Russia, Smyk added. By 1930, 59 percent of Russian land had been turned into collectives, while 65 percent in Ukraine—the breadbasket of Europe—had been socialized. Russian statistics show that by 1937, collectivization covered 90 percent of Russian farmland, and 91 percent in Ukraine.

The relentless Russification policies, and Stalin's fear of reactionary outcrops, in 1930 led to a purge of Ukrainian intellectuals. That year, Smyk said, 80 percent of the intellectuals were liquidated within the Ukrainian Communist Party ranks, 46 percent of the members were purged (most of these disappeared forever); and 40 percent of the Comsomol (Young Communist) members were eliminated.

When removal of independent thinkers still failed to end Ukrainian nationalism, the Kremlin instituted its starvation policy, seizing virtually all foodstuffs. The Ukrainian death toll in two years—seven million, and 19.4 percent of a smaller population—was greater than that of the 1941-45 World War II years, when Ukraine was caught in the Nazi-Russian crossfire killing 5.6 million persons (15.6 percent of the population).

Paul Postyshev, the Russian Supreme Soviet's special emissary charged with implementing collectivization in Ukraine, reported to the Russian Communist Party's 12th Congress in 1934 that: "The year 1933 was the year in which the Ukrainian nationalistic counterrevolution was destroyed."

"The stage appears to be set for another era of savage repression and liquidation by Russia in Ukraine and other Eastern European countries," Smyk said.

He noted that a new wave of purges of intellectuals began in Ukraine in 1968. Philosophers, writers, literary critics, many of them, even sincere Communists and officeholders within the party, have been arrested,

tried and convicted on trumped-up charges of fostering secessionist movements.

The purge reached a new high point on April 27, 1973, when the Kremlin stripped Pyotr Y. Stelest, former Communist Party leader in Ukraine and noted as one of Russia's most subservient puppets in the satellite nations, of Politburo membership.

"We fear that this may be the forerunner of a new and bloody terror," Smyk said. "It is our hope that in remembering the Russian attempt at genocide of 1933, we should alert ourselves and the entire free world to the continuing perils." Survivors of the Stalinist famine now living in Detroit will be among speakers at next Sunday's ceremonies. U.S. Rep. John Dingell and representatives of the Detroit Captive Nations Committee will address the estimated 5,000 persons expected to rally at Cobo Hall at 2:30 p.m. Rep. Robert Huber will speak to the group at Kennedy Square following the march from Cobo Hall, and religious memorial services are to be held.

A busload of Detroit Ukrainians will join with thousands of others from around the United States in a protest at the Russian embassy in Washington next Saturday.

Detroit Ukrainian Catholics will be visited Thursday by Josyf Cardinal Slipyj, their 82-year old prelate and himself a victim of Russian treachery and imperialism. A press conference will be held in conjunction with the famine remembrance year at the Detroit Press Club, on Friday, May 25, 1973 at 9:30 a.m.

STEPS TO THE STARS

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Daily Press of Newport News, Va., describes well the deeper significance of the Skylab program, its interaction with both past and future national space effort and its expected contributions. Because of the value of this article, I am including it in the RECORD for the benefit of my colleagues and the general public:

STEP TO THE STARS

The American space program has always had an element of precocity about it and, as such, was treated with the same respect as a precocious child.

It developed in quite remarkable ways, and showed a real flair for special objectives. We were fascinated by it, and rightly so.

But precocity has its own limitations. At some point, basic decisions must be made about training, talent, direction and the like. And thus it has been in the space program.

The decisions that had to be made may take from us the joy of space spectaculars and the thrill of national triumphs. But none of us who witnessed them will ever forget those that have taken place in our lifetime. We have been to the moon with our astronauts, sped with them through space and anxiously awaited the final splashdowns in the Pacific.

These glories have had a great deal of dedicated, concentrated effort behind them—and we got only small glimpses of these. For one thing, it was not possible to show it in detail. For all that, we were not all that interested in the how, just the what.

The immediate future of the space program has more how than what in it, and much of this too will escape us. That does

not mean that it is insignificant; only that it is not as spectacular as what we are used to. Indeed, what will take place in the next few years could turn out to be more important than what has gone before.

We may even learn that from Skylab 1, a double shot which will put a space laboratory into earth orbit and man it with astronauts for a 28-day period. New technology involved in this is particularly limited; in this case, we are dealing with scientific exploration almost exclusively.

Man will learn how he and his artifacts react to weightlessness over long periods of time—in short, whether he can ever wander into deep space and, if so, what it will require of him. He will study, from beyond the obscuring atmosphere of earth, the pathways that lie before him in space. Having leaped over the moon, he will now begin building steps to the stars.

It may seem a bit ironic that, at this moment, we do not know when, or even whether, man will ever follow his mind on this long, long journey. After all, unmanned vehicles such as the important Viking Mars probe being managed by Langley Research Center, can satisfy much of our curiosity. But man once pushed canoes into unknown waters ahead of him to test them, and he has always followed them eventually. Somehow, some time it must be with space, too.

"BROADCASTING AND GOVERNMENT", A PAPER BY JOHN W. MACY, JR.

HON. JOHN BRADEMAs

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. BRADEMAs. Mr. Speaker, I believe that the current debate concerning the role of public broadcasting in the United States will be illuminated by a most thoughtful paper delivered by John W. Macy, Jr., the distinguished former President of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

Mr. Macy's essay, entitled, "Broadcasting and Government," was delivered on February 16, 1973, at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions in Santa Barbara, Calif.

The text of Mr. Macy's paper follows:

BROADCASTING AND GOVERNMENT

(By John W. Macy, Jr.)

The relations between government leadership and the press have never been cordial. Presidents since Washington have railed against the torture inflicted upon them by practicing journalists. At times their misery has in fact been caused by excesses and sensationalism expressed by those who cover their actions. Calumny has flowed from pen or voice in unfair treatment. Political destinies have been shaped by a reporter's catch phrase or partial account. But abuse of this type is a small price to pay for open government, for the public's right to know and for essential of a free press in preserving democratic principles.

These essential relations are undergoing disturbing changes in contemporary Washington. The Nixon Administration in an unprecedented manner has been attempting to manipulate the flow and availability of information from the presidency through the activities of a large, residence public relations staff. On the other hand, spokesmen for

the President have mounted and sustained attacks upon the media and their reporters who fail to applaud every act of the Administration. This control and attack combination has been particularly evident in the area of broadcast journalism, or more precisely, video journalism.

There is no doubting that the President personally understands and appreciates the high political power of the visual medium. For more than 20 years this instrument has been a major factor in determining his political course through crisis, failure and to ultimate success. In the White House he created a director of communications position from which his close, long time associates, Herbert Klein, supervised the President's exposure on and by the medium. Other assistants have designed and operated elaborate monitoring systems to permit the President and his immediate advisors to have an immediate, daily assessment of all video journalism.

ADMINISTRATION CONTROL AND ATTACK

The attack on the media was launched early in the Administration from near the top, the Vice President. In his Des Moines speech Spiro Agnew in purple prose excoriated the objectivity and ethics of the national network journalists. He criticized what he called their personal bias, their facial editorials and their corporate captivity and location. Properly detecting public favor toward his attack he sustained it until he was returned to central casting for a new and more friendly role.

But the attack was not confined to language. A critical correspondent was subjected to an unexplained FBI investigation. Local television stations were courted to resist public affairs programs from the networks. Threats of license renewal difficulties were circulated. One White House operative, Pat Buchanan, raised the specter of possible anti-trust action against allegedly biased liberals on the air.

It is natural that journalists would react negatively to such attack upon themselves and their craft. Their complaints may be dismissed by some as the cries of the guilty. But there are other observers who join the chorus of concern. One is the respected Senator from North Carolina, Sam Ervin, Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, who remarked that government has often responded intemperately, sometimes justifiably to press criticism, "but the actions of the present Administration appear to go beyond simple reactions to incidents of irresponsible or biased reporting to efforts at wholesale intimidation of the press and broadcast media. A free press is vital to the democratic process. . . . For to make thoughtful and efficacious decisions—whether it be at the local school board meeting or in the voting booth—the people need information. If the sources of that information are limited to official spokesmen within government bodies, the people have no means of evaluating the worth of their promises and their assurances."

THE PEOPLE NEED INFORMATION

Yes, the people need information. Unfortunately, the capacity of video journalism to meet that need is being seriously stunted in these times when the complexity and criticality of public issues make that need particularly urgent.

In my view, the most potent means for achieving democracy's goal of a well informed citizenry is today suffering from arrested development. Video journalism, with its visual power to illuminate vital issues, has failed to gain the strength, reach or diversity commensurate with its potential. Its freedom to range the field of public problems is inhibited by these ambiguous threats from

public officials and by those built-in commercial imperatives that dominate so many decisions in the industry. Less and less time is devoted by broadcasting to the exposition of these problems; only 2% of prime time on commercial networks is committed to this purpose. More and more caution is applied in dealing with those few issues that are exposed. While these negative trends persist the public is advising the pollsters that television has become the principal source of information. Contrary to the White House line a significant majority of citizens consider video reporting to be "fair and balanced in showing different points of view."

Commercial networks provide remarkable coverage of the major events—space shots, natural disasters, presidential inaugurations and funerals. They provide the home screen viewer with a sense of historic participation. But their commentary on public decisions and statements tends to be fleeting and cryptic. While occasionally offering penetrating and hard hitting thrusts, their investigative journalism is less frequent and less daring. "The Selling of the Pentagon" is well remembered for the controversy it stirred. It should be even better remembered because of its uniqueness. The pursuit of diverse views on controversial issues is mild and limited with the exception of a very few programs like "60 Minutes" from CBS. Most of the journalist efforts that are attempted usually set new lows in that all important ratings competition with the result that their attraction for the sponsor dollar is reduced.

Now to these economic hurdles are added the obstacles designed by Agnew, Bunchanan and Whitehead. Critics can scarcely condemn broadcasters for displaying lack of eagerness in extending their journalistic efforts over such a hazardous obstacle course. The real victim of these adverse conditions is the citizen himself who turns on his set to learn more and to better understand the baffling world in which he lives.

VIDEO JOURNALISM IN PUBLIC TELEVISION

And so I come to my most immediate area of media concern—video journalism, or if you prefer, public affairs programming, as broadcast by the public television stations. With an even more pronounced obligation for public service these non-commercial stations have an inherent mandate to inform their viewers. Without the economic or time stresses with which commercial broadcasting must contend the journalist on the public station should be able to treat public issues in depth and with breadth. There should be opportunities for him to experiment with new techniques and formats which more fully employ the electronic versatility of the medium. With educational service a principal *raison d'être*, the education for citizenship through presentation and discussion of current controversy should be a fundamental program objective.

When the first educational television stations were licensed by the FCC for some of the 242 channels reserved for non-commercial purposes, they sought, each in its own way, to serve the viewing public in a journalistic fashion. Limited technical and professional capacity, as well as meager budgets and leadership, permitted only partial and amateur performance in journalism. To overcome this admitted deficiency stations joined together to form cooperative regional networks, seek funds from the Ford Foundation for more significant local productions, and campaign for a national service which would offer the quality, coverage and topicality at the national level. These moves were moderately successful, largely due to the generosity and understanding of the Ford Foundation in supporting local newsroom projects in cities like San Francisco, Dallas, Jackson-

ville, Pittsburgh, Boston, and Washington and the one national public affairs program source, National Educational Television, which it established and financed. Although these supportive moves were greeted with dissent as well as applause from the benefiting stations, they demonstrated the important supplementary role educational television could play in providing journalistic substance on the television schedule. The content of these programs ranged far and wide in use of technique to inform the viewers: live coverage of government in action, documentary treatment of issues, institutions and events, discussion of critical public problems by expert panels, interviews with opinion and decision makers, assessment of leadership policy statements, and direct news reporting.

"Public" television was coined by the distinguished citizens who formed the Carnegie Commission to study the educational medium as it was functioning in the mid 1960's. In its report recommending future actions to develop a national system for the production and delivery of public service television programs, this Commission clearly encompassed the program area of video journalism in its proposal. E. B. White, in his poetic statement of purpose for the new enterprise, called for this message on the public medium when he identified the need "to restate and clarify the social dilemma and political pickle." Much of the Commission's debate centered around the need for adequate insulation of journalistic programming from the potential interference of the recommended sponsor, the U.S. Government. To achieve such insulation and to guide the system's development, the Commission proposed a non-governmental corporation to distribute federal funds for the total effort and a long range financing plan to avoid the inherent pressures in the annual appropriations process.

LONG RANGE FINANCING SLIPPED AWAY

When, in 1967, President Johnson proposed and Congress disposed of the Commission's recommendations, that Corporation was created but the long range financing feature had slipped away with only a promise for a later presidential plan to meet this need. That promise has not been fulfilled by either of the two Administrations in the past five years. The prospect of such a plan is more remote than ever today in the wake of President Nixon's veto of a modest congressional initiative in this direction last year—a two year authorization with decidedly higher funding levels.

The incorporation of that new organization, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB) with its fifteen directors appointed by the President and confirmed by the Senate, brought up again the sensitive issue of journalistic freedom when financial support flowed from the federal treasury. There remained serious qualms about independence of programming under such conditions. This apprehension had been reflected in the legislative consideration of public broadcasting and was incorporated in the statutory prohibition of facility ownership or operation by CPB and in explicit statutory language:

"Facilitate the full development of educational broadcasting in which programs of high quality, obtained from diverse sources, will be made available to non-commercial educational television and radio stations with strict adherence to *objectivity* and *balance* in all programs and 'series of programs of a controversial nature'" (g) (1) (A) Public Broadcasting Act of 1967.

Combined with the strictures already enunciated by the FCC in the so-called *fairness* doctrine, these requirements formed public broadcasting's own FOB factor.

These flashing yellow lights were clearly visible as the infant corporation contemplated the journalism component of public television programming. There was whispered advice from some quarters to avoid all controversy in national programs for at least five years or until long-range financing became a reality; "play it safe, stick to symphony concerts and children's programs" was the counsel offered to the Corporation leadership. However, the mandate to construct "one or more systems of interconnection" to permit live, instantaneous broadcasts of topical subjects implemented congressional intent in this area. It was concluded that public broadcasting would fall in its public mission if it turned the cameras away from the stormy landscape of national controversy over vital issues.

In establishing the interconnected system linking 200 stations for program distribution, the CPB management sought to place that system in the hands of the station users of the product distributed; after all, as independent licensees, who controlled and had legal responsibility for program transmission, they were to receive and use this source. So the Corporation recognized the essential involvement of the stations in program selection, scheduling and coordination from the expanding circle of production sources in individual stations if a national system was to respond to local needs and desires. With advice from station leadership, the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) was formed in 1970 with the stations to exercise these responsibilities within the framework of that organization in close collaboration with, but removed from, CPB, the federal funding source. By this action, essential additional distance was obtained between the program producer and the government and CPB would function as a heat shield, protecting the system from political fire that might be generated from opposition to certain program presentations.

While CPB might determine, after station advice, the need for a specific type of program, the capability of a particular station to produce that type and the availability of funds to finance the project, it would be the producer, working with PBS, that would develop program content, create the format, select the talent and produce the program for national distribution by PBS to the stations throughout the interconnection lines. The station management would then determine whether, when, and how many times the program would be transmitted to the potential audience within the reach of its signal. This admittedly complex set of relationships formed a delicate balance of responsibilities, to be sure. But not an inappropriate balance in view of the sensitivity of the journalist-government relationship in the highly exposed environment of television.

With the federal funds from CPB to supplement past Ford Foundation initiatives, creative formats and new production sources were explored. The concentration of coverage from that target of unpopularity, the effete northeast, was reduced when program contributions were discovered at other points around the country.

A BROADER AND MORE PROFESSIONAL JOURNALISM

To strengthen the professional journalism base in Washington, the National Public Affairs Center for Television (NPACT) was formed by the leadership of the local station in the Nation's Capitol (WETA) augmented by national directors from business, labor, journalism, law, and education. Its charter assumed responsibility for Washington-originated or related projects for national distribution. There was no news coverage as such. That was properly left in the commercial domain. Issues and trends were dis-

cussed in a weekly round-table of top Washington journalists and in one-to-one interviews by the "Atlantic Monthly's" political reporter, Elizabeth Drew. With the advent of the political year 1972, two experienced broadcast journalists, Sander Vanocor and Robert McNeil, were hired by NPACT to develop and present video accounts of the presidential campaign from the citizen's point of view. In addition, these correspondents moderated live or taped coverage of hearings or presidential speeches and arranged for expert reaction and analyses after such events. Though based in Washington, many of these programs were prepared in other locations around the country or called in reporters from other public stations for local or regional news.

From San Francisco came a weekly program in which foreign press was analysed by experts. From Boston and Los Angeles came the novel "Advocates" program in which a courtroom setting provided well-developed arguments in support of and opposition to precisely stated public issues that faced early decision; viewers were urged to consider both arguments and then make their own decisions and advise their representatives and the Advocates; on certain issues responses flowed in from 10,000 to 20,000 citizens. From New York came Black Journal, a direct communications with the black audience, designed and performed by black production teams. From South Carolina and across the country came William Buckley and his "firing line" which was added to the national program roster in response to station requests for an articulate moderator with a conservative philosophy. From around the country in 1972, and produced out of New York, came Bill Moyers' Journal in which the former newspaper published discussed with Americans the issues and problems of their concern. And from the same New York source came documentaries and an innovative video feature called The Great American Dream Machine which employed satire as a means of commentary about the passing scene.

It was in this area where sensitive nerves were struck. Certain individual programs, limited in number in relation to the total inventory, are well remembered for the controversy they evoked:

Castro's Cuba, a sympathetic treatment of the Cuban leader.

Who Invited Us?, a condemnatory thesis on U.S. intervention abroad.

The Banks and the Poor, a critical video essay about bankers' treatment of the disadvantaged, including inferences of conflict of interest for congressmen with bank board membership.

FBI subsidy of violence, an investigative piece of the Great American Dream Machine, which was deleted from national distribution and then broadcast anyway after the producing station transmitted.

The Woody Allen political message which was withdrawn by the producer before broadcast.

These five and a few others brought focus on this type of program. Liberal journalists perceived the difficulty to be government pressure on a weak CPB, conservative critics claimed that CPB failed to exercise adequate control over program decisions and neutrals questioned the quality and fairness of the journalism and the ability of a government financed system to exercise press freedom. These experiences within the system exacerbated the relationships between PBS and the producing centers, particularly in New York, and between producers and stations. But demands for greater editorial control by the stations or PBS or CPB were redirected to the formulation of standards and processes

for video journalism by the system itself, PBS, stations and producers. With PBS in the lead, this action involved the expert advice of journalists themselves from inside and outside the system. The following broad standards became the foundation; more detailed guidance spelled out how they might be observed:

we recognize the obligation to be fair
we pledge to strive for balanced programming

we recognize the obligation to strive for objectivity

we acknowledge the obligation not to let technique become the master of substance

we recognize the obligation to reflect voices both inside and outside society's existing consensus.

To implement these intentions, PBS appointed James Lehrer, the anchor man of the Newsroom at KERA Dallas, as Public Affairs coordinator, a 12 member Public Affairs Panel was appointed "to advise the PBS staff concerning judgments in handling public affairs programs," each producing agency was urged to prepare "its internal manual of guidelines for journalistic production." The CPB board formally resolved its support for these actions and reaffirmed its previous action in support of public affairs programming.

After preliminary experience and evaluation, it was concluded that public affairs programs should constitute about 30% of the prime time material distributed to the stations by PBS. The balance of the schedule would include music, drama, children's programs, and specialized features. The funds from CPB and the Ford Foundation would be applied to sustain that 30%; some attempts were made to gain underwriting from other foundations and corporations to spread and increase the investment, but they were not successful. This percentage was supported by most of the stations. A small but vocal minority considered it—or any percentage—excessive and in a few instances individual programs or series were not transmitted at all by stations.

PURSUIT OF BALANCE

The desired balance in programming, both within series and in the total schedule, was purposefully pursued through the addition of new reporters or panelists with differing views, through live or taped coverage of events not carried on commercial television and through the pro and con exposition of issues in the "Advocates." Nevertheless, the new personalities associated with previous political positions—William Buckley, Bill Moyers and Sander Vanocor—drew criticism despite their current performance.

Vanocor became the prime target. His alleged close association with the Kennedys and certain of his public statements about presidential press relations gave him a low popularity position at critical power centers. Even those who acknowledged his professional capacity would not believe his on-air performance could be truly objective. His appointment attracted extra attacks when it was revealed, in answer to a congressional inquiry, that NPACT would pay him \$85,000 a year, exactly twice the sum received by Congressmen.

His journalistic performance in the program conformed fully to the FOB factor except to those determined to find bias even where it did not exist, but most critics maintained their opposition by not bothering to watch the programs that he contributed to citizen understanding of the workings of the electoral system.

STRESS AND STRAIN ON THE BALANCE

The delicacy in the structure for program decision-making and the balance in the pro-

gram schedule itself were subject to stress and strain. Certain subjects, editorial judgments, issue interpretations and personnel selections sparked protesting observations from special interests, station representatives and government spokesmen. Within the system disputes of this type sustained intramural rivalries and undermined collective progress. Bitter and accusatory letters were exchanged between station managers and producers. Favored press representatives were coveted by the opposing parties. Devil theories on individual motivations were circulated. Although these episodes were infrequent, when they came they reflected the uncertainty and frustrations remaining within the system. Moves toward corrective action were perceived to be in response to official objections and evidence of federal control over the system by CPB. Variety used the CPB initials to stand for Corporation for Patsy Broadcasting. On the other side, those opposed to public broadcasting or its involvement in journalism considered their opposition substantiated through these disputes.

The Nixon administration's reservations about public broadcasting were not openly revealed. Delay in submitting the promised long range financing plan could be attributed to an understandable desire to evaluate this new approach to the media. Modest annual increases in appropriation, from \$5 million in fiscal year 1969 to \$35 million in fiscal year 1972, actually represented support where it counted. But complaints about individual journalistic ventures were communicated to CPB. Certainly not in the intensity that provided early warning of the dissenting judgment of the entire system's development that was delivered by Clay T. Whitehead, the director of the Office of Telecommunications Policy, before the assembled public broadcasters at Miami Beach in October, 1971.

His broadside attack was more intensely political and more in line with other Administration attacks on the media than might have been expected. The charges were designed to shake that uneasy structure by condemning the alleged centralization of CPB and PBS while courting the stations through his cry for more financial recognition for the "bedrock of localism". The principal trigger for that barrage was the journalism included in the national program. The content and personalities had displeased executive leadership which was fully aware of television's potency. So aware that the prospect of supporting potentially critical coverage of administration actions with federal funds was distinctly unattractive.

Whitehead's view of video journalism was elaborated in a radio interview several weeks after his Miami blast:

"There is a real question as to whether public television, particularly the national federally funded part of public television, should be carrying public affairs, news commentary and that kind of thing, for several reasons. One is the fact that the commercial networks, by and large, do quite a good job in that area. Public television is designed to be an alternative to provide programming that isn't available on commercial television. So you could raise the legitimate question as to should there be as much public affairs, as much news and news commentary, as they plan do . . . When you're talking about using federal funds to support a journalism activity, it's always going to be the subject of scrutiny. The Congress will always be watching it closely. It just invites a lot of political attention."

An earlier warning along these lines had been sounded in less militant tones by FCC chairman Dean Burch in September 1970. He

pointed out that "Congress seems to call upon public broadcasting to be fairer than fair." He appealed for the behavior of Caesar's wife and urged the hiring of some non-creative conservatives if it was indeed true that all creative staff members were liberals.

But the threat of interference was brandished by the executive and not the Congress. Objection to programs were infrequent from Capitol Hill until the Administration opened its attack. While deploring the centralized control in CPB and PBS, the Administration representatives applied pressure on the same organization behind the scenes to exercise more control over video journalism. These demands were more openly directed in late 1972 after the President's veto of the CPB authorization bill, the addition of six Nixon appointed board members, the selection of Henry Loomis, the deputy director of the United States Information Agency, as president following my resignation in September 1972, and the election of former Congressman Tom Curtis to succeed Frank Pace as chairman. In the authorization bill Congress had, after debate and compromise, passed with bipartisan majorities and over Administration opposition lobbying a two year extension and much higher funding for CPB. The veto message from the President was a delayed rerun of the indictment issued by Whitehead eight months earlier in Miami Beach.

Even though the CPB board had endorsed the public affairs programming decisions in April, after the veto and the change in leadership, its position was reversed rapidly. In December the board deleted from the list of programs to receive CPB funding certain public affairs features in the current schedule—Black Journal, Buckley's Firing Line, Moyer's Journal, World Press, and Washington Week in Review. All of the programs had been recommended for renewal by PBS as representative of the stations. Various objections were offered by Mr. Loomis to these programs:

1. they duplicated programs on commercial television,
2. they featured personalities,
3. they are too topical, and
4. they are not scholarly and educational enough.

The real reason emerged at a Curtis-Loomis press conference on January 11, 1973. Curtis admitted four different times that CPB was under White House pressure on these programs. "The Nixon Administration," he said, "or some of its spokesmen are very worried about this area."

PBS FUNCTIONS ASSUMED BY CPB

These program deletions in response to Administration worries was accompanied by a board decision to withdraw from PBS its functions to coordinate and schedule national programming and to limit it to the mechanical operation of the interconnection. In defiance of past decisions to avoid CPB involvement in program selection in detail the board directed Mr. Loomis to prepare plans to assume the PBS functions and to construct a new pattern of consultation with the stations. The centralization condemned by the Administration the previous year was more tightly concentrated and closer to White House influence. There is even serious questioning of the necessity for the interconnection without which topical journalism would be frustrated.

These developments lead to the sorrowful conclusion that the heat shield has been penetrated and video journalism, public style, severely burned. The endeavor to establish freedom of expression, with balance and responsibility, has at this point failed.

Perhaps this result would have occurred

under any Administration. No President has welcomed the natural hostility of free press. And yet that free press, cruel and unreasonable as it may be, is an essential force in democratic government.

But the present possessor of Presidential power has displayed an accentuated distaste for the media. Public television's agony is shared with other practitioners of the information cult. Its role is only different in an important way: its existing level of journalistic programming is dependent upon Federal funds. That dependency with the accompanying restrictions, I regretfully conclude, is too high a price for the American people to pay.

The cause should not be abandoned. Those who believe in the potential of video journalism to serve the citizen must seek new or expanded sources, outside of government, to advance the cause. The portion of support from government for this area of national program activity can be replaced from other sources. Increased individual contributions, cooperative funding by stations, shared or combined local programming, unrestricted corporate or foundation support should all be explored and evaluated. Concurrently the creative forces in non-commercial television have an obligation to stimulate new and more effective programs to exploit the visual opportunities of the medium. Higher quality and editorial responsibility constitute worthy goals for those privileged to illuminate the world and its human problems in the quest for greater understanding by all people.

Political scientists, media critics and citizens should study this development as a warning of new and potentially destructive trends in the relations between the executive and the media. The power of video journalism must remain free to inform without government pressure—and if necessary without government financing.

EAGLES NEST WILDERNESS BILL

HON. WILLIAM L. ARMSTRONG

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. ARMSTRONG. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing the Eagles Nest wilderness bill.

This legislation will enlarge the wilderness area from the present proposed 87,775 acres to 125,000 acres and will add forest coverage and meadow areas required for adequate and balanced wildlife preservation.

While the preservation of wilderness is necessary for present day Americans and will offer millions of them the opportunity to relax away from the pressures of our increasingly complex society, it is even more important to insure this heritage for the future.

If vitally necessary, the use of this land can be reconsidered by future generations, but to open it for exploitation now would be a breach of faith with the future. Colorado has been favored with abundant natural resources to share with all Americans, and thus has a special trust to assure that this, and other, wilderness areas, are passed on in their natural state for future generations to learn from and to enjoy.

CYRUS EATON—VICTIM OF FBI SURVEILLANCE

HON. LOUIS STOKES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, May 29, 1973

Mr. STOKES. Mr. Speaker, I have often had the privilege of bringing the wisdom of Mr. Cyrus Eaton before this Chamber. Today I am honored to present an article about Mr. Eaton which appeared in the May 13, 1973, edition of the Cleveland Plain Dealer. In this interview, Mr. Eaton revealed information about domestic surveillance which is extremely relevant in view of the Watergate scandal and which, to my knowledge, has never been published before.

According to Mr. Eaton, he is aware of having been the victim of FBI surveillance on at least two occasions. In the first instance, according to Mr. Eaton, the FBI staged a protest demonstration when Mr. Eaton entertained some Soviet journalists in 1955. In 1958, when Mr. Eaton appeared on national television and criticized J. Edgar Hoover, FBI personnel staged a letter-writing campaign in defense of their boss.

I personally believe that, although almost 25 years have passed since these incidents, the FBI owes Mr. Eaton a full explanation and apology. In any case, I share Mr. Eaton's hope that the Watergate scandal will end the American public's tolerance of internal domestic spying.

The Plain Dealer article follows:

SPY NETWORK ERA DOOMED, EATON SAYS

Watergate will change America's thinking about "the cloak-and-dagger fellows," in the view of Cyrus S. Eaton, with Washington paying more attention now to business leaders with many years of personal contacts abroad.

The industrialist and financier, who is board chairman of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway, said "these CIA and FBI people," never short of money, have proved in the Watergate scandal that "they are not the highest-grade men in the world."

Eaton, in an interview, said he had personal experience with the FBI "organizing mob protests" in Cleveland when he entertained Soviets here. Another time, he said, the FBI prepared letters to newspapers and signed and mailed them to discredit him.

The financier, who will be 90 in December, said, "We have been wrong to rely on spies, at home and abroad. These cloak-and-dagger fellows, with their unreliable information, have misled us; the Bay of Pigs is a fine example. They've misled us in Russia and in China with their contrived yarns. Now we are seeking their business."

Turning to the FBI and the Russians he has entertained in Cleveland from time to time, Eaton said:

"A group of Soviet journalists, you remember, came here in 1955, and the State Department wanted me to entertain them. They said, 'We want them to see the home of a typical American capitalist.' So they came to Cleveland and stayed at a Cleveland hotel on Public Square and I sent two automobiles to pick them up and bring them to my farm.

"When the Soviets were preparing to leave the hotel, there was a howling mob in the

square. We asked the State Department representative to allow us to take these people out the back, but he would not permit any change in the plans. He insisted on going out the front. So the mob started howling.

"They arrived at the farm, and the men from the CIA or the FBI were expressing dismay and terror. They wanted to make the Soviets think it was a spontaneous outburst.

It was organized by the FBI. I had it checked out."

Eaton, who has visited with government leaders abroad, especially with Communist leaders, for years, said he appeared on a national TV show in 1958, "and I was a little critical of J. Edgar Hoover." He said, reporting what he had told to news media some time ago.

"Later, all over the country, there were let-

ters to the editor, attacking me and defending the FBI. We checked them out. They were well-written, as if by professionals. Every one, without exception, it turned out, had been written at FBI headquarters and sent to persons they knew for signing and mailing. The editors were deceived and the country was deceived."

The FBI office here declined comment on Eaton's charges.