

July 24, 1973

Cheshire, Joseph M., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Dabney, Roger B., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Doyle, Lawrence A., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Flaten, Eric A., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Frymire, Richard I., Jr., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Glenn, Elmer, Jr., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Grabovsky, Bruno J., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Hamby, Eugene A., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Hemstreet, Stanley W., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Hill, Edward Y., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Krausse, Joe B., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Lane, Junior L., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Marsella, Gaetano F., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Martin, Robert E., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 O'Bryan, William H., Jr., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Patterson, Ben L., Jr., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Rosenbaum, Fred M., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Serra, Harry A., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Solomon, Kenneth S., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Walker, Joe G., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Wiles, Richard L., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Yokoyama, Irvine K., **xxx-xx-xxxx**

**MEDICAL CORPS**

Flaherty, Timothy T., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Harris, Hugh S., Jr., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Paret, Robert W., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Peterson, Evan A., Jr., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Sheusi, Carl J., **xxx-xx-xxxx**

The following officers for promotion in the Air Force Reserve, under the provisions of section 8376, title 10, United States Code and Public Law 92-129.

**NURSE CORPS**

*Lieutenant colonel to colonel*  
 McKenna, Madeline, **xxx-xx-xxxx**

**LINE OF THE AIR FORCE**

*Major to lieutenant colonel*

Baird, Keith M., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Bauer, Fred L., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Blich, Melvin W., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Brannan, Stephen E., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Perry, William J., **xxx-xx-xxxx**

**CHAPLAIN CORPS**

Camp, Arthur J., **xxx-xx-xxxx**

**DENTAL CORPS**

Brown, Leo M., **xxx-xx-xxxx**

**MEDICAL CORPS**

Bickle, Rudolf G., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Taylor, William M., **xxx-xx-xxxx**

**NURSE CORPS**

Biangardi, George A., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Smith, Mary L., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Wickizer, Russell R., **xxx-xx-xxxx**

The following persons for appointment as Reserve of the Air Force (Medical Corps), in the grade of lieutenant colonel, under the provisions of section 593, title 10, United States Code, and Public Law 92-129, with a view to designation as medical officers under the provisions of section 8067, title 10, United States Code:

**MEDICAL CORPS**

*To be lieutenant colonel*

Bergstrom, Terry J., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Fox, Raymond M., Jr., **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Morris, John R., **xxx-xx-xxxx**

**EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS**

The following person for appointment as a Reserve of the Air Force, in the grade of lieutenant colonel (line of the Air Force), under the provisions of section 593, title 10, United States Code, and Public Law 92-129:

**LINE OF THE AIR FORCE**

*To be lieutenant colonel*

Law, Richard O., **xxx-xx-xxxx**

The following persons for appointment as a Reserve of the Air Force in the grade of lieutenant colonel (line of the Air Force), under the provisions of section 593, title 10, United States Code, and Public Law 92-129:

**LINE OF THE AIR FORCE**

*To be lieutenant colonel*

Barnes, Daniel J., **xxx-xx-xxxx**

Schneider, John E., **xxx-xx-xxxx**

The following person for appointment as a Reserve of the Air Force (Medical Service Corps), in the grade of lieutenant colonel, under the provisions of sections 593, and 1211, title 10, United States Code, and Public Law 92-129, with a view to designation as a Medical Service Corps officer under the provisions of section 8067, title 10, United States Code:

**MEDICAL SERVICE CORPS**

*To be lieutenant colonel*

Vanscoy, Howard W., Jr., **xxx-xx-xxxx**

**IN THE NAVY**

Comdr. Grace Murray Hopper, U.S. Naval Reserve (retired), for permanent promotion to the grade of captain on the retired list of the U.S. Naval Reserve, in accordance with article II, section 2, clause 2, of the Constitution.

Vice Adm. C. Edwin Bell, U.S. Navy, for appointment to the grade of vice admiral, when retired, pursuant to the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 5233.

**IN THE MARINE CORPS**

The following-named officers of the Marine Corps for temporary appointment to the grade of lieutenant colonel:

Harold J. Alwan	Umberto Giannelli
Thomas P. Angus	Robert K. Goforth
Roy F. Arnold	Winston O. Goller
Vladimir H. Bacik	Robert L. Gray, Jr.
Ernest F. Baulch	James T. Hagan III
Ronald L. Beckwith	George L. Hammond
Cornelius F. Behan	Jack F. Hanston
Robert M. Black	Gerald E. Harbison
Robert C. J. Blackington	Hans S. Haupt
Robert B. Booher	Thomas W. Haven
James A. Bracken, Jr.	Richard W.
James W. Bridges	Hawthorne
Donald E. Bullard	David Y. Healy
Harlan P. Chapman	Edward J. Heise
Robert C. Cockell	Karl R. Heiser
Charles K. Conley	John W. Hemingway
Gene A. Deegan	Charles E. Hester
Robert R. Doran	Robert A. Hickethier
John M. Dye	William H. Horner, Jr.
Henry D. Fagerskog	Anthony C. Huebner
James F. Farber	Emmett S. Huff, Jr.
Mervin A. Fiel	Laurice M. Hughes
Charles G. Gerard	Richard V. Hunt
	William A. Johnson

Richard R. Johnson	Billy J. Palmer
Gerald G. Kemp	Clarence R. Perry
Lee T. Lasseter	Raymond F. Perry
Timothy B. Lecky	Robert A. Phillips Jr.
John B. Legge	Ferrell F. Powell Jr.
Paul F. Lessard	George C. Psaros
Luther A. Lono	Earl S. Piper Jr.
Elliot F. Mann	Albert Pitt
Charles L. Manwarring	Charles A. Reynolds
Joseph P. Marada	Paul E. Ridge
Robert J. Martin	Geoffrey H. Root
Jerry W. Marvel	Paul E. Roush
Ronald B. McCrindle	William J. Scheuren
James M. McGarvey	John M. Solan
James A. McGinn	Patrick R. Stingley
David S. McIntyre	James S. Tardy
Richard O. Merritt	Milton S. Thompson
Kenneth P. Millice Jr.	John S. Vogt
Robert F. Milligan	Hobart M. Wallace Jr.
William F. Mullen	Mark H. Waterbury III
Robert G. Neal Jr.	Eugene L. Wheeler
Harold M. Nelson	Lawrence A. Whipple
Daniel F. M. Nielsen	George P. Wuernch
John W. O'Donnell	

**IN THE ARMY**

The following-named person for reappointment to the active list of the Regular Army and Army of the United States with grades as indicated, from the temporary disability retired list, for a period of 1 day, under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, sections 1211 and 3447:

To be major general, Regular Army, and lieutenant general, Army of the United States

Lawrence J. Lincoln, **xxx-xx-xxxx**

The following-named officer to be placed on the retired list in grade indicated under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 3962:

To be lieutenant general

Lt. Gen. Lawrence J. Lincoln, **xxx-xx-xxxx**  
 Army of the United States (major general, U.S. Army).

**DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION**

Robert Henri Binder, of the District of Columbia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Transportation, vice John L. Hazard, resigned.

**CONFIRMATIONS**

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate July 24, 1973:

**DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE**

Stanley B. Thomas, of New York, to be an Assistant Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

**DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY**

William L. Gifford, of New York, to be a Deputy Under Secretary of the Treasury.

**BUREAU OF THE CENSUS**

Vincent R. Barabba, of California, to be Director of the Census.

(The above nominations were approved subject to the nominees' commitment to respond to requests to appear and testify before any duly constituted committee of the Senate.)

**EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS**

HUNTINGTON (W. VA.) ADVERTISER  
 EDITORIAL STRESSES NEED FOR  
 MORE RESEARCH TO REMOVE  
 POLLUTANTS FROM COAL

**HON. JENNINGS RANDOLPH**

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES  
 Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. RANDOLPH. Mr. President, the American people this summer are acutely

aware of how they are personally affected by our country's energy shortage. The lack of adequate supplies of gasoline has brought home to the citizens of the United States the fact that the energy crisis is real.

This crisis affects more than just supplies of gasoline. It is, likewise, a complex situation with many interrelated factors. As we work to find realistic solutions to our energy requirements, environmental protection must remain

prominent in our thinking. Effective and efficient means of removing pollutants are urgently needed. This is particularly true with respect to coal, which is America's most abundant energy source.

The Federal Government is involved in research to make coal a cleaner fuel. These activities, however, should be expanded. The Huntington, (W. Va.) Advertiser recently published an editorial discussing this situation and the need for expanded research to remove sulphur

oxides from coal. This perceptive editorial clearly defined the problem and steps that should be taken to overcome it. In a letter to David A. Peyton, editor of the editorial page of the Huntington Advertiser, I further discussed the problem of assuring that coal is a non-polluting energy source.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the editorial and my letter be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

RESEARCH INTO COAL USE CAN CLEAN AIR BY 1975

West Virginia will have cleaner air by 1975 or energy production will be drastically cut as the result of a decision last week by the West Virginia Air Pollution Control Commission which holds the state to the 1975 deadline for implementation of the federal Clean Air Act.

Gov. Arch A. Moore Jr. had asked that the implementation of the new standards be extended to 1977, but the federal Environmental Protection Agency turned down his request by its silence.

West Virginia, as a major producer of electricity through coal combustion, stands to lose from the action unless something is done and done in the next two years. But moreover, the whole nation stands to lose, for the energy produced through the burning of West Virginia coal is responsible, in part, for keeping the entire East Coast from being plunged into darkness.

The mandate is clear. We must clean up the process of coal combustion by 1975. And if there are any who still doubt the emissions from coal combustion can be harmful to life, they need only look at what happened recently at the Clements State Tree nursery near Lakin in Mason County where it is believed emissions from the Kyger Creek Power Plant, four miles away, damaged thousands of seedlings.

The answer lies in coal research—a way to eliminate the sulfur emissions and other dangerous gases which pollute the atmosphere as the result of making electricity.

The state now has a wedge it can use to push for increased research into ways of making the burning of high-sulfur coal cleaner and safer. This nation has enough coal—enough potential energy—to last 2,500 years, if the methods can be found to take it from the earth and burn it without destroying the environment.

Such research is being carried out at this time. The U.S. Department of the Interior has announced it will build an experimental pollution-free power boiler fired by high-sulfur coal at its coal research facility at Rivesville, W. Va.

The boiler will use a bed of lime that will trap sulfur from the coal and filter the burned gas.

This is the type of research that will save us from a major energy crisis and unbridled pollution.

But more research is needed. The federal government needs to expend more money on finding ways of using coal, our only sure source of energy beyond the immediate future.

For the sake of our health, we must have cleaner air by 1975, or sooner. And for the sake of our country, we must produce more energy. Research and experimentation into coal is the key that will unlock the doors to both these goals.

U.S. SENATE,  
COMMITTEE ON PUBLIC WORKS,  
Washington, D.C., July 20, 1973.

Mr. DAVID A. PEYTON,  
Editor, Huntington Advertiser,  
Huntington, W. Va.

DEAR MR. PEYTON: The rapidly growing demands for energy, the need to protect the

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

environment, and our diminishing domestic supplies of natural gas and petroleum all mandate a search for newer and cleaner fuel sources. The great potential of West Virginia coal for alleviating the fuel shortage was effectively emphasized in your editorial of July 9.

Coal is our country's most abundant fuel and West Virginia can and must perform a major role in meeting future energy requirements. The success of our involvement depends, as you observed, to a large degree on the development of technology to remove dangerous sulfur emissions from burning coal.

I recently urged the Senate Appropriations Committee to add \$20 million to the Environmental Protection Agency budget for research on sulfur oxide removal. This additional money was approved and will greatly accelerate the Federal effort in this vital area.

Another important factor is the perfection of methods to convert coal to synthetic, non-polluting fuels and Federal programs in this field are advancing.

Along with stepped-up research on emission controls, the Federal government must expand its support for research into conversion processes. This type of research investment can have immediate and beneficial results. Technology permitting the greater use of West Virginia coal would also soften the increasing reliance on foreign fuel sources.

The Senate study of fuels and energy, which is being carried out under legislation I authorized, and in which I am an active participant, is providing our first comprehensive look at America's long-range energy requirements and the ways in which they will be met.

If we are successful in conquering the pollution problems associated with burning coal and in converting coal to clean fuels it is obvious there will be a tremendous demand for this fuel. The government, therefore, should not ignore additional research into mining technology. New environmentally sound methods of producing coal must be devised to supply future demands.

Coal has many attractive features for becoming America's primary energy source in the future. This promise cannot be fulfilled, however, without continued research to adapt this traditional fuel to modern usage. The Advertiser has perceived this need, and I am grateful for your support in this important effort.

Truly,  
JENNINGS RANDOLPH, Chairman.

TRIBUTE TO WILLIAM RALPH MASON, CALIFORNIA LAND DEVELOPER

HON. CLAIR W. BURGENER  
OF CALIFORNIA  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. BURGENER. Mr. Speaker, I rise to bring to the attention of this body the passing of a man whose loss we in southern California and, indeed, the entire State of California will feel greatly.

On Saturday, the 14th day of July, 1973, William Ralph Mason, president of the Irvine Co., located in Irvine, Calif., died at his residence in Newport Beach, Calif., of a heart attack. Mr. Mason was born on September 9, 1918, in Seattle, Wash. He received his bachelor of science degree in engineering from the University of Washington and then went on to receive his master of science degree from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Mr. Mason joined the Irvine Co. as an administrative engineer in 1959. He was elevated to the presidency of the southern California land development and agricultural firm in 1966. Mr. Mason was nationally prominent for his leadership in the development and implementation of the Irvine Co. general plan—encompassing 80,000 acres of land in Orange County, Calif.

Although obviously busy with his corporate interests, Mr. Mason found time to serve as western region president of the Boy Scouts of America. He has been honored by his community over the years with such awards as the "City of Hope Man of the Year," election to the American Academy of Achievement, and recipient of an honorary doctor of science degree from Chapman College. From 1966 until his untimely death on the 14th, Mr. Mason has contributed that which he has learned over the years in the civil engineering field to those men who today are attempting to succeed in the field.

From his early days as an assistant professor of civil engineering at Washington University, up to and including the completion and opening of the modern 1,000-acre site of the University of California at Irvine, Bill Mason has continually dedicated himself to the cause of education. He served as a member of the board of fellows of Claremont College, and as a member of the president's council of Chapman College.

Bill is survived by his lovely wife, Elizabeth, and his three children, Mark, Wendy, and Miriam.

It is with a heartfelt feeling of loss for both the family and the community that I bring this to the attention of the Members of the House of Representatives.

WEST GERMAN CHANCELLOR BRANDT EXPECTS A LOT FROM AMERICANS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the anti-American pronouncement of West German Chancellor Willy Brandt comes at a most delicate time. The President and the State Department may have assured the Brandt forces that the U.S. would retain 210,000 American troops in Germany but Congress has not rubber-stamped the deal as yet.

Chancellor Brandt demagogging for his people by attacking U.S. dollars is reported to have said, "Europe cannot save the Americans the effort they have to make for themselves." His retort is reminiscent of the recent attack by another NATO leader, Monsieur Pompideau of France.

Still criticizing the American dollar crisis, Brandt is quoted as saying, "The Americans are expecting a lot from their friends and allies." Many young military men serving in Germany could reverse this remarks by saying that Herr Brandt is expecting a lot in the way of financing.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

aid, and men from his American friends and allies.

Other Americans can also reflect that one of the easiest solutions to our dollar crisis and Chancellor Brandt's dissatisfaction would be to immediately withdraw all U.S. troops from West Germany and cut off the flow of U.S. dollars to that country.

Some of our leaders in Washington thought they were doing Herr Brandt a favor rather than vice versa.

A related newsclipping follows:

**BRANDT SAYS UNITED STATES MUST MOVE TO DEFEND DOLLAR**

BONN, July 22.—West German Chancellor Willy Brandt tonight took the United States to task for its attitude on the international monetary crisis and European-American trade.

In an interview given at his Norwegian holiday retreat and broadcast by West German television, Brandt told the Americans they could not expect Western Europe to solve the dollar crisis for them.

"Europe cannot save the Americans the effort they have to make for themselves," the chancellor said.

The chancellor's statement was by far the strongest official indication of West German displeasure with Washington's attitude on the dollar crisis since the dollar began to fall again early this month.

Washington's apparent inactivity has prompted angry German editorials. In an apparent reference to such criticism, Brandt said: "The Americans are expecting quite a lot from their friends and allies."

Brandt made his discontent even more obvious by his reference to export restrictions the Nixon administration recently imposed on soybeans.

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### AN UNWISE WAGE HIKE

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**HON. JESSE A. HELMS**

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1973*

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, I commend to my colleagues a sensible editorial that appeared July 23 in the Greensboro, N.C., Daily News.

The author of this editorial, unlike many others who have written and spoken to the contrary on the issue of the minimum wage increase, obviously understands the name of the game concerning inflation and its root causes.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Greensboro Daily News editorial, headed "An Unwise Wage Hike," be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

**AN UNWISE WAGE HIKE**

Raising the minimum wage is politically popular, and at least in theory it is sound policy as well, but the bill that is about to come out of Congress is likely to create more problems than benefits. Given the state of the economy and the tight employment situation, a higher minimum wage is one of the last things we need right now.

Similar legislation passed by both houses and now in conference would raise the minimum wage from \$1.60 an hour to \$2.20 and extend it to seven million workers not now covered, among them teenagers, persons over 65 and domestic workers. No one questions the essential point that these people deserve

a living wage, and we doubt that few would argue that \$2.20 an hour is more reasonable, in this economy than \$1.60. Still, there are serious complications.

The first and most obvious is that there is absolutely no need for anything that will contribute to further inflation, and it goes without saying that a 37 per cent increase in the minimum wage would do precisely that. A great many workers are at the minimum-wage level and the increase would mean that inflationary purchasing power would greatly expand.

The second, and in certain respects more serious, is that minimum-wage increases historically have had a paradoxical effect: they often work to the disadvantage of exactly the people they are intended to help. Big labor, which lobbies ardently for them, doesn't gain much beyond political accomplishment: virtually all union labor is paid well above the minimum wage. But minimum-wage workers in marginal jobs often find that a hike simply eliminates their jobs—and thus reduces their income from marginal to nothing.

Domestic work, for example, is paid for not out of the coffers of huge corporations but from the budgets of ordinary (and some, financially, not so ordinary) citizens. If a housekeeper is now paid \$12.80 for an eight-hour day, and the law suddenly requires a jump to \$17.60, the employer may decide that he or she simply cannot manage it. The housekeeper may be dismissed, or her hours may be reduced to avoid an increase; either way, there is no benefit.

The same is true for teen-agers seeking part-time work and for older people trying to supplement Social Security and pension income: their employment opportunities decrease as employers find their financial resources strained.

In the best of all possible worlds, a high and universal minimum wage would be marvelous. But this is not the best of all possible worlds, and a higher minimum wage would be a mistake. President Nixon will be well-advised to veto the bill when it reaches him.

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### THE RIGHT TO LIFE

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**HON. JACK F. KEMP**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

*Tuesday, July 24, 1973*

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, changing social mores have taken their toll on our basic respect for human life as witnessed by the recent Supreme Court ruling on abortion. The abortion issue is extremely complex and requires a thoughtful balance of moral, social and personal values. However, when the so-called right of privacy supersedes the right to life itself, and convenience impinges on human dignity, I think we are sadly out of balance.

Albert Schweitzer once wrote:

If a man loses reverence for any part of life, he will lose his reverence for all life.

With the legalized sacrifice of the unborn, we have taken one giant step toward loss of reverence for all human life.

Dr. Thomas L. Johnson, professor of chordate embryology at the University of Virginia, has presented a most thoughtful and intelligent analysis of the abortion issue which I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues. Dr. Johnson takes a metaphysical approach to the abortion issue—examining the pertinent biological data within the context of proper ethical standards in an attempt to determine the correct be-

havior of man toward the unborn. I am in complete accord with Dr. Johnson's view that—

Once the absolute value of each individual to his own life vanishes, existence no longer remains as a right, but becomes a privilege to be granted or denied by those in authoritative positions.

Dr. Johnson presents a compelling case for the view that there can be no conflict of rights between the expectant mother and the unborn child. Both have the right to life which must be possessed by all humans at all stages of their development.

[From the Freeman, August, 1972]

**ABORTION: A METAPHYSICAL APPROACH**

(By Thomas L. Johnson)

The issue of abortion has occupied the minds of humans for as long as civilized society has existed. There have been times when abortion was legally condoned and socially accepted, and other periods of mankind's history when this practice was outlawed and considered to be a criminal act. Today, at a point in time when the rights of individuals are being attacked, ignored or destroyed, we are again witnessing a resurgence of the debate on abortion, and within the past few years, the passage of laws which remove most or all restrictions which have, in the previous history of this nation, protected the individual rights of the most vulnerable, defenseless and innocent of human beings: the unborn child.

The abortion controversy is not just another dispute causing people to occupy opposing intellectual and legal camps. It is not a subject that can be equated in importance with other national concerns. Abortion is an issue which must be recognized as one of the most, if not the most important argument of our times, for it deals with an attack on the fundamental right of all humans: the right to life. When this right, upon which all other rights depend, can be set aside; when, at the whim of an adult, a new human life can be destroyed simply because another human does not wish to allow this life to continue; when it is decided that one stage of human life is of no real value—that its existence is an inconvenience to others and can thus be terminated—mankind loses its most precious value. Once the absolute value of each individual to his own life vanishes, existence no longer remains as a right, but becomes a privilege to be granted or denied by those in authoritative positions, by majority vote, or by the caprice of an unreasoning mother.

**THE NATURE OF EXISTENCE**

There is but one approach that can be taken in dealing with the subject of abortion—the metaphysical approach. Metaphysics is a branch of philosophy which involves the attempt to understand the nature of existence, to explain and scientifically analyze natural phenomenon realms. Since abortion is dealing with the destruction of the human embryo or fetus, it is necessary to examine the biological nature of these entities and apply this information to another division of philosophy—Ethics—in the attempt to determine the correct behavior of men toward these intrauterine stages.

Among those who advocate abortion, who state that a woman should be able to terminate a pregnancy simply because she desires to do so, there are two significant groups. One group states that the entity within the uterine cavity is not a living human being, that the embryo or fetus is simply a cluster of multiplying cells that could be considered as part of the mother's body. The other group considers the embryo or fetus to be human, but argues that there is conflict between the rights of the mother and those of the unborn child. That the mother must have full control over her body,

*July 24, 1973*

and that if she is denied this right she will fall victim to the rights of the unborn.

THE ESSENTIAL OF REPRODUCTION AMONG VERTEBRATES

What is the actual nature of the intrauterine stages and does a real conflict exist between the mother and the unborn? In order to answer these questions it will be necessary to briefly analyze the known essentials of reproduction, particularly those factors which apply to vertebrates, of which the human is the most advanced form, and correlate this knowledge with the issue of the rights of the embryo or fetus, and the mother.

Sexual reproduction—reproduction of sperms and eggs, and their subsequent fusion—is characteristic of most forms of life, and is the only method of reproduction possessed by numerous animal groups (for example, all vertebrates). Once a mature animal produces the sex cells, they are released from the organs in which they formed (the testis or ovary, and usually pass into ducts leading to the outside of the organism. Either the sperms or eggs are released into water, at which time fertilization occurs immediately, or sperm cells are introduced into the female tract and fertilization will eventually take place within the body of the female. The essential point is, that at the time of fusion of sex cells, a new generation of a species is produced.

Within each cell of an animal there are two sets of chromosomes (filaments containing genes). When the sex cells are formed, each sperm or egg contains only one set of chromosomes but when a sperm fuses with an egg the full complement of chromosomal pairs is re-established. It is at this point, at the time of the formation of the zygote (the cell formed by the fusion of the sperm and egg) that a new organism comes into existence.

In human reproduction, the sperm fertilizes the egg in the upper portion of the oviduct. A new human life thus begins its existence in the cavity of the oviduct, and since it takes several days for the new organism to reach the uterus, it is already an embryo by the time it enters that organ.

THE POINT OF SEPARATION

One frequently hears the argument that the zygote, embryo or fetus is a part of the mother's body over which she must have control. Without question, this is *not* the case. Once sperms and eggs are discharged from the sex organs, they are no longer a part of the organism which produced them. These highly specialized cells, which have been produced by a special form of cell division (meiosis—other body cells are formed by the process of mitosis), are of no value to the organism which formed them (as regards the maintenance of its own life)—thus they either degenerate or they are released from the sex organs and pass into a tube on their way out of the body. Ultimately a small fraction of these *discarded* sex cells will fuse. Under no circumstances could one consider mature released sex cells, or any subsequent organism resulting from the fusion of these cells, as a part of the individual which generated them.

(Although the human embryo attaches itself to the wall of the uterus in order to gain needed substances from the mother for its growth and development, it does not fuse with this organ but remains as a distinct new life existing within the cavity of the mother's reproductive tract.)

Human life therefore has its beginning (*is viable*) at a point in time when the necessary genetic information, half coming from the father and the other half from the mother, is brought together by the fusion of the released sperm and egg to form the single-celled zygote. This individual organism cannot be a part of the mother (it has an entirely different set of chromosomes), but is a separate and unique human life.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ALL VERTEBRATE LIFE BEGINS IN AN AQUATIC ENVIRONMENT

There is another important, but generally overlooked, aspect of the development of vertebrates which is germane to the discussion of abortion and which would shed light on the nature of the intra-uterine embryo or fetus. It is a well known biological fact that all vertebrate life must begin in an aquatic environment. Fishes and amphibians generally release the sex cells into a body of water and the zygotes and embryos develop there. In the land vertebrates, which do not deposit their eggs into water, a sac forms around the embryo which fills with fluid. Consequently, each vertebrate, including the human, must spend the first developmental phase of its life in a water medium, and it is only after the new organism has achieved the necessary physical development (not accomplished by fishes and some amphibians), that it is able to continue its life in a gaseous environment.

(Even if humans should achieve the technological ability to raise what science fiction writers have called "bottle babies," these "bottles" would be filled with fluid. It is only because the human organism begins its life, not in a glass container in which one could observe the rapidly changing new life, but in a dark cavity out of sight, that older humans find it possible to pretend that these younger humans are not living or are not human. If the growth of the unborn child were to be observed by the mother, the issue of abortion would most likely never have become a matter of world-wide concern, for what psychologically healthy mother, seeing the unborn child within herself, would choose to destroy it.

Metaphysically, by its nature, every new human life *must* spend the first months of its existence in an aquatic environment, within the amniotic sac, if it is ever to experience a later stage of human existence. No human life has ever bypassed this requirement, or ever will—at least not for many millions of years, if then, considering the present rate of evolution. Every new human life must also have first been a zygote, then an embryo and finally a fetus before it is prepared to live outside the fluid medium. To contend that human life is only human at the time of birth, that the intrauterine entity is not an actual but only a potential human being, is untenable.

IF NOT A HUMAN BEING, THEN WHAT IS IT?

For those who insist that human life begins only at birth, the question that must be asked is: What is this entity developing within the uterus if not an actual human being? Is it possible that by some magic, at the time of birth, that this alleged potential being is somehow, within a matter of minutes, transformed into an actual human being? To rational individuals, in possession of scientific facts, the answer is incontrovertible. Both the unborn child and the newborn child is an actual human being, and at the time of birth, the child is merely moving from one required environment (aquatic) to a new required environment (gaseous) so that it can continue to develop into the succeeding stages of its life until it eventually ends its existence at the time of death.

The biological facts relating to the reproductive process and the first stages of human life have been established. It is now necessary to relate this knowledge to the issue of rights.

Those that contend that the intrauterine being is not human have no problem in their attempt to settle a controversy over rights, for if this living "thing" is not human, it can possess no rights. Since it is a well substantiated fact that the zygote, embryo or fetus is a human being, their argument becomes meaningless and requires no further discussion.

Those who contend that a human life is existing within the mother during the period

of pregnancy do ascribe rights to this new human life, but it is argued that the rights of the mother take precedence over those of the unborn child and thus she has, or should have, the legal and moral right to terminate the life of this new individual at any, or certain limited, stages of its existence. This latter position requires a succinct examination.

A woman must have full control over her own body at all times. She must be free to take any action which is deemed necessary to sustain her life. For instance, if it can be medically determined that carrying her unborn child to term would probably result in her death, she cannot be expected or required to sacrifice her adult independent life for the life of an immature, dependent offspring. (Actually, in many such cases, both the mother and the fetus could die, resulting in the loss of two lives, instead of just one.) Since medical science has advanced to a point at which such life and death situations rarely occur, the argument in favor of abortion in order to preserve the life of the mother has only limited application. Although this is the case, the legal code should specifically grant abortion if the mother's life is seriously jeopardized, which it has done throughout the history of this nation.

MITIGATING CIRCUMSTANCES

Are there other circumstances that might arise which would, or could, legally and morally permit an expectant mother to undergo an abortion? The answer is yes—in cases of legally proven (which is sometimes difficult), unwillingly engaged in acts of rape or incest. *When an individual does not commit an act of his own free will, he (or she) cannot be held responsible for the consequences of this act.* Although this is true, it does not alter the fact that a new life is existing and that it will be destroyed if aborted. The most humane response to such a circumstance would be to encourage the expectant mother to carry the child to term, but no one could require this of the victim.

There are some who insist that abortion should be allowed for other medical reasons—in the case of diseased or malformed fetuses. But what individual physician, or board of physicians, or legislative body has the ability to determine what diseased condition or what deformity could warrant killing the unborn (or the born)? No such judgment is possible, either for the intrauterine or extrauterine human.

HANDBOOK ON ABORTION

Dr. and Mrs. J. C. Willke, in their recently released book, *Handbook On Abortion*, emphasize this point when they write: "This price tag of comfort or utilitarian usefulness, called euthanasia when applied to incurably ill post-born humans, applies equally well to the pre-born human who is also judged to be so deformed or mentally deficient that he too should not be permitted to live. This criterion and value judgment which permits humans to continue to live only because they are useful and independent is an utterly barbaric concept. Once life has a price tag on it and is no longer an absolute right, then all life is endangered, all life is only worth the current price tag placed upon it by society, the state, the master race, or those in positions of power."

Having full control over her own body (having *self-determination*) is an absolute right of each woman, but having full control over another's body, over the body of a new life developing within her reproductive system is not, and never could be her prerogative. A woman must have the right to prevent conception—to determine herself if she wishes to have, or not have, a child—to obtain contraceptive information and materials—but she must also bear the responsibility for sustaining the life of a newly formed human if she willfully engages in intercourse which results in pregnancy.

(It should be noted that certain contra-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

ceptives do not prevent conception, but preclude the implantation of the embryo in the wall of the uterus. The use of such contraceptives should be condemned, for they bring about the destruction of very young lives rather than prevent their coming into existence.)

## A COLLECTIVIST VIEW: THE INDIVIDUAL IS EXPENDABLE

Consider the political philosophy, and the attitude toward individual rights, of those groups which are the most outspoken supporters of abortion—those concerned with environmental pollution, the population explosion and the "liberation" of women. Each of these groups espouses a collectivist view of life and considers the individual human to be expendable or enslavable as the means of achieving their ends. They are outspoken lobbyists backing legislation granting the agency of force, the government, the authority to establish a myriad of programs which they consider necessary to achieve their aims, and they completely ignore the fact that it is other human lives that will be sacrificed in this attempt to carry out their master plan for society. The sacrifice of the unborn is just one other aspect of their social engineering which is completely compatible with their view of man—the view that the individual is nothing; the collective is all.

There is no conflict of rights between the expectant mother and the unborn child. Both she and the new life within her have the right to life, a right which must be possessed by all humans at all stages of their life. And since it is the function of government to protect the rights of all humans, from the beginning of life to its end, it is right for the government to proscribe the killing of the unborn by means of abortion—except to save the life of the mother or in instances where a woman's self-determination was obliterated, as in the case of forced rape or incest.

In her brilliant essay, "Man's Rights," Ayn Rand states: "There are no 'rights' of special groups, there are no 'rights' of farmers, of workers, of businessmen, of employees, of employers, of the old, of the young, of the unborn.' There are only the Rights of Man—rights possessed by every individual man and by all men as individuals." The unborn child is a new individual having the same rights as all other individuals, and, as with all humans, regardless of their age or station in life, possesses the most basic of all rights, the right without which all other rights would cease to exist, the right to life.

## POISON GAS TEST ON DOGS

## HON. LES ASPIN

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. ASPIN. Mr. Speaker, ever since early in July, when my office revealed that the Air Force was seeking to buy 200 debarked beagle puppies to test poisonous gases at its Aerospace Research Laboratory in Ohio, we have been inundated with letters from all corners of the world. Without exception, the letters have expressed outrage at experiments which, it develops, are part of a \$3.6 million program with the University of California.

As I said when we revealed this information, I realize that this may not be one of the most pressing issues of national defense, but there are literally thousands of dog lovers like myself who won't stand by quietly while it happens. The results, simply in terms of mail received, justify my faith.

We discovered the plans for the experiments in an Air Force contract notice that calls for 200 beagles, "debarked, purebred, 6 to 9 months of age," for laboratory use. A quick check determined that the dogs would be used for experiments with toxic gases.

I have sent a letter to the Secretary of the Air Force demanding more information about this particular program and about other Air Force programs involving animals. To date, I have not received an answer. However, since that time, there have been a number of newspaper articles on the subject, and for the information of all those who would like to know more about Air Force experiments with animals, I would like to submit one of those articles for the record. The article follows:

[From the Christian Science Monitor, July 18, 1973]

## POISON GAS TESTS ON DOGS: "TIP OF THE ICEBERG?"

(By Dana Adams Schmidt)

WASHINGTON.—A U.S. Air Force plan to expose 200 beagle puppies to poisonous fumes to gauge the effects on humans is roundly condemned by humane society officials.

The officials call the experiments—to be conducted late this year or early next year at Wright-Patterson Air Force Base in Ohio under a \$1.2 million research contract—as "the tip of the iceberg" of experiments on animals in the United States.

The Air Force, which has the research contract with the University of California, says the animals will not be used to test poison gases or any chemical or biological warfare agents.

They will, however, test "effects of fluorocarbons to determine toxicity levels from fumes from fire extinguishers; effects of fumes given off by freezone; effects of methylhydrazene fumes from propellants; effects of carbon monoxide and hydrogen cyanide fumes given off by burning plastics in aircraft fires."

Says the Air Force: "Testing is low-level in nature and long-term in duration. In this type of testing most of the test animals will not die."

But some will not survive, because the Air Force also says that "animals whose health is affected or whose lifespan is altered will be humanely destroyed."

However, "animals not so affected will be made available for other test programs."

A spokesman for the Washington, D.C. branch of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) said that its offices have been inundated with letters protesting the Air Force's experiments.

"While we are not antivivisectionists in principle, we do find these particular experiments a little obscene," he said.

"Most people who know beagles as pets will suffer a real identity crisis when they hear the details."

SPCA officials quote statistics from Rutgers University's College of Agricultural and Environmental Sciences, which stated that in 1971 about 500,000 dogs of all kinds were used for laboratory research in the U.S.

In addition, the figures show, laboratories used 45 million rodents, 700,000 rabbits, 200,000 cats, 85,283 primates, 46,624 swine, 22,961 sheep, 1,724,279 birds, 15 to 20 million frogs, 190,415 turtles, 61,176 snakes, and 51,005 lizards in the same year.

The Air Force contract was let by the Aeronautical Systems Division of the Air Force Systems Command for work by the University of California at the aerospace medical research laboratory at Wright-Patterson.

The contract for the supply of dogs has not yet been let, although a notice of intent has been published.

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The Air Force explains that its procedures are humane.

It says that the dogs are "debarked" before the experiments through "a simple operation in which a small piece of cartilage is removed from their vocal cords. This is standard procedure used only when large numbers of animals are to take part in experiments indoors. It is a painless operation."

It was not clear, however, whether eliminating the dogs' ability to bark was for the sake of the dogs or for the sake of the laboratory technician who had to work with them.

According to the Air Force, "all federal, state, and local laws as well as principles of laboratory animal care as outlined by the National Academy of Sciences and HEW (Department of Health, Education, and Welfare) are strictly followed."

The Air Force also said that the Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals concurs in these principles.

This was denied by the Washington D.C. SPCA which pointed out that it works entirely through local branches and has no national organization that could lay down a national policy of the kind mentioned by the Air Force.

Why beagles? The answer given by the Air Force is that they are an "inexpensive, purebred animal," that they are frequently used for research because they tend to be uniform in size and characteristics.

The specifications provide that they should be purebred and six to nine months in age, half male and half female.

## OUTER SPACE PROFITS

## HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, our space program has already provided us with a large return on our investment. The Honorable OLIN E. TEAGUE of Texas, distinguished chairman of the Committee on Science and Astronautics, has been in the forefront of those espousing the importance of the national space program to our Nation. A recent editorial cites Mr. TEAGUE for his including in the RECORD an article of significance on our national space effort. I am including in the RECORD the editorial of the News of Frederick, Md., for Monday, July 16, 1973.

The editorial follows:

## OUTER SPACE PROFITS

At an investment of only two cents on the tax dollar, considering all the pluses that derive from America's space program, certain criticism of space explorations have generally left the greater segment of the populace wondering what all the yelling was about.

These carping critics were probably the same ones who made the most noise when those Russian Sputniks beat us in the space race, and who would have been screaming even louder if the United States had been beaten to the moon.

In Congress on July 10, Rep. Olin E. Teague of Texas included in the Congressional Record an article from the Today newspaper which he said, "goes far to describe the outstanding performance of Skylab and numerous benefits of our national space program."

The article by Today's Paul Harvey follows: We really didn't need all that trouble with Skylab.

With Yankee dollars shaky worldwide and shrinking stateside; with the confidence in Americanism shaken by public debt and pub-

lic scandal; we really did not need any "bugs" in our prestigious \$294 million Skylab project.

Queen Isabella did not hock her jewels to finance Columbus just to prove the world was round; she wanted to claim for Spain the rumored riches of the Indies.

The primary motivation for most exploration has been monetary and it still is.

Budget-pinched Americans have sometimes construed our space budget as an "expense" rather than an "investment."

Even members of Congress whose districts lack jobs dependent on space exploration are inclined to ignore the long-term fringe benefits.

The myriad products and processes which have already resulted from our investment in space exploration have profited us economically many times over.

For example, new electrical wiring which can be stuck on a wall and painted over, batteries which can be charged 100 times faster, more accurate digital clocks, the sight-switch with which a paralyzed person can steer a wheelchair.

Each of these is a spinoff from our successes and our failures in space.

Safer automobile tires, antifogging compound for your windshield and your eyeglasses, improved lubricants and heat-tolerant ceramics for kitchenware—all have been harvested from "empty space" technology.

Space exploration has resulted in 1,892 patents for practical, usable, beneficial, productive "things" which never were before and might never have been.

And yet we invest only two cents of each federal budget dollar in this highly profitable research while 45 cents of every dollar goes to one or another form of welfare.

Last year our government spent a total of \$3 billion on space; California alone spent that much on welfare programs!

Forgetting the material blessings just the medical fallout from 11 years of spaceflight may add that many years to the life of each of us.

Illnesses are now being diagnosed and treated by remote control. Bloodless surgery is being performed now with tools developed by space medics.

Our space-bought knowledge of our own planet—its seas, its resources, its climate—is of infinitely greater ecological significance than the combined efforts of the shortsighted ecologists who would divert space money.

America has not bought so much for so little since the Louisiana Purchase.

The "bread" we spread in space comes back a hundred-fold!

WILLIAM RALPH MASON

HON. B. F. SISK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. SISK. Mr. Speaker, William Ralph Mason, president of the Irvine Co., passed away on July 14 at his Newport Beach home. Family spokesmen attributed his death to a heart attack. He was 54. He is survived by his wife, Elizabeth Shannon, and three children, Mark Gregory, Mrs. Wendy Crawford, and Miriam Denise. Last rites were held at Pacific View Memorial Park, Corona del Mar.

Mr. Mason succumbed in the family home at 1907 Galatea Terrace, Corona del Mar, at approximately 3 p.m. He had been in good health and was working at the company offices Saturday morning.

Mr. Mason, a native of Seattle, Wash., was nationally prominent for his leader-

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ship in the development and implementation of the Irvine Co. general plan, encompassing 80,000 acres of land in Orange County, Calif.

He joined the Irvine Co. as administrative engineer in 1959. He was elevated to the presidency of the southern California land development and agricultural firm in 1966.

His many civic interests included active participation in the Boy Scouts of America, for which he currently served as western region president.

Among Mr. Mason's honors in recent years were his selection as "City of Hope Man of the Year," election to the American Academy of Achievement, selection by the Orange County Press Club as headliner of the year 1972, and recipient of an honorary doctor of science degree from Chapman College.

Mr. Mason began his career as assistant professor of civil engineering at the University of Washington. He never separated himself spiritually from the cause of education, serving as a member of the board of fellows of Claremont College, as a member of the president's council of Chapman College and as a prime mover in the planning, establishment and development of a University of California campus on a 1,000-acre site in the city of Irvine.

Bill Mason died at the peak of a distinguished career. He combined the technical skills of the engineer with the arts of the dedicated builder seeking with imagination and deep understanding practical solutions to human needs. His achievements are inerasable.

## THE CRITICAL HOUSING PROBLEM

HON. EDWARD J. PATTEN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. PATTEN. Mr. Speaker, one of the most critical domestic problems facing the American people is the field of housing.

Every day I receive letters, telegrams and telephone calls from constituents, deplored the housing shortage and high interest rates. These conditions are more than just unfortunate—they are outrageous and are preventing the realization of the American dream: To buy and own your own home.

I am especially disturbed over the plight of the veteran, who now faces the dark prospect of paying interest rates as high as 8 percent because of recent legislation passed by Congress. I closed many mortgages for veterans at 4 percent and to me, it is a virtual crime to have veterans pay 8 percent when their loans are guaranteed by the Government. Our citizens—especially our veterans—should be helped, not hurt, by the Government.

The Home News, of New Brunswick, N.J., published two excellent articles on the critical housing problem—one by Sunday editor Robert J. Baily, and the other, an editorial.

These articles follow:

WHEN THERE'S ONLY LUXURY HOUSING—  
BRITAIN'S SQUATTERS MOVE RIGHT IN  
(By Robert J. Baily)

LONDON.—Is housing a public utility? Does anyone have the right to leave a house vacant? Should persons be allowed to have little used vacation homes?

These are questions heard more and more frequently in the housing short United Kingdom. Their echoes can be faintly heard on American shores, too, where rising prices are beginning to rival the crunch conditions here.

The squatters movement is an active force on the British housing scene. It has its roots in the deprivations that followed World War II when thousands of Britons illegally occupied vacated army camps in a desperate effort to find any kind of shelter.

Today, with 30 percent of the people living in subsidized public housing, the desperation underscored by Nazi V-bombs is gone. But costs are forcing people to accept a grade of housing that goes against the grain of modern expectations.

The situation is not unlike that in the States for the young marrieds, the elderly and others of modest means. Rent of near \$200 a month for a one-bedroom private apartment in London isn't easy to manage on a young schoolteacher's typical \$6,000 a year salary, even when supplemented by a secretary's typical \$3,800.

But then how many young American marrieds can afford the \$200 plus rents on new apartments in Central Jersey or the \$31,000 that new homes cost on the average in the United States in March?

The Army Corps of Engineers is being harassed by squatters in vacated homes in the long-delayed Tocks Island reservoir project along the upper Delaware River. These squatters are depicted as hippie types.

But the British squatters, while some might be classified as hippies, are mostly made up of families on welfare dissatisfied with public housing conditions, poor working families that can't afford high rents and students with limited means.

The housing that is being squat in consists largely of homes that have been vacated for delayed urban renewal projects, luxury apartments empty because of high rents, office buildings left vacant as tax write-offs, houses awaiting transfer of ownership and vacation homes.

The squatters movement has achieved a degree of respectability here. One of the movement's leaders, Ron Bailey, has just had a book, "The Squatters," published as a Penguin Special.

In it Bailey describes the contemporary effort that began in the Redbridge section of London in 1968 and which today has formal organization in the Family Squatters Advisory Service. The service aids at least 16 family squatting associations in London boroughs.

As Bailey describes the thrust:

"Squatting should be the movement of ordinary people to challenge the authorities on the whole issue (of housing). It must become the living demonstration that ordinary people will no longer accept the intolerable housing shortage. It must become the threat that will compel government, national and local, to change its priorities."

What Bailey has in mind are these:

"Luxury flats lying empty for years while people rot in slums is an apt symbol of the false priorities of our 'affluent' society."

"The sign outside proclaiming 'offices to let' symbolized all the priorities that we rejected."

"The system typified by large empty office blocks is a good target for squatters."

Bailey's view of the system is this:

"While land values increase because of property speculation, councils are hamstrung in any attempt to acquire land for housing, and while interest rates continue to rise, councils continue to have to pay out enor-

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

mons sums to borrow money to finance house building.

"Even the most willing council in the world is therefore at the mercy of this system of private speculation, private money lending and property developing."

He concludes: "The badly housed and the homeless will be the basis for a new radical housing movement."

Interestingly, the Ministry of Housing, the Greater London Council and other governmental groups here have vigorous housing programs that dwarf anything in the United States. One sees very little rundown housing like that in Trenton, Newark or other older U.S. cities.

Yet some people in Britain have already taken matters into their own hands.

Is a large-scale squatters movement possible in the United States? Perhaps so, if costs and shortages go unabated to the point that enough persons become desperate.

In New Jersey today, for example, about the only housing being built are luxury apartments, luxury private homes and posh retirement communities. These are where the maximum profits are in today's private marketplace.

Public programs are few, and the federal ones are being dismantled by the Nixon Administration.

Someday American students, young marrieds, workers of modest means, welfare recipients and others may have little choice but to follow the lead of the British squatters.

## DREAM COTTAGES HARDER TO FINANCE

A mortgage on that dream cottage by the Raritan now costs more. Last week the permissible rate in New Jersey was raised from 7.5 to 8 per cent. That's only a half per cent, but on today's typical new 25-year mortgage of \$20,000 or more, the added cost to the home buyer is \$2,000 to \$3,000.

Even so, the home buyer is likely to find mortgages hard to get, and banking institutions finicky. The fact is that 8 per cent in today's tight money market isn't a good return for lending money.

The prime rate, the interest that a bank can charge the likes of American Telephone or General Motors for a loan, has gone to 8.5 per cent. And Treasury bills, which have the full faith and credit of the U.S. government behind them, are paying 8 per cent. So why should a bank lend money to Joe Middlesex at 8 per cent?

Actually, there are auto, personal and commercial loans, corporate bonds, foreign bank accounts and other places to put money to work that can return up to double what can be gotten on a mortgage and often with as much safety.

Banking institutions have more reason than ever to seek maximum returns because the federal regulatory agencies also last week gave them permission to pay higher returns on savings accounts. Herabouts some are now offering over 7 per cent on certain term deposits, and one New Orleans savings and loan association has gone to an 8.5 per cent top.

So, what's the incentive for banks to even bother with mortgages? The whimpering of people who can't sell their houses or can't buy a place to live has little effect in matters of cold cash.

Who cares if a young couple can't buy a house of its own and must move in with relatives? Who cares if a chap can't take a new job because he can't sell his home?

Certainly not the state nor federal governments. In fact, the Nixon administration has been dismantling its housing programs during this second term.

In the short run, very little can be done about interest rates. If they are artificially held down in the U.S., as by a freeze, money will flee abroad where rates are higher. And if that is forbidden, international trade would be crippled with all kinds of unpleas-

ant consequences that would be felt at the meat counters and gas pumps.

But if farm crops, oil exploration, trains and other things can be subsidized, so can mortgages. Some mortgages are, mostly for construction of low income apartment houses.

It is a matter of priorities, which is also spelled political pressure.

If enough people are made miserable, if public clamor gets loud enough, if voting levers are pulled for candidates who favor programs that will enable people to purchase houses at rates they can afford, then dream cottages will again become realities.

For now, it's an 8 per cent mortgage if you can find a banking institution willing to give you one.

## WHAT HAPPENS AFTER WATERGATE?

HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Ms. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, for many months I have been striving to prevent a domination of the United States by the executive branch of Government. The Congress must maintain its strength as designated in the Constitution.

Following is an address on this subject by Mr. Ivan Shapiro, president of the New York Society for Ethical Culture, which was broadcast by WQXR on July 3 of this year. I hope my colleagues will find this piece as interesting as I have. The address follows:

## WHAT HAPPENS AFTER WATERGATE?

We will be in the midst of Watergate for a long time yet, but one thing is apparent. The immediate threat to liberty is over, at least for the next few years. The Soviet-style activities and the mentality of the Administration, have been brought into the open, and the wrongdoers are on display before an angry public. Our rescue came just in time. We have learned that attempts were made to corrupt or pervert the functions of at least five non-political government agencies. In addition, the criminal acts which have already been confessed by members of the President's entourage include illegal wire tapping, bribery, attempts to tamper with judges, perjury, obstruction of justice and burglary. The range of crimes, the variety of agencies affected, and the number of participants doubtless will grow as the investigations continue. But no matter what is revealed, this is past history and poses no immediate threat.

But if our rescue is to endure beyond the life of this Administration, you and I must make our voices heard, demanding that our elected representatives do their jobs. This means, first, that they may have to confront squarely and wisely the matter of impeaching the President of the United States and removing him from office. The White House's illegal activities came dangerously close to being a coup d'état—a clandestine effort to supersede the existing structure of our government. If the President was a consenting party, he is of course a malefactor. If he had no knowledge of what his personally chosen cabinet members and closest assistants were doing, under the cloak of his authority, then he abdicated his powers and responsibilities and left this country without an elected leader.

The Nixon Administration did not create the circumstances in which a Watergate could occur. The President's remoteness from the Congress, from his critics and from reality itself was the legacy left by President Johnson and perhaps by Presidents Kennedy

and Eisenhower as well. George Reedy, the press secretary for President Johnson wrote a book in 1970 in which he described the isolation-chamber atmosphere of the White House, the atmosphere of a king surrounded only by his fawning courtiers.

Watergate is the result of both the growth of presidential power—the President's practice of ruling by memo and by executive order—and also of the inability of Congress to maintain and to exercise the powers granted to it by the Constitution. Therefore, the larger job which faces our representatives is to revamp the machinery of Congress, to enable it to fulfill the role required of it. For instance, Congress must have its own staff of civil servants equipped, and of adequate strength to furnish Congress with the facts needed for a real policy making role, without being dependent upon the executive branch. In addition, the Office of Management and Budget must be brought wholly within the control of the Congress. We've always known that whoever exercises the power of the purse and the power to make war is the ruler. It took the English two revolutions to get this power out of the hands of the monarch and into those of Parliament, and the farmers of our Constitution themselves fought one bloody revolution on this very issue. They were terrified of the possibility of presidential tyranny and they foresaw just the kind of activities that fill this morning's newspapers.

Watergate is a warning to us that if we treat the presidency with reverence rather than with respect, if we view the President as being our monarch instead of being our most important servant, if we permit his power to go unexamined and unchecked, radio talks such as this will not be heard for long. America is not the place for treating the President's critics as the nation's enemies, or for spying on such opponents and destroying them. The wrongdoers have been caught and doubtless many will be punished. But if it again becomes possible for a president to rule as a tyrant, it will be because you and I have not assured ourselves of having representatives in Congress who are capable and desirous of discharging their Constitutional responsibilities to us.

## THE APOLLO 11 ANNIVERSARY OF ACHIEVEMENT

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, 4 years ago this week, Neil Armstrong, a great American, a fine engineer, and now brilliant educator, became the first astronaut to set foot on the Moon. Neil Armstrong opened a new era in the history of mankind. Man, for the first time, was freed from traveling only on the planet Earth. Man gained a new perspective of the world he lives in recognizing its enormity yet its smallness in cosmic dimensions.

It is a day that Americans and all the people of the world can remember with pride, not only as a great feat but also as a contributor to the benefit of the people of this country and of the world. People from all walks of life, from all parts of our country and from all over the world participated in the achievement of the first lunar landing which was then following by a solid set of continuous achievements in the scientific investigation of the Moon.

Apollo paved the way for the practical application of space to the benefit of

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man. We would do well on this day to remember that our Nation's health depends on our ability to develop and utilize technology that improves our quality of life and strengthens our economic well-being. The Apollo program and the programs which follow, today, contribute to that essential goal.

#### BUREAUCRACY MOVES SLOWLY BUT FREEPORT BENEFITS

#### HON. NORMAN F. LENT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. LENT. Mr. Speaker, we are all aware of the instances in which the Federal bureaucracy seems to impede, rather than promote progress. I recently became involved in a problem that the residents of Freeport were experiencing in trying to get an expansion of their sewage treatment plant, and soon found out firsthand how frustrating it can be to try and get the system to accomplish even the most desirable ends. I am pleased to say that it now appears that the matter is well on the way to favorable resolution, which proves that cooperation between all levels of government, inspired by citizen input, can result in benefits to the community. I include in the RECORD at this point an article by Emilie Trautmann from the July 22, 1973, issue of Newsday which discusses the Freeport sewer problem and its resolution:

##### TRROUBLED WATERS FOR SEWAGE PLAN

(By Emilie Trautmann)

(Sometime within the next month or two, Nassau County Executive Caso and Freeport Village Mayor William White will sign an agreement to pipe Freeport's sewage to the county's new Wantagh sewage treatment plant. The signing will take but a few seconds; there will be no ceremony, and only a dozen pieces of paper will be involved. But those pieces of paper are just one peak in mountains of red tape that extend six years into the past and at least two years more into the future. This story details the Byzantine bureaucracy involved in just one sewer treatment project.)

##### NO. 1. FREEPORT: THE PROBLEM

Freeport has 42,000 residents; they each produce from 100 to 125 gallons of sewage a day—about 13 gallons per shower and seven gallons per toilet flush. Some people produce more sewage than others (those who use dishwashers, for instance), but altogether the residents produce about 3,800,000 gallons in any given day. That is enough to keep the Freeport sewage treatment plant busy. Very busy. And in 1967 that was the problem.

The Freeport sewage treatment plant is not supposed to handle more than 4,000,000 gallons of sewage a day, but it can treat an extra 2,000,000 gallons if necessary, say during a heavy rainstorm. After the flow reaches 6,000,000 gallons per day, the more sewage the plant has to treat, the less treatment the sewage gets. So engineers of Baldwin and Cornelius, a Freeport consulting firm hired by the village, recommended that something be done: Expand the plant, they said.

##### NO. 2. FIRST FAILURE

The engineers hired by Freeport drew up a document of about 100 pages outlining plans to expand the sewage treatment plant, and that plan was sent to the Nassau Health Department which worked with the Nassau

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Public Works Department, which sent the plan to the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation, which added it to a water quality plan for a section of Middle Bay in which the treated sewage was to be dumped. And that combined plan of about 150 pages was sent to the New York City office of the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, which sent it to the Washington office of the Environmental Protection Agency, which rejected the plan. It was too expensive, they said. That was in March, 1970.

##### NO. 3. THE GREAT TERTIARY PLANT EXPERIMENT

Under the impression that the federal government had recommended it, Freeport decided to try a one-year experiment. It would give an added, tertiary, stage of treatment to 30,000 gallons of its 3,800,000 gallons of daily sewage. That meant that in addition to everything else it was doing to treat those 30,000 gallons, it would take out nitrates, which encourage the growth of algae which use up oxygen in the water and cause fish to suffocate. The tertiary plant would remove enough waste so the 30,000 gallons of sewage eventually could be returned to Freeport's underground water supply, rather than be dumped in the bay.

If the experiment worked (which it did), Freeport figured it could get federal money to convert its sewage treatment plant into a tertiary plant large enough to handle much more than 4,000,000 gallons a day. And at the same time it could replenish the village's underground water supply.

So Freeport spent \$270,000 on the experiment and one year passed. But when the experiment was completed in May, 1972, there was no federal money in the offing. The federal government said it never recommended anything like a tertiary plant to Freeport. It was interested in the project, yes, but willing to pay for it, no. And so Freeport tried something else.

##### NO. 4. SOMETHING ELSE: TRY I

The engineers drew up a plan to hook Freeport's sewage treatment plant into Nassau County's new treatment plant in Wantagh. It sent the plan to the Nassau Health Department and the Nassau Public Works Department, which sent it to the state Department of Environmental Conservation, which sent it to the New York City office of the federal Environmental Protection Agency, which sent it to the Washington office of the Environmental Protection Agency, which rejected it. That was October, 1972.

##### NO. 5. TRY II: POLITICS

So the mayor of Freeport, Robert Sweeney, went to the representative from his district Norman Lent (R-East Rockaway), who bypassed everybody and went to the attorneys for the Washington office of the Environmental Protection Agency, who accepted a Freeport-Wantagh hook up. That was done in March, 1973.

What happened was that there had been a cutoff of the 1972 federal Clean Water Act because of Nixon administration spending cutbacks. No additions to any agreed-to projects involving federal money were allowed, and the Nassau County sewage treatment plant had been agreed-to by the federal government. Therefore, Freeport could not be added. But Lent was persuasive. Bids for the Nassau project were lower than expected, he argued, and even with the Freeport addition, it wouldn't cost as much as originally expected. The Environmental Protection Agency agreed. Work began on the Wantagh project and a formal agreement had to be worked out between Nassau County and Freeport to hook Freeport into the plant in Wantagh.

##### NO. 6. NOW AND NEXT

So an agreement was drafted between Nassau County and the Village of Freeport early this month and approved by the Freeport Village Board two weeks ago. But the village engineers had a "few minor questions," a vil-

lage spokesman said. After the village and county engineers get those questions straightened out, village and county lawyers will take a look at the agreement. If they see no problems, Freeport Mayor William White will sign it and send it to County Public Works Commissioner John Peters, who will send it to County Executive Caso, who will approve it for Peters' signature. Then Caso must get the agreement again and approve it for the county board of supervisors' calendar. After the agreement is scheduled for discussion, it will be discussed, and there will be a public hearing supervised by the Nassau Environmental Management Council. If it is approved by the board of supervisors after the hearing, Caso can sign it.

Then the project still must be approved by the state Department of Environmental Conservation. And if that agency approves it, then the New York City office of the federal Environmental Protection Agency must approve it, and after that, the Washington office of the Environmental Protection Agency must approve it. And then it is approved.

Then Nassau County can take bids for the construction job, bids that have to be approved by the state Department of Environmental Conservation. When bids are awarded, the construction company can start building. And if there are no strikes or shortages, or bad weather, the project will be completed in 1975. Maybe.

##### NO. 7. BUREAUCRACY: PROS AND CONS

From start to finish it will have taken at least eight years for Freeport to solve the problem of its aging sewage treatment plant. There are some environmentalists who believe that eight years is an optimistic estimate. It will be well after 1975 before the project is finished, they say, because things just don't move that fast.

Some of the questions raised by all this are: Why is there this "ball of wax," as one Nassau County official put it? Why do things take so long? Is it necessarily bad that things do take that long?

One Freeport official called the whole thing "ridiculous" and then he compared it to a better known form of bureaucracy. "Ever been to the Motor Vehicle Bureau?" he asked.

But other officials involved in the process defended it. They say it is necessary. Coordination is important to prevent miscalculations and oversights, they argue. "It's necessary. There's a lot of money involved," said one. Another refused to use the words "red tape." "When you say that you are introducing biases. It's 'processes of approval,' not red tape."

#### THE SEARCH FOR ENERGY

#### HON. STANFORD E. PARRIS

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. PARRIS. Mr. Speaker, the Northern Virginia Sun, an independent daily newspaper which serves my congressional district and the district of my colleague, the Honorable JOEL BROTHILL, recently published an editorial commenting on the search for a solution to the growing energy shortage in this Nation and specifically on a report by the Stanford Research Institute on the energy situation in California.

At this time, under my leave to revise and extend my remarks, I would like to include that editorial in the RECORD:

##### WORTH THINKING ABOUT

A major study of the state of California's energy requirements to the end of the century has been made by the Stanford Research Institute, one of the nation's leading orga-

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nizations of its kind. Findings of the Institute deal with California, but they apply in principle to the entire country.

A report on the study emphasizes the strong correlation between energy consumption and economic activity. It says, "Taking into account the resource energy base in the United States and abroad, California should have adequate energy supplies for hundreds of years. . . . Despite this impressive resource base, both the nation and the state face the prospect of energy shortages."

The report declares, "If California is to avoid having such shortages extend into the long term, the state must encourage rapid development of energy sources rather than impose arbitrary limits of growth on the use of energy. . . . Steps such as banning the use of electricity and the imposition of heavy taxes on energy use could lead to massive economic disruption and total government control of the economy. . . ."

The Institute's findings refute charges the California power companies are threatening the coastline with a "picket fence" of nuclear power plants. It observes that nuclear power is of great economic significance to California.

If its expansion is not permitted, consumers will spend \$30 billion more between 1985 and 2000 for electricity from other sources. The Institute states further that, ". . . siting and safety criteria for nuclear plants are technical problems that can and should be resolved. The Institute added that potential savings to California energy users are of sufficient magnitude to justify concerted and accelerated action by state and federal regulatory authorities and the electric utilities in resolving these problems."

We can't help but feel that the energy crisis is one of the foremost problems facing the people and politicians of this nation; whether they be from California or Virginia. And right now virtually any recommendation is worth thinking about.

## UNITED NATIONS EXPANDS TO SWITZERLAND

## HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, as the U.S. taxpayers' dollars continue to flow, the U.N. bureaucracy continues to grow.

The U.N. bureaucracy has gotten so large in New York that it is now working on its second one-world headquarters in Geneva.

At least the Swiss are more perceptive than we Americans in some respects. The Swiss are not members of the U.N. and do not pay to support the monstrosity growing in their midst.

I ask that a related newsclipping follow.

[From the Washington Post, July 22, 1973]

## U.N. BUREAUCRACY IN GENEVA RIVALS NEW YORK'S

(By William Tuohy)

GENEVA.—The United Nations is proliferating in a quiet yet startling fashion here, now rivaling the New York headquarters in size and complexity, and soon to become even bigger.

What some here call the "Unocracy" has just added a new wing with 700 office units.

UNICEF, the United Nations Children's Fund, has recently moved from Paris to Geneva, joining a half dozen other specialized and semi-independent U.N. agencies here.

In its appointed task of feeding in policy recommendations and carrying out the decisions of the General Assembly in New York, the Geneva complex held 475 full-scale meetings and conferences here last year, with some 4,900 sessions.

The Geneva personnel roster has soared to some 2,500 employees, and the budget is approaching \$250 million annually, having million annually, having doubled in six years, and now even surpasses that of the New York headquarters.

Most U.N. activity here is concentrated in the huge Palais des Nations, but the specialized agencies like the ILO (International Labor Organization), WHO (World Health Organization), WMO (World Meteorological Organization), and the ITU (International Telecommunications Union) also have their own headquarters buildings here.

Also based here are an alphabet soup of commissions and conferences such as GATT, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, UNCTAD, the U.N. Conference on Trade and Development, UNV, the U.N. Volunteers, and UNHCR, U.N. High Commission for Refugees.

Under secretaries general, directors general, and division chiefs are as plentiful in Geneva as generals in the Pentagon.

As the U.N. office mushrooms, filling new office space as soon as it is created, one senior official growls: "We could get along better with 30 per cent less personnel."

But he adds, "We will undoubtedly keep growing, because there is still more room in Geneva than New York."

Geneva was first selected as the U.N. European headquarters because it is central and because it was the site of the League of Nations.

In time, it became the center for conferences, agencies and commissions relating to the social and economic fields of the United Nations, with the political specialists remaining in New York.

To staff these conferences here, the United Nations provides the translators and press attaches who grind out 250 million pages of reports each year.

Some of these go to the 200 accredited news correspondents based here, but much of it is for inter-office use.

"There are new reports about the old reports," remarks one rather cynical veteran.

And while some of the agencies here like WHO, UNICEF, and GATT have provided indispensable services, the activities of other agencies like UNCTAD—whose conferences are few and far between—are questionable.

The specialized agencies here have their own budgets which are approved directly by the General Assembly, and they also have the authority to raise their own funds.

Thus, some of the agencies here go their own freewheeling way, feeling little responsibility to the mother U.N. office with which they are sometimes in competition for assignments in fields like environment and pollution.

There is also a confusing criss-crossing of authority and responsibility: In the field of drugs, for instance, there is the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, the International Narcotics Control Board and the Fund for Drug Abuse Control.

Perhaps more debilitating to the Unocracy, according to senior officials, is the level of mediocrity that currently prevails.

"Just at the time when our senior people who have been with the United Nations from the beginning are retiring," says a long-time and respected official, "we are saddled with a lot of second-rate personnel."

"I lay the blame to the geographical quota system of hiring professional staff."

This system provides in practice that every member country of the United Nations—there are now 132—should, if it desires, have some kind of representation on the personnel rosters.

"The original charter indicated that what

counted was experience and competence, with geography a consideration," says a critic of the current system. "But now geography seems to be the only consideration."

He pointed out that many countries send inferior people to the United Nations because the top administrators are needed at home.

"Some of these countries send people to United Nations posts only for the training, and then go back home," says one official here.

"And a lot of these countries insist that we open up senior posts for their ex-ambassadors and ex-ministers—posts that they are not at all equipped to fill."

"Because of these political appointments, the senior staff of the United Nations is suffering, and we have to pay millions of dollars yearly to hire outside consultants to do the job."

Because of the political and geographical nature of appointments, critics say, it is almost impossible to fire anyone, thus incompetents are shifted from division to division but remain within the system.

The Third World countries are demanding that U.N. agencies be located in their areas, hence the new Environmental Agency is scheduled to be transferred from Europe to Nairobi.

The "Third World problem," as it is sometimes called here, manifests itself in strange ways.

Last summer, one bright information officer suggested that delegations to the Stockholm environment conference move about the city by bicycle as a way of calling attention to the automobile pollution problem.

This idea was rejected by Third World delegates who thought that it would be beneath their dignity to ride bicycles, and they drove around Stockholm in limousines instead.

In addition to the U.N. agencies, Geneva has become a magnet for dozens of other private international organizations ranging from the World Council of Churches to the International Red Cross.

Fully 90 countries, therefore, maintain diplomatic missions in Geneva, most of them headed by an ambassador, and because of the existence of these senior missions, international meetings, unrelated to the United Nations—like the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks—are often held in Geneva.

Thus the proliferation of well-heeled international agencies has provided a bonanza to Geneva's economy rivaling watchmaking and banking.

Staffers and delegates spend millions of dollars annually in Geneva, and some townspeople call the International agencies "the golden egg."

So profitable is the business of serving the United Nations that the nearby city of Lausanne has offered to provide a home for any overflow agencies desiring one.

"Geneva is cheaper to live in than New York or Paris," says one U.N. officer. But the prices are rising particularly since the dollar devaluation. Our service personnel are paid in Swiss francs, but the professional people get their salaries in dollars."

## OLD BATTLE

## HON. JOHN M. ZWACH

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. ZWACH. Mr. Speaker, the 4 year producers and consumers bill finally passed the House late last Thursday after a great amount of give and take.

It is now, in my opinion, the best farm bill ever enacted.

Following the opening of world markets for our good, it gives the great Midwest the best opportunity ever for an era of economic growth and increased income.

Before this bill was passed, O. B. Augustson, editor of the West Central Minnesota Daily Tribune, wrote the following editorial on this legislation, which, I would like to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

#### OLD BATTLE

Down at Washington where they call the capitol "The Hill" there is the same old battle going on as to a new farm measure. They can pass bills for war and subsidies for other enterprises but when it comes to the matter of giving or seeing to it that agriculture gets a fair deal economically—then one would think they were deciding on the very fate of the nation. Or if there is some proposal to bail out the big cities—there is far quicker action because as is well known—there is where the bulk of the votes are coming from at the next election.

And then one must add this other sidelight—besides the greater urban population in the nation—in those areas are also the greater batch of consumers as well. So to get the urban center vote the boys down there also like to please them with the lowest possible food prices. That is—with the assumption that consumers have the cockeyed idea that it is the farmers better price that is the one and only cause for higher food prices. Which is no true. Never was.

Why—even a slight and needed increase in the farmer prices which might make the difference of the farmer being able to stay on the farm or have to get off—that small increase would hardly be noticed—if that is the only increase. But we know it is not—it is all the other parties who handle the farmers products after they leave his hands that make up the difference.

And it can also be pointed out that Americans generally perhaps cannot complain that the cost of food is not as major as it could be and such lower costs have really subsidized the high standard of living in this nation. More of the total family income to buy cars and all the luxuries that make up our high standard of living. The American farmers get hardly one third of the consumer dollar while in Sweden said farmers get twice as much of that self same dollar. But they ride more bikes over there and what cars they have are not the luxurious big ones we pilot down the highways.

We hope the Congress will pass a decent farm bill. It will not only serve as justice to agriculture but would be a shot in the arm of our entire national economy.

#### ROME—CITY OF AMERICAN HISTORY

#### HON. DONALD J. MITCHELL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. MITCHELL of New York. Mr. Speaker, there is a revolution of sorts taking place amidst the splendor and serenity of the historic Mohawk Valley in New York. This modern revolution, like the one that occurred on the same soil nearly 200 years ago, is attracting attention from far and near. An article in the July 22 Washington Post tells all about the current revolution. Not only do I wish to share the fine article by

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Elizabeth C. Mooney with my colleagues, I would also like to extend an open and standing invitation for one and all to visit Rome, N.Y., city of American history:

##### ALL ROADS IN ROME LEAD TO HISTORICAL RECONSTRUCTION

(By Elizabeth C. Mooney)

*Git up there mules, here comes a lock,  
We'll make Rome 'bout 6 o'clock.*

—Old Canaller Song.

It was an inauspicious day for the launching. A fine misting rain was falling and the banks of the old Erie Canal were muddy and rutted. Nevertheless, 300 citizens of Rome, N.Y., plus assorted dogs and children, huddled under umbrellas and watched as a lightweight tractor, with the help of several sweating and straining men, shoved the 25-ton canal packet boat Independence down the runway for her maiden trip 40 yards across the canal.

She hit the muddy water stern first and had to be nudged off the launching planks. The newly restored Erie rose in a welcoming splash and a dampish cheer from the crowd saluted her. Her creator, Bill Ott, breathed easier as he watched her settling easily in the water and slapped his son, Gary, exuberantly on the back.

That was the scene last month as the lusty old Erie Canal went back in business, even if only in fun.

When the nation celebrates its 200th birthday in 1976, the citizens of Rome, mean to be a part of the festivities. Revolutionary history is fashionable these days and Rome is long on history. After years of enduring japes about all roads leading to Rome, they mean now to make it come true. The Independence, which this summer will make trips up the Erie a mile-and-a-half to Ft. Bull, a French and Indian fort is only the opening gun. The Romans are constructing a combination of attractions which add up to a sort of historic Disneyland.

Rome, eight miles from New York State Thruway exits 32 or 33, is a small industrial city in the Mohawk Valley. Lately, the government of the United States sent a task force from the Interior Department to reconstruct Ft. Stanwix, a key fort in the French and Indian War, first built in 1758. Nineteen years later, it survived a siege by Col. St. Leger on his way through the Mohawk Valley to join in an attack on Albany that was to divide the colonies by cutting New York in half.

General Herkimer, bringing a relief force to help the fort, was ambushed at Oriskany, five miles down the road from Ft. Stanwix, and the resulting battle is considered the bloodiest of the Revolution. The fort survived when Gen. Benedict Arnold arrived to relieve it and the British retreated, leaving large quantities of supplies. Two months later Burgoyne surrendered and the tide of battle turned. It is said that the American flag was first flown in battle at Ft. Stanwix.

The original outlines of the fort are now visible in the archeological digs, and on exhibit in the headquarters across the way are various relics which have lately been unearthed. You can see cannon and musket balls, old uniform buttons, a rare tomahawk pipe and some of the eight-inch wrought iron nails from the wooden gate of the fort. Partially reconstructed Oriental and English pottery are also on display and the bones of a good many passenger pigeons which the besieged patriots ate during the attack.

The National Park Service Ranger will take you on a free tour and show you the charred rear walls of the fort. This summer, students dressed in the 18th-century costumes are working on the digs, and they'll be glad to point out the moat and the officer's barracks buildings.

The people of Rome, who don't consider

you a native unless your grandfather was born there, think their long-range history may just put their city on the map. Mayor William Valentine and his Historic Rome Development Authority have renamed Rome the "City of American History," and the mayor is getting ready for what he thinks will be a large tourist business.

"We expect eventually a minimum 600,000 visitors a year," says Mayor Valentine. "The Economic Research Company of California, the same company who did the research for Disneyland, said to prepare for that many. We're making plans and we think we can handle them."

The Independence and Ft. Stanwix are a reality, but Mayor Valentine and the Romans have further ideas. They have discovered an old narrow-gauge steam locomotive and are planning to install a track for it along the banks of their reconstructed mile and a half of the Erie. Visitors can go by the Independence to Ft. Bull and return on the train. If enough funds are found before the Bicentennial, they will also be able to wander about in a canal village, vintage 1840, of the type that the canallers knew when they made the nine-day trip from Albany to Buffalo by the horse drawn packets.

Central New York State has plenty of 1840 houses of the right type and plans are to move them intact to the canal.

Rome is the right place for this reconstruction, as a peek into the Rome Historical Society on Spring Street will make clear. The first shovelful of dirt for the canal was dug by Governor DeWitt Clinton at Rome on the Fourth of July, 1817, when it was considered the engineering marvel of the day. It was a cheap, fast route through the Appalachians and it opened up the West. The barges were pulled by mules and the packets, like Rome's Independence, by horses plodding along the canal's dirt path.

Bill Ott, who together with his son built the Independence, says it wasn't easy. He is a carpenter and canal boats are a little out of his line; especially since he never saw one. But a team of engineers provided him with the plans and he started out from scratch felling enormous oaks with wood so hard that he had to soak planks in boiling water to bend them for the prow. The tiller is hand-hewn and the nails are the type usually used for light metalwork. It took Ott all winter, and central New York winters have to be seen to be believed. The snows come in October and are still around in late March. Ott worked under a plastic tent.

Rome expects to absorb the tourist influx well and has made special plans for the traffic it will bring. The little city has, as you might expect, some good Italian restaurants, but its real forte is the beautiful surrounding countryside in the valley of the Mohawk.

A summer picnic at the Oriskany battleground might combine history and a treat for the eye. Take a look at the state of New York's dioramas of the ambush and then find a spot on the hillside overlooking the point where Gen. Herkimer's horse was shot from under him. It's known as the Bloody Ravine, but you wouldn't know it now. Amtrak winds through the valley like a toy train and you'll take heart when you see that all the beautiful countryside isn't ruined yet.

#### MAN-TO-MAN

#### HON. AL ULLMAN

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. ULLMAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take a few minutes, if possible, to tell you and my colleagues about an innova-

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tive but simple program to help ex-convicts find their way back into the routine of life and the mainstream of our society. Begun in Oregon's capital city, Salem, by the State Street Jaycees, the program is now being adopted by Jaycees organizations statewide in Oregon. It is also being considered for nationwide promotion by the U.S. Jaycees.

As much as the responsibility for thoroughgoing penal reform lies with the Congress and the States, it is still up to individual citizens, in the end, to carry the responsibility for helping reintegrate ex-convicts back into a productive, useful life. I want to commend the State Street Jaycees for their imagination in undertaking this type of program, and for their dedication in staying with it until they achieved some tangible success. I also want to insert in the RECORD at this point an explanation of the program prepared by the State Street Jaycees. Finally, if any of you, or organizations in your districts, are interested in seeking more information about this program, I would like to suggest that you write to Mr. C. W. Chappelle, staff adviser, State Street Jaycees, 2605 State Street, Salem, Oreg. 97310.

The material I mentioned above follows herewith:

A MESSAGE FROM CHIEF JUSTICE WARREN E. BURGER

"When a sheriff or marshal takes a man from a courthouse in a prison van and transports him to confinement for two or three or ten years, this is our act. We have 'tolled the bell' for him. And whether we like it or not, we have made him our collective responsibility. We are free to do something about him; he is not."

## MAN-TO-MAN

An individual who is confined can appreciate the astuteness of the preceding message by Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, much more readily than a free man. For the man in prison, after being incarcerated two, three, or ten years, comes to realize to the fullest extent what an "outcast" is.

Even after serving his sentence and supposedly having atoned for his past mistakes, he is met with rejection upon leaving prison.

Upon learning he is an ex-offender, society immediately starts to reject him and hinder him. Gainful employment, the one thing the ex-offender desperately needs in order to assume a meaningful role in life, is difficult to obtain because of his record.

The average person discharging from the penitentiary, does so with \$100.00 and the clothing upon his back. The \$100.00 must supply the individual with a place of residence, additional clothing and transportation. And even under the most stringent conditions, it is easy to see that \$100.00 is not going to last very long. Especially when the ex-offender attempting to re-enter society is met with negative attitudes at his every approach.

Penal reform is an old and tired subject. Public awareness of the difficulty an ex-offender has is desperately needed in order to extend help to him and could very well be a step in the right direction.

We, of the State Street Jaycees, are attempting to increase Public Awareness, and to solicit help for the ex-offender through our "Man-to-Man" project.

The "Man-to-Man" project is essentially a program in which the State Street Jaycees find the needed help for a man going out on parole. We do this by working in conjunction with outside Oregon Jaycee Chapters and employers. We have been met with moderate success in this area to date, and other chap-

ters have adopted "Man-to-Man". It is our hope that this program will catch on Nationwide.

State Street Jaycees are in need of sponsors for this project. There are men inside the institution right now with parole papers in their pocket. Yet, they cannot leave because they lack a job position and a place to stay.

By "Sponsors," in no way is it meant for responsibility to be assumed for these men. To sponsor a man in this sense is to give him aid and assistance in finding employment, and a suitable place to live that is within his income bracket.

Also to introduce him to people in the community, so that he would not feel rejected.

It is also important to talk to him and show that you understand and care. "Talking" with a person may not seem too important to those who are in the "Free World"; but to a man who has spent years of his life inside a steel and concrete world, a friendly conversation in a time of frustration or despair, could be the very factor responsible for whether or not the man is successful in his re-adjustment to Society.

No man upon leaving the Institution does so with the intention of ever returning. The men leave seeking an opportunity to establish themselves and live out a meaningful existence. They are not looking for a "handout" or "charity" . . . only the chance to become self-sufficient.

The State Street Jaycees extend all available help to those men; however, as can be imagined, our services are somewhat limited. We do need additional support from the outside Jaycee Chapters.

Every man selected to go out under the "Man-to-Man" project is first oriented and screened by the State Street Jaycees. Members of outside Chapters who wish to sponsor a man being released on Parole to participate in the "Man-to-Man" project is invited to the Penitentiary to personally interview the man selected who wished to locate in their area, without any obligation on behalf of that Chapter.

We of the State Street Jaycees believe the "Man-to-Man" project to be our most important project, especially in as much as this project adheres to the Jaycee Creed "Service to humanity is the best work of Life."

Co-operation between the State Street Jaycees and other Oregon Jaycee Chapters will provide a structure for voluntary action whereby Jaycees will endeavor to bring together Public and Private resources to meet the needs of the ex-offender. As he enters the community, the services he needs for a smooth adjustment will be undertaken by a local volunteer Jaycee Chapter. Such needs can be handled by resources within the community which the Jaycees can recruit as needed. The following services are the most important:

Housing—Locate housing as necessary and provide realty and legal counsel as regards lease signing and tenant/landlord relationships.

Health Services—Use Jaycees who can volunteer services, their own or others for Medical, Dental, or Psychological work or find suitable clinics who can assist.

Fiscal Planning—Provide counsel on budgeting, Credit, Banking and fund allocation for emergencies.

Job Counseling—If the ex-offender is not placed in a job, refer to Oregon State Employment Services Office, seek opening in local retail and industrial centers, enlist Jaycees to hire ex-offenders, check out on-the-job training programs throughout the community.

Personal Counsel—Provide advice and help for personal adjustment of the ex-offender including family aid and planning, encouragement to join Civic and Social groups in the area and such other personal counseling as requested.

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Recreational—Provide information on programs, classes, clubs, and groups which can accommodate recreational interests.

Transportation—Assist in making arrangement for transfer to and from jobs and job interviews if necessary.

These preceding services are definitely not required by a Sponsoring Chapter, however they do give some guideline as to how a Chapter MAY help to re-socialize an individual.

## THE "LET THEM EAT CAKE" MENTALITY

## HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, the administration's Cost of Living Council's food expert publicly acknowledged what many Americans have been convinced of for some time; that existing and projected economic policies would raise food prices.

Confirmation has been forthcoming from no less an authority than the President himself, who admitted last Wednesday there is no way to avoid a "substantial" rise in food prices. When phase IV bows on August 12, open season will again be declared on already strained paychecks.

Even a cursory survey of the economy leaves the observer reeling in dismay. The prime interest rate stands at an all-time high of 8 1/2 percent and is headed even higher. Banks reap record profits while an average family cannot even hope to obtain a mortgage on a decent dwelling. Yet interest rates and rents are to be exempted from phase IV.

All along the food raising and marketing chain prices will rise. A few will profit handsomely. Yet the average consumer will pay more for less. Utility bills are assuming unheard-of proportions of family budgets yet these, too, will be exempted from phase IV.

The lumber industry, for some strange reason, is also to be exempt from phase 4. Under this administration, big lumber has been free to clear-cut in our national forests and market much of the yield abroad for record profits. Here at home one reason for a shortage of housing has been lack of lumber. Yet lumber prices will not be controlled under phase IV.

A consistent pattern emerges under this administration regarding prices and policies on raw materials. Today we pay higher prices for bread and grain-related products traceable to the increasingly odiferous Russian grain deal whereby a benevolent administration allowed a handful of large grain trading companies to rake in hundreds of millions of dollars in questionable profits.

Prices for clothing have risen while large quantities of domestic wool have been shipped abroad—again, for rich profits at domestic consumer expense.

Was it just coincidence that the administration backed big oil's desire to construct its North Slope pipeline through Alaska instead of through Canada as environmental groups advocated? Oil coming to California by tanker would glut an already well-supplied market

creating a perfect pretext for big oil to sell much Alaskan oil in Asia at significantly higher profits. Then, it is alleged, foreign oil could be imported to our Middle West and sold for still higher profits.

Now, still another anticonsumer policy seems to be emerging in respect to curbs on soybean exports. This humble commodity has much to do with what we all shall have to pay for many basic food-stuffs, especially meat, for soybean is a protein-rich animal feed. To prevent meat prices from soaring to impossible heights, an ample supply of domestic soybeans must be made available to our livestock industry.

Yet the chief agriculture minister of the European Economic Community makes public an administration promise to the effect that U.S. soybean exports to Europe will resume as usual in September. This policy is to be pursued, even, as Mr. Lardinois stated, "if this has an effect on the cost of living in the United States." The Japanese have received similar assurances plus promises of extra shipments. Inevitably, this will have a negative effect on prices here. The pattern remains the same.

The President remains isolated from the people and their situation. His attitude is that of a monarch rather than of the chief public servant of a democracy.

When listening to or reading the pronouncements of his Secretary of Agriculture, Earl Butz, one is reminded of Marie Antoinette who, when informed that her subjects lacked bread, responded with this memorable phrase: "Then let them eat cake."

This President needs to be reminded that the American people are not subjects. Finally, let it be noted that there are voices in the Congress which have been raised consistently against such anticonsumer policies and sterile economic tinkering at consumer expense. A clear majority of the Congress has shown opposition to administration policies penalizing wage earners so a few major economic interests might profit.

The President has been able to continue these negative experiments for two reasons: First, by an unconstitutionally broad and sweeping interpretation of executive privilege and, second, because it takes a two-thirds vote of the Congress to override his vetoes. One third of the Congress has seen fit time and again to go along with such misguided, destructive economic policies. Nixonites in Congress and an isolated President abusing his powers have clamped an economic burden on the American wage earner that grows heavier and more intolerable with each passing day.

Mr. Speaker, let us never forget that the major force or cause for the economic disaster now a reality was a President who backed away from ending a futile war in Southeast Asia.

The President misled the People and the Congress in order to broaden the war and continue its disastrous drain upon our resources—human, financial and material.

The ill-advised extended cutoff date of August 15 should not extend another minute. Our cry should be not another

day—not another life—not another dollar for the Southeast Asian misadventure.

#### STERILIZATION: A METHOD OF POPULATION IMPROVEMENT

#### HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, sterilization is an issue of grave importance. It is especially important as it relates to the forced sterilization of minors and welfare recipients as was the case with the Relf's in Alabama and as is the case increasingly across the country. If something is not done to eliminate the threat of sterilization to welfare mothers and other recipients, we may see a reoccurrence in this country of Nazi Germany's attempt to create a pure race. In this respect, I hereby introduced an article by George Will of the Washington Post, on the subject of sterilization:

#### STERILIZATION AND "POPULATION IMPROVEMENT"

(By George Will)

It is not clear which of the many governments that superintend our lives are knowingly supporting programs of involuntary sterilization of particular kinds of citizens.

But it will not be surprising if, soon, the federal government becomes more systematic and forthright about supporting programs that tamper with the most elemental facets of the lives of the most vulnerable citizens. After all, we learned about its support of the involuntary sterilization of bewildered black girls in Alabama just a few months after the Supreme Court ruled that the law only protects human life which has the capacity for "meaningful" life outside the mother's womb.

Having mastered the mundane art of delivering the mail, the government has undertaken to distinguish between "meaningful" and "meaningless" human life.

In addition, it is funding sterilization programs for a purpose that it has not yet clearly explained.

Since the government is now in the business of sorting "meaningful" lives from meaningless lives, it is plausible to assume that its sterilization programs are designed to weed the population. The government does not inflict sterilization randomly. Having improved itself so much since the days of the Founding Fathers, the government now is going to improve the population.

It is not surprising that most of the dismay about the Alabama sterilization centers on the fact that the bureaucrats did not observe proper "criteria" in inflicting the sterilizations. The climate of opinion is now receptive to coerced sterilization and a lot of other programs for "population improvement."

What? "Population improvement"? Who said anything about *that*? Certainly not the bureaucrats involved. But that does not mean that population improvement is not the root motive for coerced sterilization. Other professed motives are implausible.

A commentator recently listed three "agonizing questions" about such sterilization.

(1) Should the government be able to sterilize mentally retarded girls, in spite of parents' objections, because such girls are allegedly "particularly vulnerable to impregnation"?

(2) Should sterilization be inflicted if the parents want it but the girl does not?

(3) Should the government sterilize the girl if both parents and the girl are mentally incompetent to decide the issue?

I do not see what there is to agonize about. The answer to all three questions is, "no."

Begin here: The government should not do things to people, and especially should not do things involving very sensitive matters, such as coerced and irreparable physical change, unless there is a clear and compelling need to do them.

Now. What is the clear and compelling need for the government to inflict involuntary sterilization?

Are mentally retarded girls "particularly vulnerable to impregnation"? Compared with whom? Compared with mentally competent but socially incompetent college undergraduates? Ghetto teen-agers? Las Vegas showgirls? No one seriously believes sterilization is needed because of such vulnerability of mentally retarded girls. No one seriously believes such sterilization is the only or least coercive way to reduce what vulnerability or special problems such girls have.

The only special vulnerability of retarded people that is relevant to the dispute about government-inflicted sterilization is that they are not capable of defending themselves against rape by the government. Similarly, because of government negligence, retarded children exist in a legal and moral netherland that does not afford them adequate protection from neglect or other abuse from their parents—including unwanted and unnecessary mutilation authorized by their parents. And if the parents and the child are all mentally incompetent, all three should be protected—by the state when possible, from the state when necessary.

It has not been demonstrated why the putative problem of protecting those who really are mentally incompetent (and "incompetent" and "retarded" are not synonyms) from impregnation is so serious that we must give the government, with all its demonstrated capacities for folly and wickedness, the power to inflict involuntary sterilization.

In fact, it is abundantly clear that many of those who favor such sterilization are conspicuously uninterested in hard statistical evidence about who is "especially vulnerable to impregnation." And they are curiously reluctant to spell out just why they think a special vulnerability, if real, justifies coerced sterilization.

This reluctance and lack of interest in evidence is itself evidence that those who favor coerced sterilization are being disingenuous when they say (as many do say) that they are concerned about the economic costs to the government of children born to mentally incompetent parents.

I will bet that all the annual costs for the care of all children born to those who are genuinely mentally incompetent are not equal to the cost of paying ten minutes' interest on the national debt. No, frugality is not the motive of those who want the government to sterilize little girls. The people who want this are not misers; they are idealists. They want to sterilize inferior people; they want to improve the population. Only such a great project demands such a grave government power.

All the great crimes of the century have been idealistic crimes, including and especially the holocaust. Bergen-Belsen was a nonprofit institution built by a man interested in population improvement, not profit.

Hitler only achieved two of his aims: he destroyed Eastern European Jewry and he caused the production of an economical "people's car." But now his third victory is aborning. His favorite idea—that "population improvement" is the state's business—has received the ultimate stamp of U.S. legitimacy—a subsidy.

Perhaps because the government that sub-

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sidizes them is democratic, our population improvers can improve upon Hitler's performance. When the time comes to decide whose tubes get tied, or whose life is "meaningful" enough to continue, we can, in our democratic way, put the question to a vote. And when mongoloid children or senile old people come up losers in the plebiscite, they can be assured that the Supreme Court will review the criteria of "meaningfulness" then in vogue.

## ENEMY LIST NOT THAT IMPORTANT

## HON. ROBERT H. MICHEL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. MICHEL. Mr. Speaker, an editorial appearing in the July 12, 1973, edition of the Peoria Journal Star refers to the so-called "enemy list" which came up recently in the Senate Watergate hearings and the editorial puts the whole incident into a little better perspective than has been the reaction in some other quarters. I include the editorial in the RECORD at this point:

## ENEMY LIST NOT THAT IMPORTANT

Four of our columnists, appearing regularly in the Journal Star, were on the famous "enemies list" that surfaced in the current hearings, and each in his own way (or hers as with Mary McGrory) has "used" the fact to their own advantage.

Two expressed their "pride" at being on it, flat out.

It's nice for the newspaper. We even have Joseph Kraft, whose phone was admittedly tapped for "national security" reasons—a special mark of favor which makes Mr. Kraft the envy of the profession.

And I suppose it really proves that news people are as susceptible to name-dropping and the self-buildup as anyone.

Jim Bishop even set the whole thing up with a reminiscence of personal contact with Richard Nixon—and then kicked it by saying he was surprised to be on the list . . . as if it was a list by Mr. Nixon of Mr. Nixon's personal "enemies".

But once in a while, even in a wide open ball game like this affair, it is a newsmen's job to also point out simple little matters of fact that have become "poeticized."

It was not "Nixon's list."

He certainly didn't make it out. He didn't even ask for it. And he didn't know it was around, apparently, either.

It was Mr. John Dean's list. It was his bright idea, and he who gave it description in a memo, and he who solicited suggestions from other folks around the place, and he to whom all such proposed names were submitted—including that of Joe Namath, and a few other entries that suggest somebody's response was as frivolous as such a memo deserved.

Not everybody took it seriously—and Mr. Dean's bright idea just went into the file two years ago and was never put to use . . . until he thought it was a good idea to take it out, dust it off, and display it on national TV!

At which time it quickly became "Mr. Nixon's enemies list."

There is a lot of status to be had if you are important enough to be on "President Nixon's" (or even "The White House") list of "enemies".

It isn't such a flaming big deal when it is just a list dreamed up by John Dean with

the aid of some of the other folks around the office.

Name dropping and status-boosting are old established American customs . . . and so are political fun and games.

But there is also the difference between truth and fact and the "dolled up" version gives a completely false impression.

In this instance, a good many columnists and TV "personalities" are soberly acting as if they are engaged in a personal confrontation with the President—when all that has happened is that this strange character named John Dean had another of his "bright ideas" ending up with a great grab bag of "names."

So, we're glad that four of our columnists are "included" because of what it suggests about the variety of points of view we have been offering—but we can't really claim they all have had the President's personal attention—as has been implied, so eagerly.

There's a little "show biz" in all of us, it seems. The chance to make Dean's list into "Nixon's list" brings it out. Few could resist.—C. L. DANCEY.

## LAW

## HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, recently a returned POW from Hanoi from Dallas, Tex., sent me a copy of a poem which was written by a friend of his while they were imprisoned in Hanoi. The poem was written at the time they had heard about the riots in this country. The author of the poem is a Capt. James H. Warner, USMC, whose present whereabouts are unknown, but whose home was Ypsilanti, Mich. At the time of his capture, he was a lieutenant and was flying as a radar intercept operator in the back seat of a Marine Corps Phantom jet, F-4, over Vietnam.

The poem follows:

Some traveler of future time may pass  
Through some deserted meadow where per-  
haps

He may find a pile of broken stones  
And stop to ponder o'er these ruins alone.

And of these columns strewn in disarray  
The traveler may decide from his survey  
A mighty temple once stood on these  
grounds

Which some forgotten tremor has brought  
down.

Would that the marble scattered here could  
tell

Of that forgotten shock by which they fell,  
That ancient race which dwelt among these  
stones  
Here practiced rights which are no longer  
known.

Nearby, perhaps, the traveler may see  
Half hidden by the grass a piece of frieze  
Upon whose face by long dead mason's hand  
Inscribed a word he cannot understand.

The name of him they worshipped here, he'll  
say.

And stand up from these ruins and walk  
away.

What rights were practiced in that ruined  
hall?

The word inscribed upon the stone was  
"LAW".

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## THE REAL ISSUE IN THE CAMBODIA BOMBING

## HON. HERMAN BADILLO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. BADILLO. Mr. Speaker, the recent disclosure that the United States between March 1969 and May 1970 conducted 3,630 unreported bombing raids over Cambodia has dealt yet another serious blow to public confidence in our Government. Coming on top of the wave of disclosures of official deception stemming from the Watergate affair, the Cambodia reports might well have destroyed what small shreds of credibility the Nixon administration had retained.

Unfortunately, there seems to be a preoccupation with the consistent pattern of official deception which kept the reports of the Cambodia bombing raids from Congress and the public. To be sure, the coverup represents a cynical and inexcusable arrogance of power more in the traditions of the Third Reich than in the traditions of American democracy. To hear Gen. George S. Brown, the newly confirmed Air Force Chief of Staff, attempt to justify the falsification of reports with the assertion that "For falsification to constitute an offense, there must be proof of 'intent to deceive,'" is to wonder just how deeply a mass paranoia has infected this administration.

But the truly heinous crime in the Cambodia scandal is not the coverup, but the fact that for 14 months we bombed a neutral country, insisting all the while that we continued to respect that neutrality. In other words, we fought yet another undeclared, unconstitutional war in Indochina.

To date, the military establishment has not decided who must be the scapegoat. Three of the administration's top officials were involved in the decision to undertake the secret bombing in 1969—former Defense Secretary Laird, General Wheeler, then chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the President's adviser on national security, Dr. Kissinger—all have deplored the falsification of the bombing reports and disavowed any role in it.

Whether or not the Pentagon decides to throw someone to the wolves the fact remains that from every indication, the President himself had major responsibility both for the illegal bombing and for the decision to keep the fact of the bombing from Congress and the American people. On April 30, 1970 the President appeared on national television to insist that since 1954 American policy had been to "respect scrupulously the neutrality of the Cambodian people." Although the bombing raids had been going on for nearly 14 months, the President had the temerity to declare that "neither the United States nor South Vietnam has moved against" North Vietnamese sanctuaries in Cambodia.

Thus, an administration that took office with an oath to uphold the Constitution and the laws of the United States, and which went before the

American people with a pledge to restore respect for the law, committed the most flagrant violations of our law, international law and moral law. Its contempt for Congress and the American people was and is so profound that even today, the official posture of the Pentagon is that the secret bombing was completely legal and justified and the only unfortunate aspect of the whole affair is that they were caught lying.

What of the implications, the critical questions posed by this latest administration scandal? In my view, they were aptly put in a news analysis by Seymour Hersh which appeared in today's New York Times:

What constitutional basis did the President have for bombing a neutral country and not telling the Senate?

Did President Nixon perpetrate a lie, in effect, in his statement and in the Administration's posture of neutrality during those secret strikes?

Is there any secret military campaign that justifies the use of falsified reports to the military's own reporting system?

Is there any difference between the attitude of top-level officers who insist that anything, if authorized properly from higher authority, is justified, and the attitude of those Republican campaign officials and White House aides who have admitted participating in the Watergate cover-up?

It is interesting to note that Senator WILLIAM SAXBE, a Republican member of the Senate Armed Services Committee, reportedly has said that he thinks there are more grounds for impeachment of President Nixon because of the secret air war than because of Watergate. His comment might well prove prophetic.

#### END CAMPAIGN ABUSES

### HON. JONATHAN B. BINGHAM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, the daily revelations of political corruption which the Watergate investigations bring to light underscores the pervasive undermining influences which campaign contributions and campaign spending can have upon our democratic processes. Elections to public office are increasingly being turned into financial contests, with the winners of the battle of the bulging bankbook being propelled into our society's leadership positions. The result is widespread influence peddling, perversion of national ideals, and exclusion of many potentially fine candidates from effective political participation. Both Federal and State legislation is required to correct this appalling situation.

The Erie County Democratic executive committee, under the distinguished leadership of Joseph F. Crangle, the New York State Democratic chairman, has taken the lead in drafting legislation aimed at limiting campaign expenditures in county elections. I feel that this meritorious proposal deserves national attention.

Accordingly, I am enclosing the bill for reprinting in the CONGRESSIONAL REC-

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ORD, along with a press release on the subject issued by Mr. Crangle and an explanation of the bill:

#### A LOCAL LAW TO PROVIDE A CODE FOR THE REGULATION OF CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES FOR COUNTY ELECTIVE OFFICE

Be it enacted by the Erie County Legislature as follows:

1. An election campaign expenditures act is hereby adopted to read as follows:

##### ARTICLE I—SHORT TITLE, ET CETERA

1. *Short Title.* This act shall be known as "The Erie County Campaign Expenditures Act" and is referred to herein as the "Act".

2. *Purposes.* The purpose of this Act is to implement Section 455 of the Election Law of the State of New York (referred to in this Act as the "Election Law") imposing a limitation of amounts to be expended by or for candidates and committees for candidates. The Erie County Legislature believes that control of expenditures in election campaigns will insure fairer elections and more democratic participation in the electoral process. The Legislature also believes that freedom of political expression may be overwhelmed by excessive expenditures by a candidate with unlimited finances opposing less affluent candidates. A reasonable limitation on expenditures by all candidates and committees for candidates will insure a vigorous airing of issues by all candidates, but without unfair advantage to the wealthiest. It will promote better access to the electorate by the less affluent candidate.

3. *Effective Date; Savings Clause.* This Act shall be effective for expenditures made after the date of enactment.

If any provision of this Act is declared invalid for any reason, in whole or as applied to any person or circumstance, the validity of the remaining provisions of the Act, or the application of such provision in the case of other persons or circumstances where it may be applied validly, shall not be affected, it being the intent of the Legislature that any such provision or application declared invalid shall be severable from the remaining provisions or applicability of this Act.

##### ARTICLE II—EXPENDITURE LIMITATIONS

11. *Spending Limitations.* With respect to any election for county elective office, including any primary election for nomination for a county elective office,

(a) expenditures shall be classified as candidate expenditures, single candidate support expenditures and multi-candidate support expenditures, and

(1) all expenditures made or contracted for by an individual candidate solely in support of his candidacy for county elective office shall be classified as candidate expenditures;

(2) all expenditures made or contracted for solely in support of the candidacy for county elective office of a single individual candidate by all committees taking part in his election and by all persons other than such candidate shall be classified as single candidate support expenditures;

(3) all expenditures made or contracted for in support of the candidacy for county elective office of an individual candidate but also in support of the candidacy of one or more other individuals who are candidates for public office voted for at the same election, whether for county elective office or other public office, including such expenditures made by candidates, committees and all other persons, shall be classified as multi-candidate support expenditures except that with the consent of a candidate filed with the Commission, any multi-candidate support expenditure attributable to his candidacy may be classified as a candidate expenditure or a single candidate support expenditure.

(4) the value of contributions in kind or purchased property or services in support of a candidacy (other than the voluntary fur-

nishing of his own services by an individual) shall be treated as expenditures by the contributor in support of such candidacy, but editorial comment or expression of opinion in connection with the normal publication of a newspaper or magazine or normal programming of broadcasting stations shall not be treated as an expenditure by such newspaper, magazine or broadcasting station;

(5) amounts spent on behalf of a candidate shall include not only amounts spent for advocating such candidate's election but also amounts spent for urging the defeat of his opponent or derogating his opponent's stand on campaign issues, except as provided in Section 16. Amounts shall be deemed to have been spent in behalf of any candidate for county elective office if the use advocates his candidacy or involves such candidate's participation by voice or image so as directly or impliedly to advocate his candidacy;

(6) the amount of each multi-candidate support expenditure shall be treated as an expenditure on behalf of the candidacy of each candidate supported by such expenditure unless the candidates involved agree in advance of the contracting of such expenditure as to the amount attributable to the expenditure limitation of Section 14 with respect to each candidate and such agreement is based upon reasonable standards and is filed in advance of contracting for such expenditure with the Commission. Each candidate or committee participating in such agreement shall retain for the period specified in Section 327, subdivision 2 of the Election Law all documents supporting the allocation under such agreement;

(b) no candidate shall make or contract for any candidate expenditure which is in excess of the maximum spending limit prescribed by Section 455, subdivision 1 of the Election Law or Section 14 of this Act;

(c) no person or committee shall knowingly make or contract for any single candidate support expenditure which is in excess of the maximum spending limit prescribed by Section 455, subdivision 2 of the Election Law or Section 14 of this Act;

(d) no person or committee shall knowingly make or contract for any single candidate support expenditure which is with respect to any candidate in excess of the maximum spending limit prescribed by the Election Law, if any, or if the Election Law prescribes no such limit, that prescribed by Section 14 of this Act.

12. *County Elective Office.* County elective office means any office, executive, legislative or judicial, in the government of Erie County or which is elected by a constituency comprising solely all registered voters in Erie County.

13. *Candidates.* An individual shall be considered a candidate for county elective office in a general or special election upon his nomination for such office as provided in the Election Law. An individual shall be considered a candidate for nomination in a primary election at such time as designating petitions on his behalf are filed pursuant to Section 144 of the Election Law, or at such earlier date as he announces his candidacy.

14. *Special Spending Limits.* The maximum spending limit for multi-candidate support expenditures chargeable to any candidate for any county elective office in any primary or general or special election shall be for the office of County Executive, three times, and for any other county elective office, an amount equal to the amount authorized as a candidate expenditure by such candidate for such election. Any unused amounts spent on behalf of a candidate in a primary election shall not increase the maximum spending limit for such candidate in a general or special election.

No more than 60% of the maximum spending limit for any classification of expenditures described in Section 11(a) may

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be expended for use of communications media as defined in Section 15.

15. *Communications Media.* The following definitions shall apply for purposes of this Act:

(a) "Communications media" means broadcasting stations, newspapers and magazines and outdoor advertising facilities, and telephones; but, with respect to telephones, spending or an expenditure shall be deemed to be spending or an expenditure for the use of communications media only if such spending or expenditure is for the costs of telephones, paid telephonists, and automatic telephone equipment used by a candidate for county elective office to communicate with potential voters (excluding any costs of telephones incurred by a volunteer for use of telephones by him).

(b) "Broadcasting station" means a radio or television station providing a broadcasting service intended for direct reception by the general public, and under section 315(f) of the Communications Act of 1934, a community antenna television system.

(c) "Outdoor advertising facilities" means billboards and any display space in any public place of a type customarily leased to commercial advertisers.

(d) "Newspaper" means a publication, having a known address of publication and an established frequency of distribution, ordinarily not less frequently than once a week, which contains news, articles of opinion, features, advertising, or other matter regarded as of interest or currency. The term includes shopping newspapers that primarily contain advertising and local newspapers that contain legal notices or other matters pertaining to court proceedings. Any such publication is included whether it is designed primarily for paid circulation or is designed primarily for free circulation. The term does not include handbills, circulars, flyers, or the like, unless printed and distributed as a part of a publication which constitutes a newspaper within the meaning of this section.

(e) "Magazine" means a publication in bound pamphlet form or otherwise:

(i) Intended for circulation to either the reading public in general or a segment thereof identified on the basis of a common specialized interest or interests;

(ii) Published and distributed regularly and periodically, ordinarily not more frequently than weekly, nor less frequently than semiannually; and

(iii) Containing, in written, pictorial, or graphic form, news, information, articles of opinion, poems, features, advertising or other matters regarded as of interest or currency. Any such publication is included whether it is designed primarily for paid circulation or is designed primarily for free circulation.

16. *Unauthorized Expenditures Urging Candidate's Defeat*—

(a) An expenditure for the purpose of approving or urging the defeat of a candidate for county elective office, or derogating his stand on campaign issues, shall not be deemed to be an expenditure on behalf of any other candidate for county elective office and shall not be charged against any applicable expenditure limitation under Section 11 (b), (c) or (d) with respect to any other candidate for county elective office, unless such candidate for county elective office has directly or indirectly authorized such use or unless the circumstances of such use taken as a whole are such that consent may reasonably be imputed to such other candidate.

(b) In the case of any expenditure for use of communications media under paragraph (a) of this section, the person selling the space or time for the use of the particular communications medium shall determine the identity and organizational affiliation, if any, of the person making the expenditure and shall require such person to state in

writing whether or not he is authorized by any candidate for county elective office to make such expenditure, or whether any candidate for county elective office has given his consent to it.

(c) If the person making the expenditure states in writing that any such candidate has authorized or consented to the expenditure then no person may make any charge for such use, unless the candidate (or his specially authorized agent) certifies in writing, in accordance with 32, that payment of such charge will not violate his applicable expenditure limitation.

(d) If the person making the expenditure states in writing that no candidate for county elective office has authorized or consented to the expenditure, then a charge may be made for such use, provided that the person selling the space or time has taken reasonable precautions under the particular circumstances to verify the identity and affiliation of such person and the accuracy of the written statement. Any reasonable doubt as to whether authorization or consent to the expenditure may be imputed to a candidate for county elective office should be resolved by the person selling the space or time in favor of requiring a certification from a candidate for county elective office or his authorized agent, as required under 32, before making the charge.

(e) Any advertisement or use under paragraph (d) of this section shall contain, conspicuously displayed, the name and address of the person making the expenditure, and, in the case of an organization, the name of the individual authorizing the expenditure. Such advertisement or use shall also contain, conspicuously displayed, a statement that the use is not authorized, directly or indirectly, by any candidate for county elective office and that no such candidate is responsible for any activities of the person making the expenditure.

17. *Requirement of Authorization.* No person shall make or incur any single candidate support expenditure or multi-candidate support expenditure on behalf of any candidate for county elective office in any primary, general or special election unless he applies in writing to the candidate's campaign treasurer at least five days prior thereto for permission to have such expenditures treated as an expenditure on behalf of such candidate. The necessity of such application, however, may be waived in writing by any candidate, either as to specific expenditures or generally until revoked. Such waiver shall not be effective until a copy is filed with the Commission. Such writing shall state in detail the amount and nature of each proposed expenditure. If the campaign treasurer disapproves such proposed expenditure by notice in writing to the applicant within three days after receipt of such writing applying for permission to have the expenditure treated as an expenditure on behalf of the candidate, such expenditure shall be an unauthorized expenditure. No person shall make any expenditure which includes support for any candidate for county elective office in any primary, general or special election if such expenditure has been disapproved by the campaign treasurer of such candidate.

18. *Excluded Expenditures.* Nothing herein shall be construed to limit expenditures by the county committee of any party which represent the general, ordinary and necessary expenses of operating a permanent party headquarters and organization or of conducting general drives to register voters. The general, ordinary and necessary expenses of operating a permanent party headquarters and organization are not considered campaign expenditures on behalf of any candidate or candidates. Thus, the salaries of permanent party personnel, the rental of permanent party headquarters, the prepara-

tion and keeping or records and research to secure registration of voters for a particular party or to provide data and voter analysis for use of the party in getting out voters are regarded as ongoing expenditures of a permanent party organization and not expenditures in support of particular candidates.

19. *Exemption for Small Committees.* This act shall not apply to expenditures by permanently constituted party committees whose annual expenditures do not in total exceed \$5,000. A permanently constituted party committee for the purpose of this section means a club or a subdivision of the county committee of a party limited to party members in a particular geographic subdivision of Erie County, such as a town committee or ward committee or a district club, and which is organized to support such party on a regular basis year in and year out, as opposed to being constituted to support a particular candidate or candidates or for a particular election.

ARTICLE III—ERIE COUNTY CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURES COMMISSION

21. *Creation.* There is hereby created to enforce the provisions of this Act the Erie County Campaign Expenditures Commission, referred to in this Act as the "Commission." The Commission shall consist of five members. The chairman of the county committees of each of the two parties receiving highest and next highest number of votes in the most recent election for Erie County Executive shall appoint, by filing with the County Legislature in December of each year one member of the Commission to serve for a two year term beginning with the January 1 following such appointment, except that upon enactment of this local law each such county committee chairman shall appoint one member to serve until the second December 31 following enactment. The four members of the Commission first appointed following enactment shall elect a fifth member of the Commission, who shall be its chairman, for a term expiring on December 31, 1974. Thereafter the four members of the Commission then serving (beginning with January, 1975) shall elect a fifth member of the Commission, who shall be its chairman, to serve until the second December 31, following his election. In the event of a vacancy on the Commission for any reason, the county committee chairman which appointed the vacated membership, shall appoint an individual for the remainder of the term of the vacated membership. Any enrolled voter in Erie County shall be eligible to be a member of the Commission and the appointee of the chairman of each county committee shall be enrolled in the party, of such county committee.

22. *Compensation.* Members of the Commission shall receive such compensation as may be provided from time to time by the County Legislature. The Commission may appoint such deputies, clerks and other employees to carry out its functions hereunder upon such terms and compensation as may be authorized from time to time by local law or ordinance, including hearing officers to hold hearings, take testimony and make findings of fact with respect to questions arising under this Act, and attorneys to enforce the provisions of this Act.

23. *Powers.* The Commission may prescribe regulations and rules of procedure to carry out the provisions of this Act and shall have in addition to the powers prescribed elsewhere in this Act such powers as may be reasonably necessary to enforce the provisions of this Act, including, without limitation, the power to require any person to attend before the Commission or its delegate at its office or a branch office and be examined by the Commission or its delegate as to any matter in relation to which the Commission is charged with a duty under this Act or con-

cerning violations of this Act any may issue a subpoena therefor. When an oath is required or permitted under this Act or any regulations prescribed hereunder, any member of the Commission or delegate of the Commission may administer such oath.

**24. Certification of Maximum Spending Limits.** The Commission shall certify the maximum spending limit for each county elective office with respect to each election as far in advance of each election as is reasonably possible and in any event in the case of a primary or general election, at least fourteen weeks before such election.

**25. Reporting to Commission.** The campaign treasurer of each candidate for county elective office shall report to the Commission on such forms prescribed by it all expenditures made or contracted to be made by such candidate. Such reports shall delineate in such detail as may reasonably be prescribed by the Commission the amount and nature of each such expenditure made or contracted and in the case of an expenditure made or contracted for the use of a communications medium, the amount and nature of each such use and the communications medium recipient of such expenditures. Such reports shall also specify all applications for authorization of expenditures on behalf of any candidate which were disapproved during each week. Such reports shall be filed weekly by each candidate no later than five days after the Saturday ending the week during which expenditures are made.

**26. Records of Reports.** The Commission shall make a public record of all reports filed pursuant to Section 25 and shall make public immediately the cumulative total of all expenditures made by, on behalf of, or chargeable to, any candidate with respect to each primary, general or special election for county elective office based upon all reports received by it.

**27. Enforcement of Similar Laws.** The Commission shall enforce the provisions of any ordinance, local law or similar legislation adopted by any municipality within Erie County which applies substantially the same terms as contained in this local law to expenditures on behalf of candidates for elective offices of such municipality and which confers enforcement authority upon the Commission.

#### ARTICLE IV—EXPENDITURE PROCEDURES

**31. Campaign Treasurer.** Each candidate for county elective office in any primary, general or special election shall upon his qualifying as such a candidate appoint a campaign treasurer to file the reports prescribed in Section 25 and to perform such other duties as prescribed in this Act. The treasurer shall serve at the pleasure of the candidate.

**32. Requirement of Authorization.** No person shall make or incur any single candidate support expenditure or multi-candidate support expenditure on behalf of any candidate for county elective office in any primary, general or special election unless he applies in writing to the candidate's campaign treasurer at least five days prior thereto for permission to have such expenditure treated as an expenditure on behalf of such candidate. The necessity of such application, however, may be waived in writing by any candidate, either as to specific expenditures or generally until revoked. Such waiver shall not be effective until a copy is filed with the Commission. Such writing shall state in detail the amount and nature of each proposed expenditure. If the campaign treasurer disapproves such proposed expenditure by notice in writing to the applicant within three days after receipt of such writing applying for permission to have the expenditure treated as an expenditure on behalf of the candidate, such expenditure shall be an unauthorized expenditure. No person shall

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

make any expenditure which includes support for any candidate for county elective office in any primary, general or special election if such expenditure has been disapproved by the campaign treasurer of such candidate.

#### ARTICLE V—MEDIA REPORTING

**41. Registration of Media Vendors.** Any person who makes or contracts to make a sale of the use of communications media on behalf of any candidate for county elective office with respect to any primary, general or special election shall register with the Commission upon first making or contracting to make any such sale.

**42. Reports by Media Vendors.** Each registrant under Section 41 shall report to the Commission on such forms prescribed by it all sales made or contracted for on behalf of any candidate for county elective office. Such reports shall include such information as the Commission shall require to enable it to determine the purchaser of use of each communications medium, the candidate on whose behalf it is purchased and the amount paid or to be paid for such use. Such reports shall be filed weekly by each registrant no later than five days after the Saturday ending the week during which expenditures are made.

**43. Reports to Media Vendors.** The Commission shall notify each registrant under Section 41 of the cumulative total spent for use of communications media by, on behalf of or chargeable to, each candidate for county elective office with respect to each primary, general or special election and of the remaining amount available to each such candidate or committee within his or its maximum spending limit for use of communications media. Such notification by the Commission to each registrant shall be made weekly with respect to all reports filed with Commission through the close of each week and shall be made within three days following the last day on which reports with respect to such week are due to be filed with the Commission.

**44. Prohibition on Sales or Contracts to Sell in Violation of Maximum Spending Limits.** No person shall make any sale or use of communications media on behalf of any candidate for county elective office with respect to any primary, general or special election if the amount to be received with respect to such sale or contract to sell would cause a violation of the maximum spending limit of such candidate on the basis of the cumulative total reported by the Commission as spent and contracted to be spent by or on behalf of a candidate for county elective office, nor shall any such person make any charge for the use of communications media on behalf of any candidate for county elective office unless the candidate or his campaign treasurer certifies in writing that the payment of such charge, including any agent's commission, allowed the agent by the medium, will not violate any expenditure limitation applicable under this Act.

#### ARTICLE VI—PENALTIES

**51. Civil Penalty.** Any person who violates any provision of this Act shall be subject to a civil penalty equal to three times the amount, if any, involved in such violation, or \$500, whichever is greater. The amount of civil penalty shall be deposited in the general funds of the county.

**52. Complaints.** Any person who believes a violation of this Act has occurred may file a complaint with the Commission. If the Commission determines there is substantial reason to believe such a violation has occurred, it shall expeditiously make an investigation, which shall also include an investigation of reports and statements filed by the complainant, if he is a candidate, or the matter complained of. Whenever in the judgement of the Commission after affording notice and an opportunity for a hearing,

any person has engaged or is about to engage in any acts or practices which constitute or will constitute a violation of this Act, the Commission by its attorney or the County Attorney if directed by the Commission, shall institute a civil action for relief. In any such action by the complainant, the court may award costs, including reasonable attorney fees, disbursements and expenses of investigation.

#### PRESS RELEASE

"A strict and absolute limit on campaign spending is the only way to restore shattered public confidence in the election process," Joseph F. Crangle, State and Erie County Democratic Chairman declared today at a meeting of the Erie County Democratic Executive Committee. The County Democratic leadership went on record favoring adoption of a strict campaign spending law for all levels of local government; and also called for immediate statewide reformation.

The draft legislation calls for the creation of an "Erie County Campaign Expenditures Commission," a five-member group which would oversee implementation of and compliance with the law.

Today's campaign financing impeaches the validity of the democratic process. Politics is a very competitive business. Each candidate tries to outspend his opponent. New York State law actually makes the sky as the limit. Elections are all to often won by the highest bidder.

Disclosure alone, without limits, can never guarantee that money won't buy our elections.

We have witnessed recently a \$40 million presidential campaign, a \$20 million gubernatorial campaign and a \$1 million county executive campaign.

In 1972, candidates for all political offices in the United States spent over \$400 million, a 33% increase over 1968 when \$300 million was spent and a 200% increase over 1952 estimates of \$140 million.

Dollars have induced so vulgar a warp into campaigns that the whole process is fast becoming anti-democratic process.

Daily the peril grows that moneyed special interest groups will seize control of the entire election process.

We here in New York can have no pride in this regard. Today we have more loopholes than law. Brink trucks drive through the present law.

We can ill afford the luxury of waiting for state reform. While we in Erie County can't correct all the evils, we do, however, have the capacity especially to limit financing on a local level. We must assume the burden of leadership and enact needed election reform.

In December 1971, the former Republican County Chairman, Alfonso Bellanca, publicly joined with me and expressed enthusiastically his strong support for a local law limiting campaign spending.

I call upon the Republican county leadership not to foot drag campaign finance reform as President Nixon did, nor to remain silent as Gov. Rockefeller is doing.

I am certain that with this type of bipartisan support, the people of Erie County will have the first local law in the United States to limit campaign funding and to guarantee fair local elections.

There is still an urgent need at the federal level for further legislation. The nationwide investigations of campaign funding have proven to us in the business of politics that we can no longer afford to ignore the dictum of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes that: "We must above all set sail and not lie at anchor or adrift."

The Democratic Congress, over the objections of President Nixon, got the nation off to a good start by passing the Campaign Practices Act requiring disclosure of contributions and disbursements.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Over the last year, we have become painfully aware of the Act's inadequacies. We have learned that no law or bad law breeds abuse.

There is now a nationally recognized need to plug the loopholes in the present law, to put ceilings on now limitless individual contributions and to explore the important questions of free television time for candidates and government financing of campaigns in order to completely remove the influence of private wealth and special interests from the political arena.

## EXPLANATION OF DRAFT OF CAMPAIGN EXPENDITURE LEGISLATION

## GENERAL SCHEME OF LIMITATION

The proposed legislation would build upon existing Section 455 of the Election Law. That section imposes a limitation on amounts expended by a candidate in any election to 10¢ per voter (based upon votes for governor in the last gubernatorial election for affiliated voters of the candidate's party for a primary), with a minimum of \$2,500 for a primary and \$5,000 for a general or special election, plus a limitation on amounts expended in the election of an individual candidate by all committees taking part solely in his election of an additional 19¢ per voter (with the same minimums as for candidates). The proposed legislation adopts those standards but adds a limitation additionally of amounts which may be spent by committees taking part in the election of more than one candidate of an additional 30¢ per voter for County Executive and 10¢ per voter for other county offices (with the same minimums as for candidates). The major defect in the New York state legislation is the absence of any limitation on amounts spent by committees taking part in the election of more than one individual candidate. This apparently allows complete circumvention of the limits set forth in Section 455. The legislation goes further than Section 455, however, by limiting expenditures for use of communications media to 60% of the maximum spending limit available *in toto*. The 60% limit on expenditures for communications media is that adopted in the recently enacted Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971 (P.L. 92-225).

## TECHNICAL EXPLANATION

Following is a technical explanation of the draft.

## Article I—Short title

The draft states that the purpose of the Act is to implement Section 455 of the Election Law. Hopefully, this declaration of purpose will sustain the proposed legislation against an argument that its enactment is beyond the authority of the County Legislature, either because it is alleged to be inconsistent with state law or in a field preempted by the state legislation. Section 10 of the Municipal Home Rule Law grants local governments power to adopt local laws not inconsistent with any general law relating to its affairs of government. Section 11 of that Law by implication permits affecting sections of the Election Law other than Section 191.

The declaration of legislative purposes also sets forth some of the reasons for enactment of expenditure limitations with a view to indicating that the purpose of the legislation is to permit freedom of political expression without imposing any unconstitutional restraint upon exercise of the right of free speech.

Section 3 makes the Act effective for expenditures after enactment. It also contains a savings clause preserving the balance of the Act, even if a particular provision is declared unconstitutional.

## Article II—Expenditure limitations

Section 11 classifies expenditures into three categories. The first category is a candidate expenditure which corresponds to Section 455, Subdivision 1 of the Election Law. The

second category is a single candidate support expenditure which corresponds to Section 455, Subdivision 2 of the Election Law, referring to all committees taking part solely in the election of an individual candidate. The third category is a multi-candidate support expenditure which is defined as an expenditure in support of more than one individual candidate including a candidate for county elective office and an office which is not a county elective office. Multi-candidate support expenditures may be treated with a candidate's consent as candidate or single candidate support expenditures, but not vice versa.

The reason for the three categories is, as stated above, to keep within the framework of Section 455 of the Election Law and to cover as a separate category expenditures not specifically enumerated in Section 455.

Section 11(b) incorporates the state limit for candidate expenditures but makes it subject to the 60% limit on expenditures for use of communications media contained in Section 14.

Section 11(c) does the same thing with respect to single candidate support expenditures.

Section 11(d) applies the state law, if any, to multi-candidate support expenditures, thus indicating no intention to preempt state law, when and if the state limits such expenditures, but provides a separate limitation under Section 14 if there is no state law. As indicated above, the amount of such limit in the draft is for county executive, three times, and for other officers equal to, the amount authorized as a candidate expenditure.

Section 11(a)(4) treats contributions in kind as expenditures in support of a candidate but does not count as an expenditure on behalf of a candidate the voluntary furnishing of service. Also normal editorial comment or programs of radio and television stations are not treated as campaign expenditures.

Section 11(a)(5) picks up the rule of the federal statute that amounts spent on behalf of a candidate include amounts spent for urging the defeat of his opponent, except where an expenditure urging defeat of a particular candidate cannot reasonably be imputed as done with the consent of his opponent. The rules to prevent unauthorized expenditures urging a candidate's defeat from being charged against his opponent are set forth in Section 16 and are based upon the regulations under the new federal statute. The general rule is set forth in Section 17 that no one may incur an expenditure on behalf of a candidate without the approval of the candidate through his campaign treasurer. The only exception to this rule is Section 16 as stated above, which is limited to unauthorized expenditures urging the defeat of a particular candidate. Although questions have been raised as to whether this is an improper restriction upon freedom of speech, this is the approach which has been used in the federal statute requiring certification by a representative of a candidate before a charge may be made for the use of communications media (Sec. 104(b), P.L. 92-225) and Section 455, Subdivision 2 of the Election Law which limits expenditures by all persons on behalf of a single candidate.

Section 11(a)(6) deals with the problem of allocation of multi-candidate support expenditures. If the several candidates involved agree in advance based upon reasonable standards as to the amount attributable to each, such agreement will be respected in determining the allocation of portions of the expenditures to each candidate. The procedure for an agreement follows the federal regulations. If there is no agreement, the entire amount of each expenditure is charged against each of the candidates.

Section 12 defines county elective office

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to include all executive, legislative or judicial offices in the Erie County government or any office which is elected on a county-wide basis.

Section 13 sets forth rules as to when a persons' candidacy begins.

Section 15 sets forth definitions with respect to communications media for purpose of the 60% of a particular category which may be spent for that purpose. These definitions are identical to those contained in the regulations under the federal statute.

Section 18 excludes ongoing expenditures of a county committee which represent the general ordinary and necessary expenses of operating a permanent party headquarters and organization are not considered campaign expenditures on behalf of any candidate or candidates. Thus, the salaries of permanent party personnel, the rental of permanent party headquarters, the preparation and keeping of records, and research to secure registration of voters for a particular party or to provide data and voter analysis for use of the party in getting out voters are regarded as ongoing expenditures of a permanent party organization and not expenditures in support of particular candidacies.

Section 19 exempts from reporting expenditures by permanently constituted party clubs or committees whose annual expenditures are under \$5,000. This would apply to a town committee or district club not organized for a particular election.

## REGULATIONS AND REPORTS

The proposed draft creates an Erie County Campaign Expenditures Commission with power to prescribe regulations and forms for filing as a matter of public record. The special commission was created in lieu of the use of the Board of Elections because the county cannot impose duties upon the Board of Elections, a creature of state law. The use of a new agency with defined powers of enforcement would make the administration of the Act more effective. The draft sets up an administrative hearing procedure before the new commission which presumably would lead to a more expeditious resolution of controversies.

The use of a new commission would also permit the assignment of the duty to keep a cumulative total of expenditures during the course of a campaign and to report such total to the public and communications media.

## MEDIA REPORTING

The draft requires registration and reporting by media vendors. Media reports are required weekly.

## PENALTIES

The draft provides for a civil penalty equal to three times the amount involved in any violation, or \$500, whichever is greater. Enforcement may be by the commission or the county attorney.

## MASSACHUSETTS TAKES FIRM STAND ON CITIZEN PROTECTION—IT'S CONGRESS TURN NOW

## HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, no government on earth collects, records, and disseminates as much individualized criminal information as the United States. This collection and dissemination by Federal, State, and local government, if allowed to go unchecked, creates two fundamental problems. First, infor-

mation out of a personal data file may be disclosed to an unauthorized person. Second, such information may be false, incomplete, or disclosed in a misleading way, so that its recipient receives a mistaken impression of the individual in question.

An individual's ability to obtain employment can be severely affected by the mishandling of arrest records. In New York City alone, 75 percent of the employment agencies will not recommend an individual for employment who has been arrested regardless of whether that arrest was followed by a conviction. This disadvantage is compounded by the fact that a large number of people are arrested, found not guilty, and then released without charges being filed. The record states, however, that an arrest was made, but includes no followup information. This often leads to seriously mistaken assumptions about the nature of the arrest and works a particular hardship on minority groups. As Mr. Arthur P. Miller points out:

It has been estimated that an extremely high percentage of black males in an urban ghetto have an arrest record by the time they are 18 or 21. In many cases, the records result from dragnet arrests, street cleaning operations or a large marijuana or gambling raid in which a large number of innocent people are taken into custody. If their record simply shows arrests, we are, in effect, putting a cross on their backs in terms of getting them into the job and education market.

Problems can arise even if the record is complete. Let us take the example of the man whose record states he was arrested, tried, and convicted under a law which has subsequently been struck down by the Supreme Court. He still has a conviction record.

The laws of privacy which have been developed deal mainly with misinformation which is revealed in the mass media. But if an individual's arrest record contains false information unknown to him, certainly we must provide that individual with forms of recourse.

The problem was not as acute years ago because information collected was not as extensive or as accessible to various institutions. Technology has brought us to a point where the information goes from one agency to a university, to a corporation, to the States and cities without giving the individual the right of access to that file or the right to challenge its accuracy. In fact, he will seldom know it exists, and if he does, he will not know about its distribution to various public and private agencies and institutions. These problems grow more serious as the Federal data bank ties in with more and more State data banks.

These issues are exemplified by the relationship which has developed between Massachusetts and the Federal Government. In 1972, Massachusetts enacted the Criminal History Systems Act which created a statewide data bank and established strict regulations for the handling of that information. The system has been designed to tie into the FBI's national crime information computerized system, but, as I have pointed out, the Federal regulations do not provide adequate internal and external safeguards against potential abuse. While the National

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Crime Information Center (NCIC) policy paper claims that "each record, for all practical purposes, remains the possession of the entering agency," the claim is patently false. Once a State enters its records to the NCIC file, it loses all control over the uses to which those records will be put by persons outside its jurisdiction. Once the information reaches the Federal level Massachusetts would have no assurance that this information would not be given to groups prohibited from receiving this information under Massachusetts law. Governor Sargent has refused to allow Massachusetts to tie into the Federal bank until he receives assurances that the information will be handled in compliance with Massachusetts regulations. In a letter to Attorney General Richardson, dated June 13, 1973, Sargent stated that

There are serious doubts that internal controls and self-policing by line operating agencies or administrators can guarantee the integrity of something as sensitive and potentially abusive as an interfacing national/State criminal information computer system.

Massachusetts is to be commended for adopting landmark legislation in this area and I wholly support Governor Sargent's position in this matter. Failure of the FBI to adopt uniform minimum standards which are not so minimal as to permit the abuse of constitutional rights, or to enact adequate sanctions for improper use of the system cannot be justified. The NCIC is a voluntary system; no State is compelled to join. Assurances by Attorney General Richardson that adequate safeguards will be taken are not enough. Legislation must be enacted to insure that personal rights are protected.

In 1970, Congress expressed its concern by adding an amendment to the Safe Streets Act requiring LEAA to submit legislation by May 1, 1971, to insure:

The integrity and accuracy of criminal justice data collection, processing and dissemination system funded in whole or in part by the Federal government, and protecting the Constitutional rights of all persons covered or affected by such systems.—P.L. 91-644 § 519(b).

Yet, 3 years later we still have no regulations. The bill which LEAA submitted in 1971 failed to provide adequate protection against misuse of data or invasion of privacy and was therefore not acted upon by the 92d Congress. The LEAA has prepared another bill which is presently at OMB, but it appears to be the same as the one they submitted before.

Fault also lies with the Justice Department itself. Its duty is to insure that individuals' constitutional rights are protected and to adopt standards which achieve this end. At present the policies and standards for the operation of the national data bank are developed by an Advisory Policy Board to the NCIC that is comprised almost entirely of representatives of police agencies. The Justice Department, under the direction of Attorneys General Mitchell, Kleindienst, and Richardson, has refused to issue binding standards through the former process of Federal Register publication. The Attorney General should take the

initiative to insure that adequate regulations are promulgated since the Advisory Board has proven its inability to develop adequate regulations.

At present the States receive important services from the FBI, services that are funded through Justice Department appropriations. The regulations which are included in my bill could easily be incorporated as a condition to the receipt of FBI services and related Federal resources. But first, the Justice Department, under the directorship of the Attorney General, must take steps to formulate adequate regulations. The Attorney General has an affirmative duty to adopt rules to insure the protection of basic constitutional rights in the operation of programs within his responsibility. The duty has not been discharged, nor has the authority been exercised. In the absence of such affirmative action Congress must act to insure that personal rights are protected.

It would be difficult to enact legislation to cover every possible injustice which could arise without putting serious constraints on the criminal justice system, but we have an obligation to deal with inequities which now exist. The legislative branch must establish rules governing the kind of information that can be gathered and stored, proceedings for insuring the accuracy and relevance of file materials, proceedings for insuring individuals the right to review and correct this file, to whom it can be distributed and for what purposes.

I am today introducing a bill which is identical to the one which was introduced by Congressman EDWARDS. Its provisions will alleviate some of the problems which I have cited above and is restricted to criminal arrest record data. First, it limits the dissemination of criminal arrest records to and among law enforcement agencies. Second, there is a provision which allows the individual to inspect his record and to take issue with any information he feels may be incorrect. The bill also contains a provision which states that records which do not contain a conviction may not be disseminated after 2 years. This clause is not applicable to a criminal arrest record concerning a person convicted of at least one felony under Federal or State law. There is much debate as to whether 2 years is a suitable amount of time and I hope the committee hearings on the bill will provide more information on this and other parts of the bill.

Thursday, July 26, the bill is scheduled for hearings before the Judiciary Subcommittee on Bankruptcy and Reorganization, of which Congressman EDWARDS is chairman. I urge the committee to take affirmative action on the bill as soon as possible.

## RESULTS OF HILLIS QUESTIONNAIRE

### HON. ELWOOD HILLIS

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. HILLIS. Mr. Speaker, about 2 months ago my annual questionnaire was

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distributed to approximately 170,000 households in the Fifth Congressional District of Indiana. We have, to date, received a sizable response and have now tabulated the replies. I have found this poll to be a most effective means of communicating with my constituency and learning their opinions on important issues. At this point I would like to share its results with my colleagues:

## RESULTS OF HILLIS QUESTIONNAIRE

Congressman Elwood H. "Bud" Hillis (R-Kokomo) has announced the results of his annual questionnaire which was sent to all households in the Fifth Congressional District. Approximately 15,000 replies were received.

"The results," Hillis stated, "have now been tabulated and they indicate that Fifth District residents are eager to participate in the democratic process."

The Congressman further commented that the results have been reported to the President and to the Congress as well as the news media.

There was overwhelming opposition towards providing economic assistance for the rebuilding of North Vietnam.

Domestically, the survey showed some 73 percent favored President's federal spending ceiling in order to prevent higher taxes and inflation.

A strong response was received favoring the passage of legislation to reform the welfare system and provide incentive encouraging those who can work to do so.

Complete results are as follows:

[In percent]

1. Do you favor a Constitutional Amendment to permit passage of State laws reinstating capital punishment?

Man:  
Yes 77  
No 23

Woman:  
Yes 74  
No 26

Young adult:  
Yes 50  
No 50

Average:  
Yes 67  
No 33

2. Should the United States provide economic assistance for the rebuilding of North Vietnam?

Man:  
Yes 17  
No 83

Woman:  
Yes 22  
No 78

Young adult:  
Yes 18  
No 82

Average:  
Yes 19  
No 81

3. Do you favor granting amnesty to those who avoided the draft and/or deserted the military?

Man:  
Yes 23  
No 77

Woman:  
Yes 25  
No 75

Young adult:  
Yes 38  
No 62

Average:  
Yes 29  
No 71

4. Do you agree with the President's federal spending ceiling in order to prevent higher taxes and inflation?

Man:  
Yes 75  
No 25

Woman:  
Yes 71  
No 29

Young adult:  
Yes 74  
No 26

Average:  
Yes 73  
No 27

5. Are you satisfied with the progress that is being made to clean up the environment?

Man:  
Yes 72  
No 28

Woman:  
Yes 69  
No 31

Young adult:  
Yes 26  
No 74

Average:  
Yes 56  
No 44

6. Do you favor passage of legislation to reform the welfare system and provide incentives encouraging those who can work to do so?

Man:  
Yes 74  
No 26

Woman:  
Yes 70  
No 30

Young adult:  
Yes 90  
No 10

Average:  
Yes 78  
No 22

7. Do you think that the United States should trim back its military and economic commitments throughout the world?

Man:  
Yes 75  
No 25

Woman:  
Yes 65  
No 35

Young adult:  
Yes 72  
No 28

Average:  
Yes 71  
No 29

8. Do you think that the "energy crisis" is serious enough that the federal government should help in finding new energy sources?

Man:  
Yes 53  
No 47

Woman:  
Yes 63  
No 37

Young adult:  
Yes 64  
No 36

Average:  
Yes 60  
No 40

9. There has been much discussion and controversy over the Alaska Pipeline. Do you believe that we should proceed with the construction of this project?

Man:  
Yes 69  
No 31

Woman:  
Yes 67  
No 33

Young adult:  
Yes 61  
No 39

Average:  
Yes 66  
No 34

10. Is it your opinion that under all circumstances newsmen should be permitted to keep their sources of information confidential?

Man:  
Yes 79  
No 21

Woman:  
Yes 64  
No 36

Young adult:  
Yes 60  
No 40

Average:  
Yes 68  
No 32

11. Would you favor the states and cities spending some of the monies earmarked for highway construction in the Highway Trust Fund (gasoline taxes) on urban mass transit (bus, train, subway)?

Man:  
Yes 51  
No 49

Woman:  
Yes 67  
No 33

Young adult:  
Yes 62  
No 38

Average:  
Yes 60  
No 40

12. Do you believe this questionnaire is a legitimate and effective means of communicating your views to your elected representative?

Man:  
Yes 79  
No 21

Woman:  
Yes 68  
No 32

Young adult:  
Yes 72  
No 28

Average:  
Yes 73  
No 27

## NEED FOR STRONG CONGRESSIONAL CONTROL OVER U.S. ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS FOR SOUTHEAST ASIA

## HON. WILLIAM S. MOORHEAD

OF PENNSYLVANIA  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, during the past 20 years, U.S. assistance in excess of \$10 billion has been provided to the countries of South-

east Asia for economic development. Additionally, many billions of U.S. tax dollars have been provided for military purposes. Hundreds of millions of dollars have been spent to construct schools, roads, airports, and ocean ports, just to mention a few of the physical improvements. Substantial amounts were also spent for military projects which may now be converted to civilian uses—for example, military ocean ports, airfields, and medical facilities. Conversely, hostilities in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam have resulted in partial or total destruction of a portion of the capital improvements financed by U.S. assistance.

Directly charged with responsibility for investigating the economy and efficiency of this vast expenditure of U.S. tax moneys is the Foreign Operations and Government Information Subcommittee of the House Committee on Government Operations, which I chair. Meaningful investigations have been performed and substantive reports have been presented by the full House Government Operations Committee to the Congress.

Due to the inadequate resources of the subcommittee, however, the investigations performed to date have covered only a very few of the more sensitive programs in Southeast Asia. Congressional investigation into the economy and efficiency of the vast majority of U.S. financed projects in Southeast Asia—as in the rest of the world—has been substantially less than desirable. As a direct result, Congress—and more especially the foreign assistance authorizing and appropriating committees—has been without the benefit of sufficient congressional investigative evaluations in authorizing and appropriating billions of dollars for developmental assistance programs. Congress in performing its legislative functions has thus been placed in the untenable position of relying almost totally on the operating segments of the executive branch for a complete and unbiased presentation of all facts concerning U.S. foreign assistance for Southeast Asia, hardly the type of presentation which could be expected of any operating entity. In fact, both Congress and the General Accounting Office are more and more faced with difficulties in getting the whole truth on our overseas programs because of the increasing denial of full access to records under the so-called doctrine of "executive privilege."

In preparation for the time when hostilities would cease and the job of total economic development of Southeast Asia could proceed in earnest, studies have been made which have likewise cost the U.S. taxpayer millions of dollars. Plans for the development of the Mekong River basin, based on surveys and studies performed over a 15-year period—at a cost in excess of \$60 million—were finalized a year ago. These plans call for an expenditure of some \$12 billion on water resources and directly related projects in Cambodia, Laos, Thailand, and Vietnam. Much of the study work was done by the Bureau of Reclamation of the U.S. Department of the Interior; yet, no GAO audits or congressional reviews of this activity have been made to date.

A study concerning Southeast Asian

regional transportation requirements, begun in May, 1969, by Arthur D. Little, was completed in March, 1972, at a cost of \$3 million. The United States Government contributed \$1.8 million directly and indirectly toward the study but has no audit rights to assure itself of the reasonableness of the amount charged for making the study. The survey proposes some 140 transportation projects at a cost in excess of \$3.2 billion. Other areas in which studies for overall regional development have been made concern education, health, public utilities, and industrial development, to name but a few. Billions upon billions of dollars will be needed if total economic development of Southeast Asia is to take place. Undoubtedly, the people of Southeast Asia and the rest of the world will look to the United States to provide the major portion of these funds.

Already the administration has made known its plans for major reconstruction of all Indochina. Funds requested for fiscal year 1974—to get the reconstruction program started—total \$632 million. Rest assured that this request is only the beginning—billions of U.S. tax dollars will be involved as the years pass.

In this regard, I especially call to the attention of my colleagues my comments in the *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD*—pages 46605 of December 13, 1971; 8694 of March 16, 1972; 12254 of April 11, 1972; 21211 of June 15, 1972; 21549 of June 20, 1972; 23758 of June 30, 1972; 29267 of August 18, 1972; and 3111 of February 1, 1973—Past investigations of U.S. financed programs in Southeast Asia have indicated substantial waste of the U.S. taxpayers' dollars. Conversely, hostilities in Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam have provided a real economic boom for the entire region. Large segments of the labor force have been directly engaged in war. Other segments have been fully engaged in servicing the fighting forces. Selected individuals have become wealthy beyond belief—directly as a result of the war.

With the termination of hostilities and withdrawal of American troops, unemployment and serious economic repercussions could become a major problem in all of Southeast Asia. It must be remembered that an entire generation of the population is totally unfamiliar with anything but a war-time economy.

Whether future U.S. economic assistance for Southeast Asia is programmed on a multilateral or bilateral basis will provide no assurance of its success. In considering forthcoming foreign assistance legislation, therefore, Congress should face up to the difficult task of legislating a program in which direct congressional control is of the utmost importance. We can no longer delude ourselves into believing that a program of this magnitude can be federally funded on an illustrative basis. When the U.S. Government finances the domestic construction of major airports and ocean port facilities, highways, dams, and powerplants, medical facilities, and the many other domestic federally financed projects, Congress authorizes and appropriates funds on a specific line-item basis. Further, clear provisions are made for Federal con-

struction inspections, audits of expenditures by agency auditors and the General Accounting Office, and congressional oversight. Clearly, U.S. foreign assistance should be subjected to at least the same degree of U.S. control as federally funded domestic programs.

IF YOU WANT TO PRESERVE SMALL AMERICAN BUSINESS AND HAVE A GOOD TASTING BEER, TRY POINT SPECIAL

### HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, as many of us know, it is becoming more and more difficult for small breweries to stay in business. They do not have the advertising budgets to compete with well-known brand names.

I am inserting an article which appeared in the Stevens Point Daily Journal recently which indicates that ability to advertise is no measure of the quality of a product.

The article appears below:

#### PROST! FOR POINT SPECIAL

When Mike Royko, Chicago Daily News columnist, conducted a taste test among 22 American and foreign beers, first place went to Wurzburger, brewed in Germany.

And guess who tied for second?

None other than Point Special, brewed at 2627 Water St., Stevens Point.

Point finished in a dead heat with Bass Ale, brewed in England, and ahead of 19 Dutch, Polish, German, Japanese, Norwegian, Czechoslovakian, Mexican and American brews.

It all started when Royko wrote a column criticizing mass-marketed American beer, suggesting that it tastes "like it is brewed by running it through a horse."

The column brought stormy criticism from some readers and the brewing industry.

"On the other hand," said Royko, "many discriminating beer drinkers agreed with me. Some wrote to tell me of wonderful locally produced beers they have had in small towns and in other countries.

"These are people whose taste buds are not blinded by chauvinism. Nor are their taste buds bought off by their employers. They have rational, independent taste buds. And they agreed that the stuff pushed in those million-dollar TV commercials is a national disgrace."

In order to settle the dispute, Royko organized an 11-member testing panel.

"The panel consisted of men and women who didn't know what beers they were tasting," Royko said. "Some of them usually drink only American popular brands. Others drink foreign and domestic. A few seldom drink beer at all and a few others drink it regularly.

"They included young people and middle aged people. Their ethnicity ranged from German to Polish to Bohemian to Irish to Norwegian to WASP . . . To show how legit the testimony was, I didn't take part. My job was to wash glasses and break up fights."

The panel members gave each beer from one to five points, with five "the ultimate beer."

Out of a possible 55 points, Wurzburger was first with 46.5. Just a hair's breadth behind at 45 were Point Special and Bass Ale.

Nobody else was even close. Heineken's, a premium Holland brew, was next with 36.5.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Two other small-town Wisconsin beers, Old-Timer's (brewed by Walter's of Eau Claire) and Huber Premium (Monroe) finished in the top 10, and Barrel of Beer (Monroe) was 11th.

"As the tasters wrote down the points for each beer," said Royko, "they also jotted some observations.

"Assuming the comments about Wurzburger, the top scorer, were: 'Full rich flavor and no aftertaste,' 'solid taste,' 'very good,' 'I could drink lots more.'

"About Point Special, which is brewed about 220 miles north of Chicago, they said: 'Great flavor and great beer smell,' 'light and lovely and I could drink it all night,' 'smooth,' 'could drink a lot of it.'

The testers also had some comments about the mass-marketed American beers.

About one of them they said, "This beer is tired," "weak," "nasty" and "ugh."

About the largest selling American beer (which finished 22nd out of 22 in the test), the comments were:

"A picnic beer smell," "lousy," "Alka-Seltzer," "sweet and weak," "yecch."

It got 13 points.

THE GREAT VALUE OF  
WILBUR MILLSHON. EDWARD J. DERWINSKI  
OF ILLINOIS  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. DERWINSKI. Mr. Speaker, at a time when the Watergate issue is being used by some commentators to be critical of the entire governmental structure, I was pleased to see the article by John Chamberlain. It, in a very proper sense, commends our highly respected colleague, WILBUR MILLS.

This column was carried in the Perspective section of the July 21 issue of the Chicago Tribune. I commend it to the Members in order that they not only recognize the great respect for Mr. MILLS but also to take the occasion to emphasize my support of the business concept he maintains toward tax legislation. The article follows:

THE GREAT VALUE OF WILBUR MILLS  
(By John Chamberlain)

Watching Rep. Wilbur Mills (D., Ark.), chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, over the last few years, two out of three observers would tell you that he generally behaves with his Presidential availability in mind. Now comes the ominous suggestion, prompted by trouble with a degenerated disc in his spine, that he might even be thinking of quitting politics.

If this should happen, it would be one more indication that the stars in their courses no longer favor the U.S. Last May, Mills made the greatest congressional speech of his life. Referring to Watergate, which he characterized as a "reprehensible business," he denied that it would lead to a paralysis of the American system of government.

The executive branch, he said, "is not—and was never intended to be—the sum of the government of the U.S." The courts were still functioning, he said, the conscience of the people was alive, Congress was carrying on, and our economy, despite the inflation, had, within the year, created 2.7 million new jobs and added \$61 billion in real output to bring disposable personal income to an average of \$2,882 per individual.

The best thing about the speech is that

it seemed to backtrack a bit from earlier Mills statements that tax reform must be concerned with closing loopholes. Not that Mills has ever been a fanatic about killing the economic easements that loopholes represent. But this time he chose to blame our economic malfunctioning on the "money expansion [that has] resulted from deliberately running up government spending ahead of the increase in revenues." The \$18 billion government deficit in 1972 constituted a "fiscal-monetary binge" that wasted "the respite which wage-and-price controls could have given us."

Mills went on to say that he would never consent to use tax reform as a "coverup for penalizing saving by individuals or businesses."

To the Populists in his own Democratic Party he said, "We are not going to treat the legitimate returns on saving as second-class income by taxing it more heavily than we now do."

To encourage capital savings, Mills added that he could have "talked myself into the position where I could let everybody else in the U.S. accumulate \$50,000 in a nest egg, from investments, from interest, from capital gains, and other ways, before I would put any tax on them, and then I would put a tax on what they make after that."

This sort of voice was lost out of the White House when Roger Freeman, now a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution, quit as a Nixon aide because his independence was incompatible with the Haldeman-Ehrlichman Prussianization of the place.

Freeman has published an excellent booklet called "Tax Loopholes: The Legend and the Reality." He does not regard capital gains, mineral depletion, home owners' interest, and other allowances as sacrosanct, but he makes the very good point that they have been in the public interest. It has been the loopholes that keep the system going, providing new fuel for our cars, ores for industry, capital for building programs, and roofs over our heads.

If Mills is no longer there to hold the congressional pass as head of the influential Ways and Means Committee, someone will have to step into the breach. The newly formed American Council on Capital Gains and Estate Taxation, whose credo is that "liberalization of the tax law on capital gains is desirable if this country is even to begin to meet the enormous investment requirements to maintain economic growth," will have its work cut out for it in finding someone with the understanding of a Wilbur Mills to present its position.

The council correctly points out that our big competitors, Japan and West Germany, have no capital gains tax at all. Only Britain has a higher capital gains tax rate than the U.S., and just look at the sluggishness of the British economy. It couldn't be worse.

## PROFILE OF GEN. RAY DAVIS, EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT OF THE GEORGIA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE  
OF GEORGIA  
IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, there appeared in the July issue of "Georgia" Magazine a very fine profile of Gen. Ray Davis, executive vice president of the Georgia Chamber of Commerce since his retirement from the U.S. Marine Corps.

At the time of his retirement in late

July 24, 1973

December 1971, General Davis was Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps. He attained the rank of four-star general after a distinguished career of 33 years in the Marine Corps. In 1950, he was awarded the Nation's highest commendation, the Congressional Medal of Honor, for conspicuous gallantry in Korea.

General Davis is a native of Fitzgerald, Ga., and we are proud to have him back in our State, and I join his many friends and associates in saluting him on his outstanding work with the Georgia Chamber of Commerce.

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

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

[From Georgia magazine, July, 1973]

THE GENERAL AND THE CHAMBER  
(By John Crown)

He's brought a new drive and a new spirit to the chamber. We've got the feeling that we're really going somewhere.

The speaker was a staff member of the Georgia Chamber of Commerce. The "he" referred to was Raymond G. Davis, native Georgian, who has headed the chamber's operations as executive vice president for just over a year.

That staffer's view is no reflection on the memory of Walter T. "Pappy" Cates who was executive vice president for some 20 years until his death in December 1971. Cates was in ill health during his final two years there and that, naturally, tended to slow the momentum.

As H. G. "Pat" Pattillo, former president of the chamber, has pointed out, the current chamber staff is the one that Cates put together.

"Ray has been able to work from a solid base by keeping Walter's staff intact," Pattillo said. "He has a known base and a known quality and the results are blossoming from it. Walter's staff worked closely with him. It was almost a family relationship. The fact that the staff can work well with Ray and Ray with the staff is a tribute to everyone. The staff looks to Ray for initiative and encouragement."

With Cates' death in December 1971, Pattillo, then the chamber president, was looking for a new executive vice president who could do an effective job for the statewide membership.

It happened that in December 1971, Davis was looking for a new and meaningful career. In some 33 years in the U.S. Marine Corps he had achieved the pinnacle. As Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps he held the highest rank any man can hold in our armed forces, that of four-star general. And earlier in his career, as a battalion commander in Korea, he had won the highest decoration this nation can bestow, the Medal of Honor.

So it was time to look around for a second career. He had two vital requirements. One was a desire to return to his native Georgia. The other was that whatever he did must carry with it purpose, responsibility and challenge.

Happily for Georgia, the paths of Pattillo and Davis crossed in January 1972 and the following April he became executive vice president of the Georgia chamber.

But this makes it seem deceptively easy. Actually it wasn't. Initially Pattillo was cold to the idea of hiring a retired general officer for the job.

"I was very much opposed to it and at first refused suggestions that I see him," Pattillo

recalled. "But one afternoon he telephoned me and asked if he could come over for a talk. After two hours of conversation it was obvious to me that this man was quality."

Raymond G. Davis was born in Fitzgerald, Ga. in January 1915. His father operated a grocery store there. But he remembers that they did a great deal of moving in those early years, eventually arriving in Atlanta.

"In 1922 or 1923 we lived in the Grant Park area and there was a real flu epidemic going around," he reminisced. "All of us came down with it."

He looks back on life in Atlanta as catfish seining in the Chattahoochee, swimming in Oglethorpe's Silver Lake, refreshing drinks from Cascade Spring which he passed daily to and from school, and playing sandlot ball.

In Atlanta young Ray attended Cascade Springs and Inman elementary schools and Bass Junior High School. In 1933 he graduated from old Tech High School, where he won a letter in wrestling. From there it was Georgia Tech. But in those depression years finances were a serious problem and his education was interrupted from time to time while he went to work to make the money needed to get through Tech.

"I worked nights at the Lee Baking Company making rolls," he recalled. "To get back and forth between Tech and the company I bought a Whippet roadster for \$25 from another bakery employee. The bill of sale was written on the back of a graham cracker box."

Davis graduated with honors from Georgia Tech in 1938 with a BS degree in chemical engineering. Despite his financial difficulties he had found time for a full campus life. He made the honor roll each year he was there; won the President's Gold Key; worked on the student newspaper, *Technique*; was a member of Phi Kappa Phi, Tau Beta Pi, Phi Eta Sigma, Alpha Chi Sigma and Scabbard and Blade Society.

Scabbard and Blade refers to what was probably his most important membership—that in the Army Reserve Officer Training Corps. This enabled him to accept an appointment as a second lieutenant in the U.S. Marine Corps in 1938.

He participated in Pacific operations with the Marines and when World War II ended he was a lieutenant colonel and had won the Navy Cross, the second highest combat decoration in the naval service, during the bloody Peleliu operation.

It was in the subzero weather that characterized December 1950 in Korea that Davis won his Medal of Honor. It was awarded him "For conspicuous gallantry and intrepidity at the risk of his life above and beyond the call of duty as commanding officer of the 1st Battalion, 7th Marines, 1st Marine Division (Reinforced) in action against enemy aggressor forces in Korea from 1 through 4 December 1950 . . ."

A revealing excerpt from the citation, signed by President Harry S. Truman, follows:

"Although knocked to the ground when a shell fragment struck his helmet and two bullets pierced his clothing, he arose and fought his way forward at the head of his men until he reached the isolated Marines. On the following morning he bravely led his battalion in securing the vital mountain pass from a strongly entrenched and numerically superior hostile force, carrying all his wounded with him, including 22 litter cases and numerous ambulatory patients.

By his superb leadership, outstanding courage and brilliant tactical ability, Lieutenant Colonel Davis was directly instrumental in saving the beleaguered rifle company from complete annihilation and enabled two Marine regiments to escape possible destruction. His valiant devotion to duty and unyielding fighting spirit in the face of almost unsurmountable odds enhance and sustain the highest traditions of the United States Naval Service."

He has the distinction of being one of eight Georgians to win the Medal of Honor and stands out as the only Georgia Tech alumnus known to have done so.

His subsequent Marine Corps assignments included command and staff billets typical of the man and the Marine Corps, including that of Commanding General of the Third Marine Division in Vietnam, 1968-9. And in March 1971, he became Assistant Commandant of the Marine Corps.

This, then, was the man the Georgia chamber hired as executive vice president early in 1972.

His first concern was to get to know the length and breadth of Georgia and, equally important, to let the chamber membership get to know him.

"I told my secretary to accept for me every speaking invitation that arrived in the office," Davis said. "And I've made a lot of speeches all over the state in the past year."

He was aware that the staff he inherited was a professionally competent one and he has used it accordingly. Moreover, he has continued to expand its operations.

"If we can't be of service to the membership throughout the state, then there isn't any reason for us to exist," Davis points out. "We want to be instrumental in providing the membership and the state with an enhanced quality of life."

One Davis innovation is the creation of Employer-Employee Relations Task Forces. The task forces provide the means of facing problems with the combined talent of the membership rather than depending exclusively upon the chamber staff.

For example, task forces have been established to deal with the right-to-work law, equal employment opportunities, public employees legislation, workmen's and unemployment compensation, and occupational safety and health.

Each task force, drawn from the chamber membership, addresses itself to the problems relating to its area of concern. If, for example, exhaustive study indicates that the problems can be resolved through corrective legislation, a steering committee takes over and charts the strategy and the timing to be followed. Corrective legislation is not, of course, always the answer. And when other solutions are deemed best, they are followed through just as thoroughly.

There is nothing static about the Davis inspired task force. Each is tailored to confront a given problem. As the problems are resolved for the benefit of the membership, the task forces are dissolved. And new ones are created with the recognition of new problems.

The most recent move has been the establishment of an international department within the chamber. While the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce has embarked upon the project of making Atlanta an international city, the Georgia Chamber of Commerce is moving in the same direction insofar as the state is concerned. Native son Dean Rusk, with eight years as U.S. Secretary of State behind him, has been enlisted in this endeavor—largely through the personal persuasion of Ray Davis.

The international spotlight has a broader focus than that restricted to Atlanta. This has been emphasized with Gov. Jimmy Carter's vigorous efforts to interest foreign firms in the state. Thus the stage is being set for an expanded and more variegated commercial-industrial picture for Georgia.

Throughout his Marine career there has been more than just a family tie between Ray Davis and Georgia. True, his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Raymond R. Davis, live in Millner. So does his brother, John Tribby Davis, a dairyman who is married to Ellen Rusk, a cousin of Dean Rusk.

But in addition to the family ties, Davis had looked forward to returning to a 240-acre farm he bought when still a Marine lieu-

tenant. It lies between Millner and Goggins in Lamar County.

"I was a lieutenant in a tent camp at Quantico, Va.," he said, looking back for a moment. "My father telephoned to tell me a mortgage firm in Richmond, Va. was foreclosing a farm in Lamar County and I might be able to work out something."

"I got in touch with the mortgage firm and it wanted \$100 down from me right away. In 1939 a lieutenant just didn't have ready access to an extra \$100 but I managed to raise it and assumed the payments."

To see Ray Davis on his farm is to see a man who is happy with life, but who is far from ready to just sit down and watch life pass by.

In getting to the farm, however, the first stop is at the beautiful white columned brick home that has been virtually completed in McDonough. Here is where he lives with his wife, the former Willa Knox Heafner, of Lincolnton, N.C. Their three children have lives of their own. Ray Jr. is the director of the Conyers, Ga., chamber of commerce. Gordon, a Vietnam veteran and a captain in the Marine Corps Reserve, is attending law school at the University of Florida. Willa Kay is a student at Georgia Tech.

The home in McDonough reflects the achievements of a prolonged and successful military career. There is a large den filled with mementos. And since Davis still makes speeches of a military nature, as well as for the Georgia Chamber of Commerce, hanging in the coat closet in the entry-way is a Marine uniform jacket with four stars glistening on a shoulder strap.

Some thirty miles to the southwest is the farm itself. It is fenced in ("I hired some Georgia Tech students to do the fencing.") and there are cattle ranging about.

"We'll probably get more cattle as we move along," Davis said, pointing to a bush hog. "We're using that to cut down the undergrowth so we can increase the pasture. Then, too, Ray Jr. over in Conyers has begun buying cattle. He's got a convenient place to keep them right now, but sometime in the future he might want to bring them here. At least this offers him a backup place."

Davis has put a three-bedroom Georgia house on the farm, although he doesn't rule out some day "in the future" building a larger home there on the crest of a hill.

"Knox and I selected that point a long time ago for the house we wanted to build," he commented, pointing toward a tree-covered hill that overlooks the area.

The structure he now uses is a Butler Home, built in Butler, Ga.

"I visited their plant in connection with chamber business and was so impressed with what I saw that I decided this is what I wanted for the farm. They told me to bring my wife down to pick out a design. I told them that was unnecessary, that I already knew what Knox wanted."

The residence was erected on a concrete block foundation in a matter of hours.

A picturesque narrow winding road leads from the gate to the house, through heavily forested areas and places that have been lumbered and are showing new growth.

"When the snow storm hit middle Georgia last February, we didn't get any snow in McDonough, so Knox suggested we come down here. We got in the truck and drove down through the backroads. Coming down this road from the gate to the house, it was absolutely beautiful with so much snow already on the ground and more falling all about us."

The house overlooks a 12-acre lake which Davis and his family created. It was bulldozed where springs feed a healthy stream, the bulldozer using the earth from the lake area to erect a huge earthen dam at the far end of the lake. There is a dock and a canoe. The lake is fine for swimming and fishing. And it is easy to tell that this farm is where Ray Davis' heart is.

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

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It would be misleading to say that Davis takes his ease here. There isn't much time for ease, as such. There are always a plethora of chores or improvements or new projects to undertake. But it is here that his family like to gather—he and his wife, his children and their families, his parents, his brother's family. Here is where there is a real family life together, as he must have imagined it would be during his Marine Corps career. Here is where he can, in effect, recharge his batteries to continue the challenging job of handling the Georgia Chamber of Commerce in dynamic times.

Inasmuch as "Pat" Pattillo headed the chamber at the time Davis was hired, what does he think of him now after watching him in action for a little more than one year?

"Quiet competence," is Pattillo's assessment. "He is personable and perceptive. He has depth and experience. He has an unusual way of understanding people, working with people and talking to people. He has established a working relationship between the small towns and the metropolitan areas. It's amazing to see how quickly he relates to the small businessman and yet how he can come round to understand corporate problems.

"The only criticism I've heard of Ray is that he's not a hail-fellow-well-met. At a gathering you don't find him slapping backs. Instead, he's usually over in a corner listening to someone with a problem and trying to unknot the problem for the fellow. He might leave a gathering earlier than some because he's heard a number of problems and he wants to get back to his room to try and come up with solutions. I certainly can't fault him on that.

"Humility is an old fashioned word. But to me, Ray is humble."

It is an assessment shared by Jasper Dorsey, current president of the Georgia Chamber of Commerce.

"Ray is one of the chief assets the Georgia chamber has," Dorsey said. "The state is fortunate to have a native son come back here and dedicate his life to making Georgia a better place. That is Ray's motivation.

"We have some rather ambitious plans for the state chamber and Ray is eminently qualified to carry them out."

That is a telling assessment by a person who is qualified to make it. It is an excellent description of Raymond G. Davis, executive vice president of the Georgia Chamber of Commerce, a man who is in the right place at the right time as Georgia faces an increasingly exciting challenge.

## COVERING UP ON PEKING'S DRUG TRADE

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, for some time the U.S. Government has been vigorously denying that Communist China is playing any role at all in the production and distribution of narcotics and dangerous drugs.

Despite official denials, there is mounting evidence of Communist Chinese involvement in the narcotics traffic. A study made by Ch'in Yung-fa, a specialist in Chinese Communist military affairs, for publication in Taiwan declares that—

The Chinese Communists process about 10,000 tons of narcotics a year.

Ch'in reports that drug exports from

Communist China make a net annual profit of 800 million U.S. dollars. The material contained in Ch'in's study is backed up by Dutch, Soviet Russian, Japanese, and other sources.

Columnist John Chamberlain noted that—

The official U.S. denial is of a piece with the World War II coverup of the Katyn massacre of the Poles. And, like Elmer Davis' refusal to let the Katyn story be told when it was first known, it will avail us nothing. If the Red Chinese need our help now that they are menaced along their 4,000 mile land border with the Soviets, it won't make the least bit of difference what we say about their drug trade. . . . It is the Katyn suppression story all over again, a replay of a stupidity on our part that didn't buy us a nickel's worth of advantage anywhere, either in World War II or in the Cold War that came thereafter.

As recently as 3 years ago the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs published a fact sheet which stated that—

In the Far East, opium is cultivated in vast quantities in the Yunnan Province of China. . . . Although much is consumed by opium smokers in the region, considerable amounts of the drug find their way into the U.S.

Since the policy of "detente" with Communist China, only denials have been issued by Government sources.

In 1972, former Marine Gen. Lewis Walt conducted an inquiry into the global drug trade for the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. He noted that Communist operatives in various parts of the world were deeply involved in narcotics. He stated that—

I find it impossible to understand how our media can ignore the clear evidence of Communist involvement while exaggerating out of all proportion the charge that corruption among our Southeast Asian allies is the primary cause . . .

In an article highlighting the manner in which Communist China's involvement in the narcotics traffic has been covered up, Indianapolis News editor M. Stanton Evans notes that—

The State Department keeps denying it, but evidence of Communist China's involvement in the heroin trade gets more substantial all the time. For the past two years the Nixon Administration has made considerable noise about cracking down on the drug traffic, focusing attention on such reported malefactors as Turkey and Thailand. Yet while all this has been occurring, not a single word has been uttered about the fact that Communist China, by reliable account, is a principal supplier of the hard addictive drugs which are the alleged object of the Nixon crusade.

I wish to share with my colleagues the article by M. Stanton Evans, "Covering Up On Peking's Drug Traffic," which appears in the July 14, 1973, issue of Human Events, and insert it into the RECORD at this time:

STATE DEPARTMENT SHOULD LEVEL WITH U.S. PUBLIC: COVERING UP ON PEKING'S DRUG TRADE

(By M. Stanton Evans)

The State Department keeps denying it, but evidence of Communist China's involvement in the heroin trade gets more substantial all the time.

For the past two years the Nixon Administration has made considerable noise about cracking down on the drug traffic, focusing attention on such reported malefactors as

Turkey and Thailand. Yet while all this has been occurring, not a single word has been uttered about the fact that Communist China, by reliable account, is a principal supplier of the hard addictive drugs which are the alleged object of the Nixon crusade.

Officials of the Nixon government have instead been knocking themselves out to assure the world of Peking's innocence.

## SO-CALLED PROPAGANDA

A fairly typical statement of the official view is a letter from State Department functionary Marshall Wright which scouts the notion of Red Chinese involvement and puts such charges down to political motivation. Wright says that "since the early 1950s there has been a persistent propaganda campaign designed to convince the American public that the People's Republic of China is producing thousands of tons of opium annually and is actively engaged in the illicit export of opium and its derivatives to the United States and other free world countries."

Wright adds that the propaganda campaign is "being promoted in this country by a number of groups who have consistently opposed normalization of relations between the U.S. and the PRC." And he concludes that such charges "have never been verified by a careful monitoring of the illicit drug traffic throughout the world by our intelligence agencies." Similar denials have been offered by other Nixon officials—most notably Nelson Gross when he was with the division of international narcotics matters, supposedly in charge of the State Department's "worldwide drive against drug smugglers."

Wright's assertion that there has been a "propaganda campaign" against the blameless Red Chinese dating from the early 1950s is especially interesting, since the major source of this so-called propaganda has been the United States government.

Thus according to former U.S. Commissioner of Narcotics Harry J. Anslinger, Peking has actively engaged in the "cultivation, manufacture, export, distribution, and sale of opium, morphine, and heroin" as a means of raising money and snaring recruits for revolutionary purposes. Over the years Anslinger filed numerous reports to the United Nations concerning this Chinese dope traffic.

## JAPAN'S HEROIN SOURCE

One such report stated: "Of a seizure totaling 3,413 grams of heroin in Japan, all information obtained from extensive investigations shows the heroin in Japan originated from Communist China. Some amounts arrive from Horai, China, between Tsingtao and Tientsin. The Communists use crews of merchant ships, crews and passengers of aircraft, as carriers, as well as their own Communist couriers and agents to smuggle narcotics . . ."

## "SYNDICATE CROWD"

The report also said "large quantities of heroin have reached the United States from Communist China. Emissaries have been sent to the United States to arrange for the details of the smuggling transactions. One of the principals in the case in which 300 ounces of heroin were smuggled in from Communist China is now serving a 10-year imprisonment."

Anslinger added that Hong Kong was a primary outlet for Red Chinese dope, which was then smuggled to Malaya, Macao, the Philippines, Hawaii and the U.S. mainland. "A prime target area in the United States," he noted, "was California. The Los Angeles area alone probably received 40 per cent of the smuggled contraband from China's heroin and morphine plants. The syndicate crowd does not object to dealing with the Reds, as long as the profits are big in terms of dollars." The observations were published a decade ago in Anslinger's book, *The Murderers*. Is the State Department now telling us that Anslinger, who held his high official post for 30 years, was falsifying the record for purposes of "propaganda"? Did the U.S.

government simply make up the reports it filed with the United Nations?

A mounting body of evidence suggests the propaganda shoe is rather snugly on the other foot. As recently as three years ago—before *détente* with Peking became a prime objective of Nixon's foreign policy—the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs published a fact sheet which stated that "in the Far East, opium is cultivated in vast quantities in the Yunnan Province of China. . . . Although much is consumed by opium smokers in the region, considerable amounts of the drug find their way into the U.S."

That same year Philadelphia Assistant District Attorney Jon Steinberg traveled to Vietnam and discovered "a newly packaged, widely distributed, deadly, potent form of heroin was practically being given away to our troops." The price was so low, Steinberg said, that the motivation of the suppliers was quite obviously political rather than economic. He concluded the drugs were coming from Red China. That analysis conforms to the 1965 statement of Chou En-lai to Egypt's President Nasser that "we are planting the best kind of opium especially for the American soldiers in Vietnam." The conversation is reported by Nasser's confidant, Egyptian publisher Mohammed Heikal.

In 1972 these data were reinforced by the testimony of former Marine Gen. Lewis Walt, who conducted an inquiry into the global drug trade for the Senate Internal Security subcommittee. Walt noted that Communist operatives in various parts of the world were involved in narcotics—including East Germany, Salvador Allende's Chile, and areas of Southeast Asia. "I find it impossible to understand," he said, "how our media can ignore the clear evidence of Communist involvement while exaggerating out of all proportion the charge that corruption among our Southeast Asian allies is the primary cause...."

#### WHY NO SEARCHES?

Walt cited the reports filed with the United Nations by the U.S. and British governments concerning Peking's drug traffic—including the evidence that China's Yunnan Province was a principal source of opium flowing into Burma, Thailand and Laos. In keeping with that history, he said, Communist-run areas in all three countries were currently engaged in the opium traffic—and in each case the opium-trading insurgents were armed and controlled by Peking.

"In view of the fact that Peking mothered the White Flag Communist movement and that it still controls them, it cannot escape moral responsibility for their role as prime producers in the Burma opium traffic.")

All authorities are agreed that Hong Kong is the major staging point for the Asian heroin trade, and British officials there make every effort to search ships and cargoes with exceptional thoroughness. But Walt observed that, for political reasons, the British do not search ships and cargoes belonging to Peking—giving rise to the spectacle of self-fulfilling *détente*. In order to have good relations with the Communists, the West refrains from searching for evidence of heroin traffic; and because we have no evidence, we can continue having good relations.

Unfortunately for this brilliant stratagem, the evidence keeps trickling out by other channels. As Gen. Walt noted, Chinese seamen operating through Hong Kong are heavily involved in smuggling heroin into the United States. In April of last year, for example, seven seamen were arrested in New York with a load of heroin in their possession. Nearly all of these smugglers turn out to be members of the Hong Kong Seaman's Union which, Walt observed, "is completely controlled by the Peking Communists."

In recent weeks this aspect of the problem has been developed more fully by the New York *Daily News*. Reporters Frank Faso and

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Paul Meskil reveal that narcotics and other law enforcement agents in New York have cracked into an extensive ring of heroin smugglers operating through the Hong Kong Seaman's Union. They disclose that in the past two years there has been a vast increase in the quantity of Asian heroin seized in New York, that police have arrested Chinese operatives carrying up to \$4 million worth of this lethal drug, and that in almost every case the culprits are members of the Peking-dominated union.

Most startling evidence of all has been presented by Brooklyn District Attorney Eugene Gold, who displayed to reporters a plastic bag he said had been seized containing heroin from Red China. The bag had the "People's Republic of China" printed on it in English and Chinese. The *News* adds that "the boss of the smuggling ring . . . is an important Chinese national who makes frequent trips between the U.S., Canada and Peking, where he confers with top government officials. He has not been arrested."

These reports are confirmed by columnist Jack Anderson, who writes that the Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs has data showing illegal Chinese immigrants are jumping ship into the United States and bringing heroin with them. Anderson says "a favorite Chinese smuggling route is through Vancouver, British Columbia, which has one of the world's largest Chinese communities outside Asia." According to the *News*, investigators have tailed various of these ship-jumpers to secret meetings with members of Red China's United Nations mission. Part of the proceeds from the heroin sales, the paper says, are used to finance Maoist groups in the United States.

The choice before us, then, is rather clear: If we are to believe the statements of Messrs. Wright and Gross, we must also believe the U.S. government over the span of a decade submitted hoked-up evidence to the United Nations and that such diverse people as Gen. Walt, D. A. Gold, and columnist Anderson are now involved in a monstrous alliance to manufacture charges against our noble brothers in Peking. Alternatively, we can put down the denials of the Nixon State Department to the exigencies of cover-up at a time when we are trying to get cozy with Peking, and therefore shoving such distasteful matters as the heroin trade under the diplomatic rug.

On the total record, the second formula is the more persuasive. The State Department should stop looking the other way where Peking's heroin traffic is concerned and start leveling with the American people.

#### TIME TO PUT DOWN CRYING TOWEL

#### HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, I would like to share with my House colleagues the following call-to-action editorial which appeared in the July 15 San Diego Union. We do not have time to wallow in our troubles and must get on with the overriding task of tackling our problems and finding workable solutions. I commend this editorial to my colleagues' attention:

#### TIME To PUT DOWN CRYING TOWEL

One of the news magazines recently quoted a presidential aide as saying that, "Everything we touch turns to mud," or words to

that effect. Whether or not such a remark was made, it would seem to express our mood as a nation these days. There is a national keening in the air, a lament for the days when everything we touched turned to gold.

We seem to have made a litany of our troubles, a monotonous chant permeates our society: inflation, taxation, pollution, corruption, devaluation, investigation, assassination, allegation; delinquents, dropouts, drugs, rip-offs, rapes, muggings; strikes, floods, earthquakes, welfare abuse, consumer fraud, fuel crisis, shoddy goods; Cambodia, MIAs, ABMs, CIA, FBI, conspiracies, bugs; traffic jams, dirty movies, Jerry-built homes, overcrowded schools, recalled cars, and Watergate. Always Watergate. Like Rodney Dangerfield, we get no respect. Lord, how we pity us!

This self-staged wake is disturbing because it is so untypical of Americans. We have been in worse trouble before, but never before have we taken it so hard. We are not a stoic people, but neither are we cry-babies. Not until now, that is.

The truth of the matter is we really don't have that much to cry about. Our country has never been and never will be perfect. We had a violent birth and have lived from crisis to crisis ever since. In the process of growing up, we invented a way of life that is the envy of the rest of the world.

We cannot move to a better place because there is no better place. We certainly have no monopoly on national tribulations, nor do we have even one problem that is uniquely ours. As for common problems, they are more severe elsewhere. Taxes are higher in England and inflation is worse. The smog in Peking is deadlier than it is in Los Angeles. Corruption in Italy is a way of life. Bugging is commonplace in Paris. In the Soviet Union, all consumer goods are in short supply. Violence in Ireland makes our frontier days look tame. Israel is surrounded by armed enemies and her citizens are threatened abroad. Millions of children in dozens of countries are always hungry. Millions never go to school at all.

This is all another way of saying that we should put down the crying towel, stop scouring ourselves, and look around. The rest of the world would settle for our problems in a flash. We may not be at the peak of our form but we are not falling apart, either. We have much to do and no time for brooding.

#### THE ATHLETIC PACIOREK BROTHERS

#### HON. LUCIEN N. NEDZI

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. NEDZI. Mr. Speaker, the playing fields of Hamtramck, Mich., have produced a rich lode of athletic talent for several decades. I can think of Julius Franks and Roger Zatkoff in football, Rudy Tomjonovich and John Brisker in basketball, Steve Gromek and Ted Kazanski in baseball, Peaches Bartkowicz in tennis, and so many others. The array of talent has really been quite extraordinary.

Never before, however, has one family produced such outstanding athletes for Hamtramck's schools and local teams as the Paciorek family. John, Tom, Bob, Mike, and Jim are particularly outstanding baseball players.

A recent Don Horkey article in the July 14 Polish Daily News sets forth not only the athletic accomplishments of the

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Paciorek family, but provides some insights into the close family life and discipline exercised by the parents, Mr. and Mrs. John Paciorek.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, the article follows:

## THE ATHLETIC PACIOREK BROTHERS

(By Don Horkey)

Just about a month or so ago, 18-year-old Mike Paciorek signed a contract to play baseball with the Los Angeles Dodgers Baseball Company. He had received his high school diploma just two weeks earlier. He had been picked by the Dodgers in the major league draft and was waiting to hear from them.

All spring long, Mike was being dissected, analyzed, evaluated by scouts for the Dodgers and six or seven other teams. They did this despite Mike not having a particularly good year. He played what someone described as a "nervous shortstop" and hit only .350, not very good at all for someone of his calibre in Detroit's Catholic League Second Division.

However, the Dodgers made their pitch and offered Mike \$40,000 in bonus money and \$500 a month regular contract in return for his services on behalf of the Class A Ogden (Utah) Dodgers in Los Angeles' minor league farm system.

And that's where Mike is right now. He's sitting on the bench as the result of a broken thumb suffered last weekend when he was hit on the hand by a pitched ball. Before the accident, he played starting left field and had raised his average to over .300.

If by now, you're mumbling, "So what?" then you've missed the point. You see, Mike has a magical name. Paciorek. Around Detroit which has produced a lot of outstanding athletes, the Paciorek Brothers are remarkable because all five of them are more than above-average athletes, all hailing from the same household.

And now we've gotten to the point of this week's essay: Why and how come is the Paciorek name "magic" in athletics? Why and how come are John, Tom, Bob, Mike, and Jim all good, outstanding athletes?

We went to the source. We talked to John and Frances Paciorek, husband and wife for 31 years this past May, father and mother to eight offspring. In their rather plain home in Transfiguration Parish on Detroit's near East Side, they have had to be—and still are—manager, coach, trainer, dietician, cheerleader, transporter, advisor, and whatever else it took to do the job they have done.

Let me digress for a moment to review the Paciorek starting lineup:

Johnny Paciorek, now 28, all-everything at Hamtramck St. Ladislaus; signed \$80,000 bonus contract out of high school with Houston Astros; had a promising career snuffed by a back injury which required corrective surgery and which was never the same after; hit 3-for-3 in his only major league game against the New York Mets and rightfully claims a perfect 1,000 major league career batting mark; today is assistant athletic director of Jewish Community Center in Houston; married, father of two children.

Tom Paciorek, 26, also all-everything at Hamtramck St. Ladislaus; acclaimed greatest athlete ever in Hamtramck's history; turned down \$50,000 St. Louis Cardinal bonus after high school to go to University of Houston where he was two-time baseball college All-American; signed with Dodgers after college for what his father called "peanuts"; played three years in the minors, capped off by last year's honor as "Minor League Player of the Year"; currently with the Los Angeles Dodgers as part-timer, a role he doesn't like; he's asked to be traded so he can play more often, married, father of two children.

Bob Paciorek, 22, outstanding athlete for Hamtramck St. Ladislaus; has a year to go at the University of Houston where he played

football for a year until a broken nose put a permanent end to that career; up to a week ago pitched batting practice and warmed up pitchers for the Los Angeles Dodgers; single; his athletic career appears over in favor of one in business someday.

Mike Paciorek, whom you've already met; broke the mold of his brothers by attending Orchard Lake St. Mary where he was All-State in football, basketball and baseball; natural athlete who loves baseball most of all.

Jim Paciorek, just an eighth grader who his father says will be just as good as his brothers because he "has a head and lots of desire"; this summer having a dreamy vacation traveling with brother Tom and the Dodgers, sitting in the dugouts for games and practicing with the team.

So what's the secret of their success? That's the question I put directly to John and Frances Paciorek.

"The answer I'm going to give you," said Mr. Paciorek, "will probably even surprise my wife because I've never told her this. If it weren't for sports, I'd probably be in jail."

He quickly added: "Let me explain. I don't mean that the way it sounds."

And he explained: "When I was 12, my mother was killed in a car accident. My father died when I was 16. The seven of us (brothers and sisters) had to shift for ourselves. I always liked sports and I was good. My father would beat me because I played so much but yet he secretly watched me and was proud of me."

John Paciorek hailed from Resurrection Parish on the East Side. "I played baseball with 20 and 30-year-old men as a 14-year-old. I batted cleanup for them. I loved football and coaches were always after me, even after I dropped out of high school (Northeastern) because I had to get a job."

Mrs. Paciorek concurred: "John was good. If he could have played through high school, many thought he would have signed for the majors."

Mr. Paciorek continued: "In the Army, once I hit a ball so hard and so far off a Chicago Cubs pitcher that it was lost in a Filipino bamboo tree house and the game was called."

"I pushed all of my sons into sports," Mrs. Paciorek admitted. "But in such a way that they didn't know they were being pushed. What do boys do if they are not involved in sports?"

The word "push" brought a little fire to John Paciorek's eyes. "Today parents and teachers tell you to let the kids express themselves. Nuts! Give them homework, make them study and work. Push them! That's the trouble with our Catholic schools today. They might as well close them up."

To this formula of her husband's intense love for athletics and his "push," Mrs. Paciorek added almost what seemed as a footnote: "Discipline. There must be discipline."

Both Mr. and Mrs. Paciorek recounted story after story of their sons' exploits on the gridiron, court and diamond. There were the visits by the scouts, beginning with Johnny and continuing right on through today. There are trophies by the dozens, in the dining room, the bedroom, and packed away in the attic.

There have been tons of laundry to do, Mrs. Paciorek shrugged. Uniforms of all kinds for all kinds of sports, from Little League on up.

What's the house like after a bitter defeat? Mrs. Paciorek replied, "Not as bad as you might think. The boys didn't take the losses too badly. Tommy was the one to take these things the hardest."

We've left someone out. The Paciorek Sisters, of course. I suspect they're more sports-women than female libbers. The line up consists of Marilyn, married and a registered nurse; Sister Joanne, of the Holy Family of Nazareth order; and Carol, an eleventh grader at St. Ladislaus.

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Marilyn and Carol frequently can be seen bicycling and playing tennis. "And I suppose Sister Joanne is praying a lot," I quipped.

For a moment Mrs. Paciorek thought.

"You know, that's probably the secret to our success."

You could almost hear the crowd cheer. Mrs. Paciorek hit a home run.

## WINNING AGAINST CANCER

## HON. SILVIO O. CONTE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. CONTE. Mr. Speaker, a year and a half ago, with the passage of the National Cancer Act of 1971, the Congress committed itself to a greater national effort to conquer the disease that will strike over half a million more Americans this year and, despite all our efforts, may kill as many as 350,000.

We are seeing progress. One of the most promising areas is in the use of drugs for cancer treatment—cancer chemotherapy. This is only one of the many areas in cancer research and treatment in which we must continue to push forward as rapidly as possible.

Mr. Speaker, I include in the RECORD a most interesting article on some of the important work going on in cancer chemotherapy. This article, by Lawrence Galton, appeared in the June 1973, issue of the Reader's Digest:

## CANCER CHEMOTHERAPY COMES OF AGE

(By Lawrence Galton)

Recent breakthroughs show why Dr. Arthur D. Holleb of the American Cancer Society says, "Most cancers are curable when caught early—cancer is an essentially curable disease."

Until recently, cancer chemotherapy—the treatment of malignancy by drugs—was only palliative, a means of adding a few extra weeks or months of life. But now, in at least ten types of cancer, drugs alone or in combination with other types of therapy are producing normal life expectancies for some patients, long, disease-free remissions for others.

Few people—even relatively few physicians—as yet appreciate the degree of success and promise. Consider:

Once, without treatment, 90 percent of pregnant women who developed choriocarcinoma, a cancer arising in the placenta, died within a year. Now 90 percent can be freed of malignancy by chemotherapy when treated soon enough.

Today 80 percent of patients with advanced Hodgkin's disease, which starts in the lymph nodes and then spreads, can achieve complete remission. Seventy percent of these can expect to be alive and most of them will be free of disease five years after treatment.

The same prediction holds for 50 percent of children with acute lymphocytic leukemia. And 80 percent of children with the once-deadly kidney cancer called Wilm's tumor.

While the record keeps improving year by year, inroads are also beginning to be made against some adult leukemias, malignant lymphomas other than Hodgkin's disease, skin cancers, and with promising early results in cancers of the lung and breast.

The first faint hope that drugs might have use against cancer came in World War II. Dr. Charles B. Huggins of the University of

Chicago, using the female sex hormone estrogen, slowed the growth of prostatic cancer in men, for which he won a Nobel Prize.

Late in the 1940s, Dr. Sidney Farber of Children's Cancer Research Foundation in Boston obtained temporary remissions in leukemia. He used aminopterin and methotrexate—drugs that act against folic acid, a B-complex vitamin needed by fast-growing malignant cells. Later, he found that actinomycin D, an antibiotic, when used with surgery and radiation, could cure most children with Wilm's tumor of the kidney.

Encouraged by these findings, researchers began to synthesize other agents. One was put together after it was discovered that some animal cancers needed a chemical, uracil, to grow. A substance called 5-FU was designed to resemble uracil and to fool cancer cells into taking it up instead. And when taken up, it proved poisonous to malignant cells. At Roswell Park Memorial Institute in Buffalo, Dr. Edmund Klein applied 5-FU to patients with extensive skin cancers. In 95 percent of them, it produced permanent remission and left no visible scars.\*

Investigators also began to wonder about the use of more than just one drug for a particular cancer. Might they not, used sequentially or simultaneously, be even more toxic to cancer cells, and effective against cancers that developed resistance to a single drug? It turned out the answer was yes. For example used alone in women with cancer of the placenta that had spread beyond the uterus, the drug methotrexate was saving 50 percent. But when it was used sequentially with actinomycin D, the cure rate for all women with similarly advanced cancer went to 70 percent or better. At Roswell Park, Dr. James F. Holland, with an international study group trying various drugs at the same time, reports a 27-percent five-year survival rate in children with acute lymphocytic leukemia who started treatment in 1966; and, with a new combination of drugs started in 1971, the estimated two-year survival rate is better than 80 percent.

Researchers also have learned how they can give far more powerful doses of drugs. One way:

Some anti-cancer drugs affect the bone marrow and interfere with its production of certain blood components, white cells and platelets, that destroy infection and maintain clotting. But perhaps those components could be supplied? Today, with highly developed techniques, white cells and platelets can be separated from donor blood. One hundred billion white cells can be obtained from a single donor—enough to support three patients until their own bone-marrow production picks up again after chemotherapy.

A second "supportive therapy" technique permits giving massive doses of drugs even to victims of lung cancer. First, a "pulse" of methotrexate, an extremely large dose, is given to the patient: the idea is to get a huge concentration to the cancer that has not responded to smaller conventional doses. Quickly thereafter, a "rescue" agent called citrovorum factor is administered before the methotrexate can have overwhelmingly poisonous effects on normal cells. The citrovorum factor not only acts as an antidote; it may provide more protection for normal cells than for cancer cells against methotrexate's toxicity. The treatment is repeated at intervals of about three weeks. When necessary, white-cell and platelet transfusions are given for support. Dr. Isaac Djerassi

\* To emphasize the successes in this whole area, the Albert Lasker Medical Research Awards—one of medicine's highest honors, ordinarily given to one basic and one clinical scientist—last year went to 16 different doctors and scientists who have made significant achievements in clinical cancer chemotherapy.

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of Mercy Catholic Medical Center in Darby, Pa., has reported that, treated this way for as long as ten months, patients with advanced lung cancers so far continue to show regression of their cancers without evidence of any new spread.

Aggressive use of drugs to hit any cancer cells remaining after radiation or surgery is also promising. Dr. Richard G. Cooper of the State University of New York at Buffalo has used a five-drug combination for six to nine months, in women where breast-cancer surgery revealed four or more positive nodes. And over a five-year period, the recurrence rate has been only one fourth the usual 85 percent expected. The same drug combination, administered for 2½ years in 150 women with disseminated breast cancer, has increased disease-free survival time in 80 percent of the case.

Many of chemotherapy's most impressive achievements have been against the leukemias and other childhood cancers. Why? These are rapid-growing, with a large proportion of their cells reproducing, dividing, at any one time—and it is at this point that most anti-cancer drugs have their greatest effect. But many adult cancers (of lung, breast and colon, for example) also have an early, fast-growing stage. So, earlier detection, and early, aggressive use of chemotherapy, may bring dramatic results, authorities believe.

Currently, 42 drugs are in use to curb or cure various cancers. Drug hunting on a scientific basis has been going on at the National Cancer Institute only since 1965. Last year, the institute spent \$100 million on developing and testing such drugs, and additional work is going on in other institutes, and in universities and industry. Some 15,000 to 30,000 new chemical and natural products are being screened yearly. The best of these are then studied clinically by a national network of 500 physicians working in groups. The effort is international; recently, for instance, the United States and the Soviet Union joined forces in the chemotherapeutic attack on cancer.

A most urgent need right now is for a change of attitudes about cancer. It is curable now in many cases, and patients and doctors—particularly doctors—should stop thinking it is hopeless.

Dr. A. Hamblin Letton, past president of the American Cancer Society, says: "It used to be estimated that, under ideal conditions—with early detection and the best treatment—about half of all those who get cancer could be cured. But that figure is outdated. Today the potential cure rate might well be better than two thirds."

## TEAMSTERS PENSION FUND AND ORGANIZED CRIME

### HON. SAM STEIGER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. STEIGER of Arizona. Mr. Speaker, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD another of a series of articles written by Mr. Jim Drinkhall. The article is entitled "The Corruption in the Central States Pension Fund" and appeared in the October 1972 issue of the magazine Overdrive.

The article follows:

A STUDY OF THE CONTINUING ALLIANCE OF ORGANIZED CRIME, BUSINESS AND POLITICS  
(By Jim Drinkhall)

In 1968, the Justice Department's Organized Crime Strike Force set up an office in

Los Angeles. The Strike Force, a specialized unit composed of experts from other federal agencies has as its sole purpose the investigation and prosecution of organized crime figures.

The first man they arrested was Andrew Lococo, who they believed was the top gambling layoff man on the west coast, and an important figure in the structure of organized crime. Local law enforcement agencies had received similar information, but lacked the necessary resources or jurisdiction to take action against him.

Today, four years later, with countless hours expended and hundreds of thousands of dollars spent by the Strike Force, Andrew Lococo has spent two months in jail, while the organized crime structure he has been associated with has been barely disrupted. The reasons for this will become evident as the story unfolds. And it is typical of what is happening all over the country. In this specific instance, the Central States Pension Fund has been responsible for part of it.

Fifty-four-year-old Andrew Lococo was arrested several times while a teenager in Milwaukee, not a particularly damning indictment of one's character when one considers what the '30s were like. A number of Lococo's pals at the time were to later become top figures in Milwaukee's Mafia—pals he would be in touch with later.

As an adult, Lococo didn't miss a beat. By the time he was 22, he had been convicted of burglary, violation of probation, two counts of larceny, and ended up spending six months in jail.

Youthful indiscretion or wildness, some might say. But Lococo's later career didn't reflect it.

Shortly after being released from jail in Milwaukee, Lococo came to California in 1943.

Almost immediately, he was licensed to manage the Casa Blanca bar in Oceanside, California, and a liquor store called The Jug. Despite Lococo's felony convictions, he was quickly licensed by William Bonelli, head of the State Board of Equalization. Bonelli later fled to Mexico when the extent of his corrupt activities became known.

Lococo's partner in The Jug at the time was Leo Vitello, identified by the Justice Department as an associate of Mafia figures. Other information was received that a well-known San Diego racketeer, Tony Mirabile, had a concealed interest in The Jug. In 1958, Mirabile was murdered, and Nick Licata took over his interests, later becoming head of the Mafia in Southern California until his recent retirement. Very recently, though, Lococo has been seen in the company of Licata, who lives in Torrance, the city next to Hawthorne.

Until 1948, the record of Lococo's activities are obscure. But in that year he purchased an interest in the Cockatoo Cafe, a dingy place owned by three men, including a retired Los Angeles Police detective. The reputation the restaurant had at the time was that it was a bookie joint. Within a short time, Lococo became the sole owner of the Cockatoo.

Whether gambling continued at the Cockatoo after Lococo took it over can't be said for certain. What can be said, though, is that in September, 1949, the Los Angeles Sheriff's office swept down on the Cockatoo as part of a coordinated countrywide gambling raid. Lococo was arrested on a gambling charge, but it was later dropped.

Perhaps Mr. Lococo foresaw what the future might bring if the Los Angeles County Sheriff's office continued as the law enforcement agency in whose jurisdiction the Cockatoo lay. At any rate, it was a short time after this that the city of Hawthorne annexed the property where the Cockatoo stood. Now the Hawthorne Police Department was responsible for any criminal activities which might occur.

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And being within the confines of Hawthorne in those days no doubt had certain benefits: the then-chief of police in Hawthorne was Jack Baumgardner, who at the same time also owned a lucrative slice of a gambling casino in nearby Gardena. When Baumgardner's gambling interests became too widely known in 1950, he was fired. According to his critics at the time, Baumgardner also had a habit of issuing gun permits to individuals all over the state. Another of his qualities was the friends he kept. One was a Municipal Court Judge who was presented evidence for a warrant against Nick Lococo (Andy's brother) on a bookmaking charge. The judge refused to issue the warrant, claiming there was insufficient evidence. The Sheriff's officer went to another judge, obtained the warrant and arrested Nick. The result was that Nick pleaded guilty and received a suspended jail sentence and 3 years probation.

This type of activity in southern California was more the rule than the exception. Gambling especially was so widespread, and law enforcement either so corrupted or ill-equipped to handle it, that it was almost a wide-open operation. And during all this the Cockatoo prospered. It did suffer a fire at one time, but this merely allowed Mr. Lococo to rebuild it more lavishly and to increase its size.

Throughout the '50's, the Cockatoo grew, as did Lococo's fortune. But not everyone would attribute all his income to the restaurant business. Persistent rumors abounded concerning Lococo's financial involvement with various Hawthorne city officials. Twenty years later, these officeholders were known to be frequent patrons of the Cockatoo, and city business was actually conducted there by them. One recent Hawthorne mayor, Greg Page, admits that city business was often conducted at the Cockatoo. Although Lococo's friendship with city officials was well-known, and some felt that this association was not quite proper, the full extent of Lococo's activities did not begin to surface until 1958.

In January, 1958, the Cockatoo was completely destroyed by another fire. Later, the District Attorney of Los Angeles County was to charge that arson investigators at the time discovered a secret room on the premises which was furnished with gambling tables. In addition, he said, wires led from that room through the sprinkling system to various booths in the dining area. Political figures often dined at the Cockatoo, the District Attorney said, and "information from private conversations of politicians can easily be used in corrupting them."

To rebuild the Cockatoo Inn, plus add a hotel complex Lococo borrowed over \$200,000 from Hawthorne Savings & Loan. One of the directors happened to be Glenn Anderson, an ex-Lt. Governor of California, and currently a U.S. Congressman. With regard to Anderson, the story has been repeated many times that Lococo once bragged: "When I tell Glenn to jump, he better jump. I put him where he is."

Lococo was subpoenaed to appear before the Rackets Committee of the California State Assembly in November, 1958. A few months later, he appeared before a federal grand jury investigating organized crime.

It was following these incidents that Lococo came under intensive investigation and surveillance by local, state and federal law enforcement agencies. Frequent allegations were made concerning gambling and prostitution at the Cockatoo, but no arrests were ever made there. No arrests have been made, said one federal investigator, because the police agency which would do so is the Hawthorne Police Department, and they have learned that Lococo and the Cockatoo are off limits. Law enforcement agencies have maintained that Lococo is a major gambling figure in organized crime in the Los Angeles area, and

they have always attempted to monitor his activities. Lococo is organized crime's major link, they said, between gambling in Los Angeles and Milwaukee. Strong evidence confirming these allegations has recently been uncovered by Overdrive while investigating Lococo's loan from the Central States Pension Fund.

Anytime mention has been made about Lococo's Pension Fund loan, it has been that the amount involved was between \$500,000 and \$1,000,000, and was used for the expansion of the Cockatoo Hotel. The results of Overdrive's investigation indicate that this is not quite the case. What has been discovered is that Lococo has borrowed \$2,500,000 from the Fund, and that all or part of it may have gone to build a tuna fishing boat. And not just any tuna fishing boat; but rather the world's largest tuna fishing boat.

As far as can be determined, Andrew Lococo has only been known to have extensive experience with restaurant operations and gambling. It is not known when he took an interest in tuna fishing, but 1968 might be a close starting point. Records obtained recently show that calls were made to Rados Western Corporation and the National Marine Fisheries Services, a branch of the Department of Interior during that year (it would be learned later that Rados was the designer of Lococo's tuna boat).

An official of the Marine Fisheries Services admitted that Lococo had applied for a government-guaranteed loan to build the boat. When Lococo first came in to present his idea, he was brought in and introduced by O. Robert Fordiani, the field representative of U.S. Congressman Charles H. Wilson. The official recalls that Fordiani said Congressman Wilson was interested in Mr. Lococo and his project.

Lococo's application for the guaranteed loan apparently was proceeding as such items should until about the middle of 1969. At that time, the Interior Department declined to authorize it because, some say, the Department of Justice advised them of the background and activities of Lococo.

But by the end of 1969, Lococo had received a loan of \$2,250,000 from the Central States Pension Fund, and within a year would receive an additional \$250,000, according to records of the Fund itself. Exactly how Lococo obtained that money from the Fund isn't known, but another incident involving the Fund at almost the same time gives a good indication.

One of the Trustees of the Fund was Milwaukee Teamsters official Frank H. Ranney. A close associate of Ranney is Frank Ballistreri, identified as the head of the Mafia in Milwaukee, and who recently served a prison term for income tax evasion.

In September, 1968, Joseph Ballistreri (Frank's son) attempted to borrow \$125,000 from a Milwaukee bank, but the loan was turned down. Frank Ranney then told the bank that if they made the loan to Frank, through Joseph, "a large deposit" of Pension Fund money would be available to the bank.

On September 10, 1968, a deposit of \$500,000 cash from the Central States Pension Fund was made in the bank. On the same day, the bank made a loan of \$125,000 to Joseph Ballistreri. Two weeks later, the bank approved an additional loan of \$63,000 to Joseph.

If in fact the \$2,500,000 which Lococo borrowed from the Fund went to the tuna boat, it would be interesting to know where the balance of the money came from. The total cost of the boat—named the Margaret L—was \$3,800,000. OVERDRIVE has learned. Its cost is reflected in some of its specifications: 262 feet long, a crew of 18, cargo capacity of 2,000 tons, and a range which can take it anywhere in the world. Actual construction began in September, 1971, at Peterson Builders, Sturgeon Bay, Wisconsin, and it

is due to begin operation on the high seas this November. Its home port will be Puerto Rico.

Earlier this year, a check for \$375,000, payable to Marge L, Inc., was drawn on the account of Van Camp Sea Foods, a division of Ralston Purina (it has been learned that Lococo's boat will fish exclusively for Van Camp). This check has been endorsed by Andrew Lococo, but the final resting place of the money has not been established conclusively. The existence of a company called "Marge L, Inc." has not yet been determined either, although the records of several states have been scrutinized. Another source states that Joseph Ballistreri has a financial stake in the Margaret L, but this allegation is still being checked out. Officials at Van Camp refuse to even discuss the existence of the \$375,000 check, or why it was issued.

If Lococo thought he was having difficulties in obtaining money for his tuna boat venture in 1968, it was next to nothing compared to what started that same year. A grand jury investigating the fixing of horse races called Lococo to testify. Later, on the basis of his testimony, he was indicted by a federal grand jury on four counts of perjury.

The charges were based upon Lococo's denial under oath that he had various contacts with two Milwaukee men who have been identified as members of the Mafia. Three of the counts said that Lococo met with Ray Mirr, loaned him money and phoned him. Ray Mirr is a convicted Milwaukee bookmaker. The fourth charge was based upon Lococo's denial that he had ever called Frank L. Sansone more than 3 times in a year. Sansone has been convicted on charges involving prostitution and gambling.

When the trial before Federal Judge A. Andrew Hauk in Los Angeles was concluded, Lococo stood convicted on one charge: that he hadn't called Ray Mirr within the one year period in question. Evidence produced by the Justice Department showed, in fact, that Mirr had been called from Lococo's phone at least 92 times. Judge Hauk acquitted Lococo on the other charges, including the one in which it was claimed Lococo called Sansone more than 3 times. The government had shown that 117 calls to Sansone were made from the office phone of the Cockatoo and Lococo home. Hauk, nevertheless, acquitted Lococo.

Although it was claimed by Lococo and other witnesses that these calls were actually concerned with "football talk" or "small talk," the government's contention, supported by arrests and information over the years, was that the purpose of the calls was the exchange of "point spreads" so that the gamblers at either end would be able to make profitable book. Added to this is the fact that other calls from Lococo's home and the Cockatoo were to known Milwaukee bookmakers Tom and Tony Machi (who are currently under federal indictment), and Steve De Salvo, who has been seen at the Cockatoo. A convicted bookmaker in the Los Angeles area who was called a number of times was Dominick De Falco, whose most recent activity was that he was forced to appear before a grand jury in Milwaukee which was investigating bookmaking. De Falco has appeared before five other grand juries in different parts of the country during the last several years.

Another person subpoenaed to appear before this same Milwaukee grand jury this past May was Andrew Lococo himself. At first, Lococo refused to testify, but then was granted immunity. This meant that he could testify without fear of indictment, but if he still refused to answer the questions, he could be sent to jail. The questions and Lococo's answers—all related to Milwaukee gambling and its ties to organized crime—have not yet been made public.

Lococo's sentence on his perjury conviction could have been five years, the maximum under the law. Some individuals close to the trial commented that it would be a fair sentence, based upon his previous record. But Judge Hauk, commenting that Lococo was "such a respected businessman," sentenced him to six months, with the suggestion that he be allowed to serve his time on weekends. Almost immediately, Lococo's attorney filed an appeal.

Just prior to Lococo's appeal to the United States Supreme Court being denied, Judge Hauk suddenly reduced the sentence from six months to three months. On June 14 of this year, Lococo began serving his time at the minimum-security federal prison at Terminal Island, just outside of Los Angeles.

On July 31, Lococo and his lawyer appeared again before Judge Hauk, urging that the sentence be reduced further. The judge was presented with two arguments in this regard. The first was that there was a problem with the size of the propeller on the tuna boat, and Lococo should be set free to settle the matter. Secondly, Lococo had arranged for "high-class" entertainment for the prisoners at Terminal Island (and authorities refuse to identify the performers). Judge Hauk apparently agreed with this reasoning because he reduced Lococo's sentence to two months. The only additional stipulation he made was that Lococo assist prison authorities should they want high-class entertainment in the future. But prison authorities state they will never make such a request. Andrew Lococo left Terminal Island on August 11, eight days in advance of the launching of the Margaret L.

It would not be unreasonable to suggest that the course of justice in this case was at least "different" from what one might expect. The arguments advanced for the reduction of Lococo's sentence do not appear particularly weighty. The length of the sentence is also interesting in light of others handed down in the same court. In every perjury conviction in the two years previous to Lococo's, the average sentence was two and a half years. One could speculate on why Judge Hauk gave such a light sentence originally, and then why it was reduced to practically no sentence at all. The best source for the answers to these questions, of course, is Judge Hauk. But Judge Hauk refuses to discuss the case.

In October, 1970, six months after Lococo was convicted of the perjury charge, he was again arrested by federal authorities. This time it was on four counts involving Lococo, now a felon, having firearms. Seized at the time were these guns belonging to him: 3 rifles, 3 revolvers and 2 shotguns. In January, 1971, he was convicted on two counts, but because of a technicality an agreement was made between the government and his lawyer to dismiss all charges, but to refile two of them.

The two charges were refiled, but in July of this year, the government dismissed them. Their announced reasoning was that another technicality would prevent them from obtaining a sentence (assuming they convicted him) of more than two months. The time, money and effort, they said, would not justify it.

Even since Lococo's perjury conviction, nothing seems to have changed in Hawthorne. In 1971, a small local newspaper, the *South Bay Daily Breeze*, uncovered evidence that Milwaukee police officers were coming to Los Angeles to pick up prisoners for return to Milwaukee. Although the District Attorney in Milwaukee said that such trips should not take more than a couple of days, the officers were taking five or six. And most interesting of all, they stayed at the Cockatoo. One story detailed how a prisoner was picked up from Los Angeles County Jail in the Cockatoo station wagon, taken back to

the Cockatoo, and given a meal and a couple of beers before being taken to the Hawthorne jail. One prisoner stated that the Milwaukee officer said this wasn't his first trip to the Cockatoo, and while there, he was treated to a few days at nearby Hollywood Race Track, as well as a party.

Milwaukee police officers regularly stayed at the Cockatoo, even though the Justice Department has said that the Cockatoo has "frequently been a rendezvous for many known bookmakers and racketeers, both from the Los Angeles area and throughout the nation."

Even though Lococo's criminal background and close association with organized crime for 30 years has been known, his alliance with influential politicians has not been weakened. His relationship with U.S. Congressman Charles H. Wilson is typical.

Congressman Wilson admits to a 15-year personal friendship with Lococo, but states that "I've never interceded on Lococo's behalf on anything." That statement misses the truth by some margin when it is recalled that Wilson intervened with the court on Lococo's behalf prior to his sentencing. And it also ignores the fact that Wilson and one of his staff members assisted Lococo in his attempt to obtain a federal loan guaranteed for his tuna boat venture. It is also known that Lococo has picked up the check for a number of Wilson's dinners at the Cockatoo. Even now, Wilson's field representative, O. Robert Fordiani, spends a considerable amount of time at the Cockatoo, mostly at night.

Wilson insists that he knows nothing detrimental about Lococo's character, and with reference to whether he is connected with the Mafia, states: "I don't know to what extent the Mafia exists." Lococo's arrests, he says, are harassment. OVERDRIVE recently learned that Congressman Wilson received a \$5,000 loan on May 30 "for campaign funds." Wilson, though, refused to disclose who made the loan. Because of his close association with Lococo, one is tempted to suggest that he is the source. But as of now, no proof is available to confirm that.

While Lococo has gone through these recent legal difficulties, including a felony conviction, his influence, activities and position have not diminished. According to the rules of the State's Alcoholic Beverage Control Board, for example, the liquor license of the Cockatoo could be pulled. This hasn't happened, and the ABC will only say that an investigation is pending.

It would seem that so long as there exists a mutually-beneficial relationship between Lococo and those in positions of political influence, business will be conducted as usual. And organized crime will continue to flourish and grow.

#### ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF WOMEN

#### HON. MARTHA W. GRIFFITHS

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mrs. GRIFFITHS. Mr. Speaker, the Joint Economic Committee is continuing this week hearings on economic problems of women. Women, who are often called secondary workers, have secondary rights. We expect to gather during these hearings factual evidence and expert opinions necessary to formulation of a comprehensive economic policy that includes women as first-class citizens. The committee has previously examined the discrimination women face in employment, credit and insurance. It is a little

recognized fact that most women work because of economic need and not to satisfy their own whims. Two-thirds of all women in the labor force are either single, divorced, widowed, separated or have husbands who earn less than \$7,000 a year. These women by necessity have a strong attachment to the labor force. Yet how are these facts treated by the business and political worlds. Women are forced to accept low-paying, low-status jobs. Women are considered poor risks by lending institutions and credit companies even though there is no statistical evidence that they are less creditworthy than men. Women are often unable to obtain the same types of insurance as men, and must pay higher rates for many kinds of insurance.

Mr. Speaker. I would like to briefly summarize for my colleagues the testimony which the committee received on July 10, 11, 12. We have resumed the hearings again this week, with a discussion of social security, Federal tax programs, and Federal transfer programs and how these affect women.

#### ECONOMICS OF SEX DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

Two noted economists emphasized in their testimony the unequal pay received by women, their occupational segregation, and the loss to our entire economy of sex discrimination in employment. Dr. Barbara Bergmann stressed that—

The relative economic position of working women has been worsening and is going to worsen further, unless a program which gets to the heart of their problems is created and vigorously enforced . . . the major reality behind the inferior and worsening relative position of women in the labor market is the persistence of employers' notions about which kinds of jobs are "women's work" and which kinds of jobs are "men's work" . . . Over-crowding in the few "women's" occupations translates into lower wages and higher unemployment rates for women.

Dr. Bergmann suggested that the staff resources of agencies charged with enforcing antidiscrimination laws be greatly expanded, so that women will have equal access to all occupations.

Dr. Paul Samuelson argued that—

By reason of custom, law, discrimination, and motivations, women who are capable of holding jobs across the full spectrum of American economic life are in fact confined to a limited group of industries and occupations within those industries. And the ghettos into which women tend to be restricted are not the executive suites at the top of corporate enterprise, the prestigious professions, and the highest paid jobs generally. The typical woman is lucky if she earns 60 percent of the typical man worker—even though tests show that her I.Q., diligence, and dexterity cannot account for the difference in pay and status.

Furthermore, Dr. Samuelson suggested that—

If because of the dead hand of custom and discrimination, half of our population have a quarter of their productive potential unrealized, then a gain of between 10 and 15 percent of living standards is obtainable by ending these limitations and discriminations.

Both Dr. Samuelson and Dr. Bergmann argued that women's groups must continue to put pressure on employers and on the Federal Government to grant all women equal pay and equal jobs.

## PUBLIC POLICY TO END SEX DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

The committee ascertained, through testimony of Government witnesses, that enforcement of antidiscrimination laws has lagged miserably. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has filed only 122 suits since it received the power to do so more than a year ago. EEOC presently has a backlog of 65,000 cases and expects the backlog to rise to 90,000 by next year. The Labor Department has found over \$68 million due in back wages to women employees under the Equal Pay Act, yet it has only recovered 48 percent of these wages. The Office of Federal Contract Compliance, also within the Labor Department, is charged with enforcing the Executive Order 11246 which prohibits sex discrimination by Federal contractors. The OFCC has a potentially powerful tool at its disposal—it can terminate or delay Federal contracts if contractors discriminate on the basis of sex. Yet it has not once terminated a Federal contract.

Aileen Hernandez, former EEOC Commissioner, recommended that the EEOC's powers be strengthened by permitting the Commission to initiate pattern and practice suits in the courts against discriminating employers or unions and by permitting full public access to affirmative action plans. She also suggested an increase in EEOC's and the Labor Department's resources to fight employment discrimination; increased funds for job training programs; legislation creating high quality child development centers; and a new definition of national priorities which directs resources to a full employment peacetime economy.

Elizabeth Koonz, former Director of the Women's Bureau, suggested that while many problems experienced by women could be corrected by changes in attitude, that statutory requirements could effect changes more quickly. She made the following recommendations to the committee:

Require that Federal agencies in collecting economic data about persons, collect, tabulate, and publish results by sex and race, and by marital status where relevant; provide adequate appropriations for those agencies enforcing nondiscrimination requirements and for those promoting equal opportunity; require the military services to accept women under the same age and educational requirements as men and to expand their training facilities so that women could be enlisted immediately; and prohibit discrimination because of sex in all manpower training programs administered or funded by the Federal Government.

The Federal Government's failure to adequately enforce Executive Order 11246 was emphasized by Bernice Sandler, director of the project on the status and education of women, at the Association of American Colleges. Mrs. Sandler documented the mediocre performance of HEW in enforcing the Executive order against universities.

She said that—

HEW has been criticized both by educational institutions and by women's groups for its lack of attention to the problem, its inefficiency and inconsistency. For example, although the sex discrimination provisions of the Executive Order went into effect in October 1968, HEW did not officially notify

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educational institutions of their responsibility until October 1972, a lapse of 4 years.

According to Mrs. Sandler, over 500 educational institutions have been charged with a pattern and practice of sex discrimination, yet not one of these class complaints has been resolved. She suggested in conclusion that—

If women and minorities, including minority women are ever to achieve equity in employment, a strong Federal civil rights enforcement effort is essential. It is clear that there currently is a gap between Federal policy and Federal practice.

## DISCRIMINATION IN THE CREDIT INDUSTRY AND INSURANCE

Based on their sex alone, women have found that they must pay higher insurance premiums for limited coverage and benefits. Pennsylvania's Insurance Commissioner, Herbert S. Denenberg, testified that:

Denial of equal access to insurance, at fair rates, affects the economic status of all women. It touches employment discrimination, opportunities to hold a job, ability to maintain a family in the face of personal catastrophe, and economic security. Other economic disadvantages of women can be magnified by discriminatory, inadequate, or prohibitively costly insurance. Alternatively, insurance protection that serves women's needs can alleviate many economic burdens.

For example, with disability insurance, women often find inadequate coverage for pregnancies; divorced women applying for automobile insurance are automatically assigned to the "higher risk" categories. Denenberg suggested that State insurance regulators revise the underwriting manual and training guides of insurance companies for their sexist content; those companies which have different benefits or underwriting rules for men and women should not have their policies approved.

Employment patterns within the industry must be changed to include women not only in the sales departments but also in top management positions.

Commissioner Denenberg proposed a "Women's Insurance Bill of Rights" which outlines minimum rights female policyholders must be granted.

Barbara Shack, assistant director of the New York Civil Liberties Union testified that—

State insurance departments have been negligently lax in insuring fair treatment for women and are usually handicapped by the lack of legislative authority.

Federal legislation could readily succeed where private practice and state regulations have failed to guarantee women equal protection from insurance.

This legislation should prohibit the sale of any insurance policy, or the establishment of any insurance plan that excludes sex-related disabilities and medical care, or offers unequal terms and conditions of coverage based on sex.

Further, this legislation should prohibit sex based risk classifications for establishing insurance premium rates.

Women suffer no less with regard to credit practices. Jane R. Chapman, and Margaret Gates, codirectors of the Center for Women Policy Studies, observed that creditors require women, but not men, to reapply for credit upon marriage yet they will not extend credit to married women in their own names.

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Ms. Gates and Ms. Chapman conclude that—

More women must be convinced of the importance of establishing a credit record and maintaining it throughout life as a necessary step toward becoming an independent economic entity. When they realize this necessity, they should be urged to bring pressure upon lenders and businesses at the local level. Written complaints to the offending businesses are important because they let the creditor know the specific practices which are offensive and why.

Stephen Rhode, a staff member for the Center of National Policy Review, spoke of credit discrimination in the mortgage finance industry:

Women face obstacles in obtaining mortgage credit whether they apply individually for a loan or jointly with their husbands. Neither type of discrimination can be justified on economic grounds.

Oftentimes a wife's salary is not counted in full when the mortgage request is considered; investigating the birth control practices of the wife is not at all unusual.

Mr. Rhode advocated stronger action on the part of Federal agencies:

By promulgating strong regulations and guidelines against discriminatory treatment of women, by requiring the keeping of appropriate records, by sending in teams of examiners to check on compliance, and by demonstrating a willingness to impose sanctions such as cease and desist orders, the financial regulatory agencies could take decisive action to root out sex discrimination in the banking and savings and loan industries. So far such action has not been forthcoming.

## FOOD STAMP PROGRAM

## HON. ROBERT O. TIERNAN

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. TIERNAN. Mr. Speaker, the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act has a terrible shortcoming in one important aspect, it will deny food stamps to anyone who is eligible for supplemental security income under title XVI of the Social Security Act.

Mr. CONABLE's amendment to the amendment offered by Mr. FOLEY will deny many aged, blind and disabled a chance to fulfill their special nutritional needs. This bill assures millions of dollars in subsidies to the agricultural sector of our economy, it is terrible that the same bill will not put food on the table of those who need it most.

With food prices soaring, the impact of inflation is felt most by the segment of our population that must live on a fixed income. Denying food stamps to the aged, blind and disabled because they are receiving fixed SSI payments will have a detrimental effect on their nutritional habits.

The food stamp program has been successful in supplying nourishment to the needy, not extending this program to those who are so desperately in need of it is irresponsible legislation.

I urge the conferees to expand the food stamp program to include the aged, blind and disabled that are presently receiving supplemental security income.

THE HEROISM OF FATHER KOLBE

HON. DAN ROSTENKOWSKI  
OF ILLINOIS  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, in this month's edition of Reader's Digest, there appeared an article which is a fitting tribute to a courageous Catholic priest. Father Kolbe, a heroic figure of World War II, led a most admirable life, however, few of our citizens are aware of the brave deeds and the sacrifices he made on behalf of his fellow man. The story of Father Kolbe has always been an inspiration to me, and for this reason I submit it for the RECORD today:

THE HEROISM OF FATHER KOLBE—IN CHOOSING DEATH, HE ENNOBLED LIFE

(By Lawrence Elliott)

Toward the end of a stifling hot day in July 1941, a prisoner slipped away from a labor detail at Auschwitz, the Nazi concentration camp in southern Poland, and disappeared. When his absence was discovered at evening roll call, search parties set out after him. If the fugitive was not found in 24 hours, the camp commander announced, ten of the 600 men of his cellblock, selected at random, would be put to death in reprisal.

Death was no stranger at Auschwitz. But for the desolate men crammed together in the fetid, filthy rooms of Block 14, anticipation of the gruesome lottery was a particular torture. As the long night wore on, none could be blamed for secretly hoping that the fugitive would be caught.

But he was not caught. He was never heard from again, and passes into history—having set the stage for what, 30 years later, Pope Paul VI described as "probably the brightest and most glittering figure" to emerge from "the inhuman degradation and unthinkable cruelty of the Nazi epoch."

No one slept in Block 14 that night. Each man faced his own agony of soul. Dignity, home, freedom, family—all had been lost; now life, too, was in the balance. As one prisoner, former Polish soldier Francis Gajowniczek, recalls, "At least if you were alive you could hope." For Gajowniczek, hope was especially real. He believed that his wife and two sons were alive. If only he could survive this purgatory, he would find them, and together they would rebuild their shattered lives.

On a nearby bunk lay a commercial artist, Mieczyslaw Koscielnik, who had lost hope altogether. "The lucky ones were already dead," he remembers thinking. "And the Nazis had reduced the rest of us to animals who would steal for a mere crust of bread. Except for the priest."

Even then, Koscielnik knew that the priest was different. Often sick, feebler than many of the others, still the priest seemed always to have a morsel of food to share. If he could stand, he would work; if another faltered, he would share his load. He heard confessions in secret, and even during that endless night Koscielnik remembers seeing the priest kneeling by the bed of a sobbing youth, telling him that "death is nothing to be afraid of."

By the time the prisoners lined up for morning roll call, the sun was burning down relentlessly. The other cellblocks were soon marched off to work assignments, but the men of Block 14 remained standing in the quadrangle. They stood all that day, ten ranks of living skeletons. Some who fainted were kicked and beaten until they stumbled to their feet; those who could not rise were simply piled in a heap.

At 6 p.m., the camp commander, Colonel Fritsch, announced that the fugitive had

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not been found. He would now choose the ten who must die; they would be taken to the death bunker in Block 13 and left to starve.

The selection took only a few minutes, but for the waiting men it was an eternity. Boots grinding on the baked ground, Fritsch moved up one rank and down the next. Ten times he stopped, pointed and spoke a single word into the harrowing silence: "You!" Each time, guards shoved the condemned man up front. Some of the ten wept. One, the soldier Gajowniczek, cried out, "My wife, my children!"

As the guards prepared to march the doomed men off, there was a sudden stir in the formation. An eleventh man was coming forward—the priest. "What does that Polish pig think he's doing?" Fritsch shouted. But the priest kept coming, unsteady, face white as death, ignoring the raised weapons of the guards. Finally, he spoke: "May it please the *Lagerfuehrer*, I want to take the place of one of these prisoners." He pointed to Gajowniczek "That one."

Fritsch glared at the emaciated apparition before him. "Are you crazy?" the German snapped.

"No," the priest replied. "But I am alone in the world. That man has a family to live for. Please?"

"What are you? What's your job?"

"I am a Catholic priest."

The watching men stirred nervously. Koscielnik recalls thinking: "Fritsch will take both him and Gajowniczek." And what did Fritsch think, staring at the serene eyes in that wasted face? Did he realize in that transcendent moment that he was in the presence of a force stronger than his own? Those who remember say that his gaze faltered. "Accepted," he muttered, and turned away.

The men of Block 14 were stunned. "We couldn't understand it," says Koscielnik today. "Why would a man do such a thing? Who was he anyway, that priest?"

He was Maximilian Maria Kolbe, a Franciscan friar, and in time Koscielnik—and the others who survived—would understand that they had witnessed the making of a saint.

Raymond Kolbe—he took the name Maximilian when he entered the Franciscan order—was born in a poor Polish village in 1894, and by age 13 had already decided to be a priest. At ten, he had told his mother of a mystical experience in which the Virgin Mary had offered him a choice of two crowns—the white signifying purity; the red, martyrdom. "I choose both," the boy had said.

He contracted tuberculosis as a youth, and was never thereafter wholly free of illness. But "he was a most gifted youth," said one of his professors at the Gregorian University in Rome. At 21 he had a doctorate in philosophy. A year after his ordination, he earned another, in theology. He might have made a brilliant career in the church hierarchy.

But his calling lay elsewhere. In 1917, he had organized in Rome the Militia of Mary Immaculate, a crusade to win back a world profaned by war and self-indulgence. Returning to Poland, and working alone in the face of his superiors' surprise and perplexity, he began publishing a monthly magazine, *Knight of the Immaculate*, to spread the gospel of God's love. When circulation hit 60,000, Father Kolbe was forced to look for quarters to accommodate the growing magazine and the Franciscan brothers who kept arriving to help him.

In 1927, he emplaced a statue of the Virgin Mary in a field about 25 miles from Warsaw—the start of what was to become the world's largest monastery, Niepokalanów, built by Kolbe and his friars and flourishing to this day. By 1939, there were more than 750 friars at Niepokalanów, and they were turning out up to a million copies of the *Knight* each month. But 1939 was also the

year that Hitler began World War II with a devastating attack on Poland.

Strongly opposed to the Nazis, Father Kolbe was arrested even before Warsaw fell. And though he was released soon after, he knew the reprieve would be brief. He rushed back to a bombed and plundered Niepokalanów to establish a haven for refugees, and eventually 2000 found shelter there. He even published one last issue of his beloved magazine. "No one in the world can alter truth," he wrote then. "All we can do is seek it and live it."

On February 17, 1941, the Nazis came for him again. This time, suspected of being an enemy of the Third Reich, Father Kolbe was sent first to a Warsaw jail and then to Auschwitz. He arrived in a cattle car packed with 320 others, to be greeted by backbreaking labor, meager rations of bread and cabbage soup, and daily dehumanization. One day, struggling under a heavy load of wood, Father Kolbe stumbled and fell, and was beaten nearly to death by a guard. He was brought back to precarious life in the camp hospital by a Polish doctor named Rudolf Diem. As he was unable to work, he got only half a ration of food, but still often gave part of that to other patients. "You are young," he would say. "You must survive."

Such as he was, weighing less than 100 pounds, Father Kolbe could have slept on a real bed in the hospital. "But he insisted on a wooden bunk with a straw mattress," recalls Dr. Diem. "He wanted to leave the bed to someone whose lot was worse than his." Toward the end of July, feeling better, the priest was assigned to Block 14. It was only a few days later that the prisoner escaped and Father Kolbe reached out for the red crown of martyrdom.

The ten who had been chosen to die, by starvation, now lay naked on the cement floor of a dank underground cell in Block 13. Sometimes they moaned or cried out in delirium. But as long as they were conscious they responded to Father Kolbe's assurances that God had not forsaken them. While they had strength, they prayed and sang. After a few days, the guards, who had seen hundreds die but none who had faced the end with such tranquillity, refused to go near the death cell, and sent a Polish orderly to remove the bodies of those who had died.

In Block 14, the soldier Gajowniczek was at first bewildered by Father Kolbe's sacrifice. He wept and refused to eat. Then Koscielnik brought him to his senses: "Take hold of yourself! Is the priest to die for nothing?" In that moment, Gajowniczek made up his mind that he must live. He would not waste Father Kolbe's gift. For Koscielnik, too, the priest's sacrifice marked the end of despair. "One such man was reason enough to go on."

At the end of two weeks, only four men were still alive in the bunker of Block 13, and of these Father Kolbe was the last to die. It was as if he had to help each comrade through the final trial before he himself could be free. At that, the Nazis had to finish him off. They came with an injection of carbolic acid on the 15th day of his agony, August 14, the eve of the Assumption. Smiling, whispering, "Ave Maria," the priest held out his arm for the needle.

Four long years later, the horror over, Francis Gajowniczek made his way back to what had been his home in Warsaw and found it bombed to dust. Both his sons had been killed, but he found his wife safe. The two moved to a small village, and patiently began to build a new life.

Then Gajowniczek heard stunning news: word of Father Kolbe's martyrdom had reached the Vatican, and it had been proposed that he be beatified, a preliminary step to canonization as a Catholic saint. Gajowniczek was called upon by the Church to testify, as were others who had been witness to Maximilian Kolbe's selfless life and heroic

death. Finally, after 24 years of painstaking investigation, the justice of the cause was affirmed.

So it was that on October 17, 1971, there gathered before the high altar of St. Peter's Basilica in Rome 8000 men and women who had journeyed from Poland for the solemn ceremony of beatification. Among them were Francis Gajowniczek and his wife, now pensioned and white-haired, as well as Koscielniak. A portrait of the Blessed Father Kolbe was unveiled, and for the first time in memory the Pope himself presided over the holy rite.

"Millions of beings were sacrificed to the pride of force and the madness of racialism," said His Holiness. "But in that darkness there glows the figure of Maximilian Kolbe. Over that immense antechamber of death there hovers his divine and imperishable word of life: redeeming love."

So Father Kolbe lives on, a symbol of the world's unknown sacrifices and unrecognized heroism. He gave the gift of life to one man, and to countless others the heart to outlast the tyranny that beset them. And to all men, of all faiths, he leaves the legacy of his unconquerable spirit.

#### THE GROWTH OF EXECUTIVE POWER

**HON. DAVID R. OBEY**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

**Mr. OBEY.** Mr. Speaker, the Washington Post last Saturday contained part of a recent interview with Dr. Daniel J. Boorstin, one of the most noted American historians.

In that interview, which centered on the growth of executive power, Dr. Boorstin indicated that Watergate resulted, at least in part, from a profligate Executive Office and from the constitutional provision limiting Presidents to two terms in office.

According to Dr. Boorstin—

... the notion that it is desirable to have a president who can give his full attention to the "presidency" and not worry about re-election is quite a mistake. What we want is a president who will be thinking about the prospects of re-election and will wonder what reaction the public will have to what he's doing as president. That's what we mean by representative government.

I agree with Dr. Boorstin, and reiterate what I said on the floor a month ago: God save the country, and the Congress, from self-styled political "statesmen" who no longer feel the need to respond to the public's emotions, pressures, and concerns with which mere mortal politicians must grapple. Politicians who no longer are forced to deal with the pressures that make up public opinion will sooner or later lose their understanding of those pressures—and Presidents are no exception.

Mr. Speaker, the article mentioned above appears below:

#### THE GROWTH OF EXECUTIVE POWER (By Daniel J. Boorstin)

Q. Many Americans seem to feel that Watergate is just politics as usual. Others see the series of scandals as unprecedented in American political history, profoundly different and more serious than previous misconduct. What do you think?

#### EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

A. Well, if we consider the problem of democracy to be essentially that of people in power refusing to use the power in ways that are not authorized and not decent and not constitutional, I would say that what makes this different from earlier problems in our society is that today the opportunities for the misuse of power are greater. Just stop to think for a moment about some of the central implements in the Watergate scandal. The most conspicuous was the Executive Office of the President. Why there are hundreds of people who write on White House stationery. This is a new phenomenon. In fact, it's a phenomenon which has astonished, and properly astonished, some senators who asked the counsellor of the President if he ever saw the President and he said he didn't. And I think there are something like 40 persons who bear some title such as counsellor to the President or assistant to the President or something of that sort. Now this is a relatively new phenomenon: the opportunity for the President to get out of touch with the people who speak in his name . . .

Q. One of the obvious effects of Watergate has been to undermine the effectiveness of the President very early in his second term. Are there any historical precedents for this and, if so, what are the implications for the balance of power between the Congress and the President?

A. One of the things that we've witnessed which has not been sufficiently pointed out is the great advantage that the nation has at the moment in having a fixed-term election. If this had been a parliamentary system the government would have fallen, there would have been, perhaps, another party put in power and then there would have been criminal prosecutions. The problem would not have been dramatized as a political problem. The members of Congress or Parliament as it might have been, who were in the party of the President, would have been interested to minimize the episode so that it wouldn't affect their re-election. They would have to go to the people to be re-elected. It would be in their interest to minimize.

Now, in the present situation, where we see such an even-handed concern among Republicans and Democrats over this problem, this is to no small extent due to the fact that they're in there and that they are re-elected for a fixed term, especially the senators—for a senatorial term—and that when they expose the misdeeds of the leader of their party in the White House, they are not thereby requiring themselves to go to the people and stand for election. So that there's a kind of antisepsis.

The separation of powers is proving itself in some interesting ways, and I would say that one of the consequences of this, in public opinion, has been that whatever effect this may have had on the prestige of the presidency, the respect of the American people for the Congress has been increased. They can see the Congress as a vigilant Congress. The virtue of vigilance is certainly dramatized so that in a new way we have seen the wisdom—in almost an unsuspected way—the wisdom of the writers of the Constitution in separating the powers this way . . .

Q. Watergate, then, to you, doesn't reveal any fundamental weaknesses in the present system that require change by Constitution or by law?

A. I think the passage of the 22nd Amendment in the Constitution (limiting presidents to two terms) was a mistake. I think that the proposal for a six-year term for the president is also misguided. I think one of the points in having a representative government is to have the elected person in power always subject to the possibility of being re-elected or not being re-elected. It's just conceivable that the President might have been more vigilant if he had known that he was going to be a candidate in another

election or at least might be a candidate in another election.

That was a very shortsighted and, I think, malicious constitutional amendment. It doesn't belong in the Constitution. And I think that the notion that it is desirable to have a president who can give his full attention to the "presidency" and not worry about re-election is quite a mistake. What we want is a president who will be thinking about the prospects of re-election and will wonder what reaction the public will have to what he's doing as president. That's what we mean by representative government.

Q. What do you see as the ultimate result of Watergate? Will it change our political institutions in any profound manner? Where is this episode going to lead us as a nation or as a people?

A. As a historian I am inclined to be impressed by the continuity of our institutions, and I am extremely skeptical when I read the obituaries for our nation. There has probably never been a scandal in American history which was not decried as the end of American civilization and the destruction of all public and private morality. I think this episode has probably had the effect abroad of dramatizing our concern with certain standards of public morality. And in that sense it's probably been a good thing. And it has dramatized the power of Congress. It has dramatized the integrity of our courts and it will probably have the effect of making anybody who sits in the presidential chair be more scrupulous of his use of the government—of the powers of the presidency.

In a practical way, one of the questions which should arise immediately is the question of the nature of the Executive Office of the President. I think that should be subject to investigation and scrutiny. Perhaps there should be some committee investigating that. The Executive Office of the President has expanded beyond all bounds and has tended to supersede the executive branch of the government. Some drastic reconsideration of that is in order. American citizens in general do not realize the extent of the Executive Office.

The dangers of that growth have been dramatized in Watergate, and in several ways. First, by making it possible for people to use or seem to use the authority of the President without his knowledge. And, then, by making it possible for a President to say (with some credibility) that he didn't know what was going on. That is an equally disastrous fact and one which should give us pause. The Executive Office of the President ought to be scrutinized. I cannot believe that the responsibility of the office is served by its proliferation. How many of these people and how many of these White House "positions" were simply superfluous? As I watched some of the Watergate hearings I kept asking myself what all these people—Dean and others—were doing there in the first place. Was there really an honest job there that needed doing?

#### MEMBERS OF THE PETERSON AND PERKINS COMMITTEES REASSEMBLED ENDORSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE REFORMS FOR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE

**HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

**Mr. ZABLOCKI.** Mr. Speaker, a report has been issued today by bipartisan members of two Presidential advisory groups on foreign assistance which endorses the reforms contained in the Mu-

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tual Development and Cooperation Act, to be considered in the House.

The group was composed of members of President Johnson's General Advisory Committee on Foreign Assistance Programs which was headed by James A. Perkins, then president of Cornell University and now chairman of the International Council for Educational Development, and President Nixon's Task Force on International Development chaired by Rudolph Peterson. Mr. Peterson was then president of the Bank of America and is now director of the United Nations development program.

Members of the two groups met in Washington late in June 1973, and drafted the report issued today. It contains a unanimous endorsement of the "innovative bilateral development assistance program" which is encompassed by H.R. 9360, the Mutual Development and Cooperation Act of 1973.

Among those who participated in the meeting are the following outstanding Americans:

Bell, David E., vice president, Ford Foundation.

Black, Eugene R., American Express Co.

Case, Josephine Young.

Cooke, Terrence Cardinal.

Curtis, Thomas B., vice president and general counsel, Encyclopedia Britannica.

Foster, Luther H., president, Tuskegee Institute.

Gookin, R. Burt, president, H. J. Heinz Co.

Gruenthal, Alfred M., general, U.S. Army, retired.

Haas, Walter A., chairman and chief executive officer, Levi Strauss.

Harrar, J. George, Rockefeller Foundation.

Hesburgh, Theodore, president, University of Notre Dame.

Hewitt, William A., chairman, Deere & Co.

Hewlett, William R., president, Hewlett-Packard Co.

Linowitz, Sol. Coudert Bros.

Mason, Edward A., professor emeritus, Harvard University.

Murphy, Franklin D., Times Mirror.

Perkins, James A., chief executive officer and chairman of the board, International Council for Educational Development.

Peterson, Rudolph A., administrator, U.N. development program.

Rockefeller, David, chairman of the board, Chase Manhattan Bank.

Wood, Robert J., general, U.S. Army, retired.

Because of the pertinence of this report to the forthcoming debate on the foreign assistance legislation, I am inserting it in the RECORD at this time:

#### U.S. COOPERATION WITH THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN THE MID-1970'S

(Recommendations of Members of the Peterson and Perkins Committees Reassembled)

Sensing that development cooperation is in jeopardy today, we members of the two most recent Presidential advisory committees on foreign assistance (the Peterson and Perkins Committees) convened an informal meeting in Washington on June 25 and 26 to review the situation and explore how we might be of assistance to the President, the Congress,

and the public generally. The group is composed of members of President Johnson's General Advisory Committee on Foreign Assistance Programs, which was headed by James A. Perkins, then President of Cornell University and now Chairman of the International Council for Educational Development, and President Nixon's Task Force on International Development, chaired by Rudolph Peterson, then President of the Bank of America and presently Director of the United Nations Development Program.

At the conclusion of our meeting on June 26, we indicated through a press release our approval of the innovative bilateral development assistance program recently proposed in both Houses of Congress and endorsed by the Administration. Our general consensus on the broader sweep of issues with respect to the developing countries is set forth in the attached report. We came to two principal conclusions. First, that at a time when America's need for the cooperation and resources of the developing countries is growing, the United States by its recent actions has indicated less interest in them and their needs, a situation which they sense increasingly. Second, a coincidence of circumstances offers the United States a unique opportunity to adopt in the coming year a combination of policies with respect to trade, monetary matters, investment, and development assistance which could go far toward restoring the United States to proper partnership of responsible leadership with others in the development effort from which it has gradually, but clearly, withdrawn over the past decade. The additional direct budgetary costs above that now contemplated by the Administration would be modest.

Bell, David E., Case, Josephine Young, Cooke, Terrence Cardinal (Represented by James Norris), Curtis, Thomas B., Foster, Luther H., Haas, Walter A., Hesburgh, Theodore, Linowitz, Sol, Mason, Edward S., Perkins, James A., Peterson, Rudolph A., and Wood, Robert J.

The following members of the Perkins and Peterson Committees were not able to be present at the meeting in Washington but wish to associate themselves with the general thrust of the recommendations:

Black, Eugene R., Gookin, R. Burt, Gruenthal, Alfred M., Harrar, J. George, Hewitt, William A., Hewlett, William R., Murphy, Franklin D., and Rockefeller, David.

#### DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION IN THE MID-1970'S

##### *The new era*

While the United States has dramatically improved its relations with China and the U.S.S.R. since the report to President Nixon of his Task Force on International Development in 1970, no such progress has marked its relationships with Asia, Africa and Latin America. Yet many of this country's most pressing national problems can be solved only through cooperation with other countries—rich and poor. Secretary Brezhnev's visit may serve to remind us that a nation able to achieve imaginative breakthroughs in dealing with the Soviet Union and China should be able to achieve similar advances in relationships with the poor countries of the world containing a majority of the earth's people.

The welcome winding down of the cold war has removed a major argument accepted by many for development cooperation. New arguments for cooperation relevant to the changed circumstances of the 1970s have not yet been widely accepted. In large part as a consequence, the United States bilateral assistance effort has declined significantly. The United States alone among the major industrial nations resists a major expansion of multilateral aid and now imposes substantially more barriers to the manufactured products of the poor countries than to those of the more advanced. Once a world leader in helping the poor countries it now ranks

twelfth in the share of national wealth devoted to this purpose.

During this same period of preoccupation with Vietnam and with successfully building bridges to China and the Soviet Union, the position of the United States in the world has changed. New problems and opportunities are beginning to emerge: the improvement in our environment, the conservation of resources, the expansion of trade, the resolution of the energy shortage—all require cooperative solutions in both rich and poor countries. In certain areas the resources and cooperation of low income countries may be decisive. The United States is neither so rich nor so powerful that it can put aside the friendship of any country. And friendships are made before they are needed. We may well find that collaboration in economic and social matters may provide the sense of international community that could increase the prospects for a peaceful world.

##### *Next steps in development cooperation*

Since 1970 it has become clear that the unprecedented economic growth achieved by the developing countries over the past decade is not sufficient to meet the minimum needs of their population as a whole. At the same time it is becoming apparent that jobs, health services and education need to be broadly available to lower income groups. These services could also contribute to the growth of motivation for maintaining smaller families and this, in association with stepped-up family planning programs, could lead to population stabilization.

Despite growing awareness of interdependence with the developing world, the United States finds itself today in a posture of increasing aloofness vis-a-vis the development problems of the poor countries. This trend can be reversed, and possibly dramatically so. A turnaround would not require massive budgetary expenditures above those now contemplated by the Administration, but would require a conscious and comprehensive effort by the United States to take the needs of the low-income countries into account in its national decision making. In a number of areas in which decisions are imminent, the United States is already on record in favor of proposals that offer some measure of support for development, although in several areas the U.S. position clearly falls short of being responsive to the level of cooperation required. Building on what it is already doing or on proposals for which it has already voiced some support, the United States can take a number of modest additional steps which would collectively make a significant contribution to ensuring constructive development within these countries as well as in our relations with them.

##### 1. U.S. Bilateral Development Assistance:

We unanimously support the Administration-endorsed Congressional initiative of the past month to restructure and expand bilateral mechanisms for working with the poor countries. It provides a welcome and unique opportunity to achieve objectives set forth in our advisory reports to Presidents Johnson and Nixon and, most recently, in President Nixon's State of the World Message on May 3.

The proposed legislation would redirect U.S. bilateral aid so that it is focused on the problems of the poor majority in the developing countries and on enabling them to participate more effectively in the development process. It would authorize funding aimed primarily at rural development and food production, population and health, and education and human resource development. It reduces the priority under bilateral development aid for large-scale capital transfers for infrastructure and large industrial plants, and supports and gives legislative form to the problem-solving approach that the United States has pioneered in areas such as disease control, food grain production, and population planning. In these respects, it is

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a legislative embodiment of a profound shift which has recently taken place in the methods considered most likely to produce the greatest development benefits in the poor countries.

It should be clearly understood that a shift in emphasis toward social and economic problems brings development assistance in direct touch with sensitive internal affairs that require sensitive handling and long-run attention. We firmly support the government's new priorities which will require patience and understanding by all parties concerned. It should also be clearly understood that new emphasis on technical assistance for high-priority problems does not invalidate the importance of the development of infrastructure that is always a necessary part of any internal development. It is our view that U.S. bilateral assistance, should give higher priority to technical assistance, leaving the international and regional agencies and banks to give the highest priority to capital transfers for internal development. We are aware of, but we did not examine, the need for a hard look at the administrative arrangements and structures, national, regional and international that are necessary to carry out this new posture and policies.

The second main feature of the new legislation, the proposed United States Export Development Credit Fund, is designed to increase the flow of American goods and services of a developmental character by close to \$1 billion annually, and on concessional terms which the poorest countries can afford. It would impose relatively little additional burden on the United States' budget, being funded primarily through public borrowings, with reflows from prior aid loans which are now earmarked primarily for reloaning to developing countries being used to cover the interest subsidy. This proposal for linking American productive capacity with the more than one billion people in the poorest countries could benefit both the United States and the purchasing countries through concessional sales of industrial goods in much the same way that the Food for Peace Program (P.L. 480) has done and continues to do for agricultural commodities, and the Export-Import Bank does for American industrial exports to the more advanced developing countries.

#### 2. Multilateral Development Assistance:

The United States should resume its traditional role of supporting the expansion of international institutions in the development field as rapidly as it can. Given the willingness of other countries to do their fair share, this could be achieved at a modest additional cost.

For the past four years, the U.S. contribution to the United Nations Development Program has stabilized at about \$86 million a year. In the meantime during these four years the contributions of our European and Canadian friends have gone up 52 percent. A U.S. contribution in the order of, say, \$110 million next year would be acclaimed as a sign of renewed U.S. confidence in the work of the UNDP.

Most industrial countries are supporting an expansion of the IDA to about \$1.6 billion a year. The United States has been supporting a much lower figure, closer to \$1.2 billion, as well as a reduction of the U.S. share from 40% to one-third. It is important that the United States support the same \$1.6 billion figure that has been agreed to by the other developed countries. The current insistence of the United States on reducing its share to one-third would generally be regarded by most developing countries as a matter between the United States and the other industrial countries.

A special effort should be made to secure Congressional appropriation of the initial U.S. contribution of \$100 million for the soft loan window of the Asian Development Bank—a contribution to be made over three

years which the Congress has already authorized. This failure to honor an United States undertaking in the development field is not only impairing the U.S. image generally but is seriously weakening the capacity of the Asian Development Bank to play its proper leadership role in Southeast Asia in the post-Vietnam war era.

Finally, the United States should make at least a modest contribution, say \$30 million over a three-year period, to the comparable fund of the African Development Bank. The amount is not large, but would be evidence of our willingness to join in cooperative efforts in which African nations have taken the lead.

#### 3. Trade:

The Congress should enact the preferences provisions for manufactured goods from developing countries, perhaps in strengthened form, which President Nixon has requested from the Congress under the Trade Reform Act of 1973. It should also enact a greatly strengthened program for assisting those workers and firms adversely affected by increased trade between the developing countries and the United States. Preferences have taken on a symbolic value for the developing countries far beyond their impact on trade, and adjustment assistance is indispensable if the preferences and the trade system generally are to meet the needs of poorer countries to earn their own way.

The greatest need of the low-income countries is for rapidly expanding trade with the industrial nations, and U.S. trade, aid, investment, and monetary policies should reflect this priority. Excluding major exporters, developing countries have increased their exports from approximately \$23 billion in 1960 to \$47 billion in 1970, but need to increase exports at a more rapid rate in the 1970s—especially manufactures, which need to increase from some \$7 billion in 1970 to an estimated \$30 billion in 1980, with United States importing 40 per cent or more. If the Congress enacts the legislation as suggested above, the United States will be able to refer not only to its expanded trade with developing countries, but also to the fact that it currently imports nearly half of developing country manufactures, compared with roughly half that amount taken by the Europeans (even though their GNP is more than two-thirds that of the United States).

#### 4. Monetary:

In the international monetary field, the major need facing the United States—and all countries—has been to secure with other countries international arrangements that will make continued expansion of trade possible. It is highly desirable, however, to solve this problem in a way that will meet the urgent needs of others and those of the United States simultaneously. It should be possible to meet U.S. needs and at the same time distribute Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) of the International Monetary Fund in a way that will benefit developing countries more. The poor countries have assigned an importance to the redistribution of SDRs that is now second only to their insistence on trade preferences. The cost would be modest, and the United States would gain both from increased exports to the poor countries and from a better working of the world monetary system. SDR reallocation, like trade preferences, offers the United States, as well as other developed countries, a way of responding to strongly felt needs of the LDCs without assuming a significant burden on its own economy.

#### 5. Indochina Reconstruction:

While we recognize the existing uncertainties, economic assistance for all Indochina countries is clearly indispensable if there is to be a successful implementation of the Indochina settlement. Over the next several years sizable reconstruction assistance will be required for South Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and, most probably, North Vietnam. In addition significant amounts of

interim aid will be required for South Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia while the prospects for a settlement are clarified and the details negotiated.

Furthermore, a unique aspect of Indochina today is that all major powers—United States, the Soviet Union, China, Japan, and the European Community—have a common interest in removing the threat of prolonged turmoil in Indochina, which would interfere with their more important interests elsewhere. Were all the major powers to undertake, by 1975, a major cooperative effort over many years to rehabilitate Indochina, this could mark not only a closing phase of the cold war, but a starting point for a new pattern of cooperation.

In providing assistance, the United States should seek to do so in ways that would provide aid to all countries in the region and that would involve, to the maximum degree possible, the participation of other countries and of regional and international financial institutions. This course would not only reduce the financial burden of the United States and increase the aid available to the Indochina countries, but also serve to reassure those Americans who fear that large-scale Indochina reconstruction aid could reinvolve the United States militarily in Indochina.

The greatest possible use should be made of international organizations in providing relief and humanitarian assistance in the near future, and of multilateral consortiums involving the active participation of the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank. The United States also should actively support and encourage regional institutions, ranging from the Mekong Committee to the Asian Development Bank, to reduce the prospects of further Balkan-type conflicts between the countries in the region. Finally, a special effort should be made to set up the machinery by which China, the Soviet Union, the United States, Japan, and possibly Europe, can be at least loosely associated in Indochina reconstruction, even though their assistance priorities will undoubtedly differ. *No significant budgetary competition with domestic priorities*

The increased direct budgetary cost in FY 1975 of such a comprehensive package of initiatives would be less than \$160 million above the total already contemplated by the Administration. As noted earlier, the Congressional initiative in restructuring bilateral development aid and adding the Export Development Credit Fund is within the Administration's present budgetary allocation. The additional budgetary cost would consist essentially of some funds for the UNDP, a modest amount for participation in the African Development Fund and, assuming a reduction of the U.S. share to one-third, approximately \$125 million for an expanded IDA replenishment at the level being urged by the other industrialized nations. The competition with domestic budgetary needs is not only very nominal but the additional outlays should be recouped through the improved cooperation this comprehensive approach should generate on many pressing national problems which require international solutions.

#### Conclusion

The United States has a special opportunity now to inspire a new dimension of international cooperation on the problems of developing countries. At a time when the cooperation of the low-income countries is increasingly required to help solve problems of vital concern to the well-being of the United States and of the world generally, a U.S. initiative to help the poor countries with their problems would be a highly appropriate follow-up to the recent progress in ending the cold war era and current initiatives with regard to Europe and Japan.

We should emphasize that for this initiative to have the desired impact, the elements

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described above should be seen as comprising a whole that is greater than the sum of the parts. The success of the Congressional proposals for restructuring bilateral development aid and establishing an Export Development Credit Fund would mean not only a far more effective program overseas at virtually no additional direct budgetary cost, but should also provide a new base of Congressional and public support for cooperative programs. Expanded soft loan financing for IDA and the Asian Development Bank by the United States would enable them to mobilize far more resources from others and would increase their capacity to make the effective financial and leadership contribution to the international reconstruction effort needed for Indochina peace. Because of the symbolic importance attached by the developing countries to preferences and to a revised formula for allocating SDRs, some responsiveness on these fronts will be required for an effective package but would also allow the United States to demonstrate its concern for the strongly felt needs of low-income countries. To omit any one of these elements would significantly reduce the effect of the whole, both in terms of impact on the developing countries and on the ability to achieve adequate supporting consensus in the United States.

**BISHOP ANDREW GRUTKA, SLOVAK WORLD CONGRESS**

**HON. RAY J. MADDEN**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, as a fellow Hoosier, I was proud to attend the annual meeting of the Slovak World Congress and witness honors bestowed upon Indiana's great religious leader, Bishop Andrew Grutka.

His Eminence has received many honors and recognition over the years.

Bishop Grutka on this recent gathering was honored with the "Hlinka Award."

The presentation was made by Prof. J. M. Kirschbaum, vice president of the Slovak World Congress, on behalf of former officers of the Slovak Federation of Catholic University Students. During the past several years, a number of American Slovaks received the award. The last one who received it in the United States was the late John A. Sabol, secretary general of the First Catholic Slovak Union. Before him, the Hlinka Pokal was awarded to the Rt. Rev. Abbot Theodor Kojis, O.S.B., Msgr. M. Mlynarovic, Dr. Peter Hletko, and Msgr. Francis Dubosh.

The history of the Hlinka Award was explained by Dr. Kirschbaum in his address to the banquet, as follows:

**HLINKA AWARD**

Over 50 years ago when the prominent Slovak national leader, Msgr. Andrew Hlinka, celebrated his 50th birthday, Slovak university students organized in the Federation of Slovak Catholic Students, presented Msgr. Hlinka with a silver cup which later became known as Hlinka's Pokal. Msgr. Hlinka decided that the award should be given every year to the most deserving Slovak who excelled in any field of human endeavor and contributed to the prestige and advancement of national aspirations of the Slovak people. In the following years, a number of outstanding personalities—scholars, digni-

taries and political leaders—were honored with the Hlinka Pokal.

When the Russian armies approached Slovakia in the Fall of 1944, the Hlinka Pokal was entrusted to me in Switzerland with the instructions to present it, after consultation with the former officers and members of the Slovak Catholic Students Federation abroad, to the most prominent personalities among Slovaks in the free world.

Thus the tradition of the "Hlinka Pokal" Award was revived in the 1950's in the United States where the idea of Slovak freedom and independence was re-born and great sacrifices were made by Americans of Slovak origin for their native country and for preserving their cultural heritage. The long list of personalities who, after Msgr. Hlinka, received the Award for their distinguished activities for the Slovak cause was enlarged by several American Slovaks. In 1971 the President of the Slovak Congress, Mr. S. B. Roman, LL.D., K.C.G.S., was honored with the Hlinka Pokal as the first Canadian.

In Bratislava, the capital city of our native country, the presentation of the Hlinka Pokal was the event of the year. We are carrying on the tradition in the free world to award those who, far away from the Tatra Mountains and the River Danube, remained faithful to the heritage of their forefathers and stand for freedom, democracy and justice for Slovakia.

Tonight, I have the honor to present the Hlinka Pokal to His Excellency the Most Reverend Bishop Andrew Grutka of Gary, Indiana.

Your Excellency, there are many reasons why the former officers of the Slovak Catholic Students Federation of whom several are present (Dr. Pauco, Dr. Mikus, Dr. Kruziak, Rev. M. Sprinc, Dr. Joseph Mikula, etc.) decided that this historical Award should be presented to you this year. The citation would be too long for this evening. In many respects it would also be unnecessary because your dedication to the Slovak cause, your love of the country of your ancestors of Slovak culture and religious traditions, and your great desire to help the people of Slovakia to regain their religious freedom and their rightful place among the free nations of Europe, did not go unnoticed by friends and foes of the Slovak nation. In your case, the old Latin dictum applies: "Opus laudat artificem." Although born in the United States and entrusted with a diocese which does not have many Slovaks, in your heart and soul you remained the son of the Slovak soil; the Slovak cause has been as close to your heart as it was to Msgr. Hlinka, to the Bishop-Martyr Jan Vojtassak, Archbishop Kmetko, or Msgr. Dr. J. Tiso, all of whom were among the recipients of this Award. In the gallery of prominent Slovaks you followed those who were guided in their activities by Hlinka's well-known guideline "For God and Nation," and, therefore, it was the feeling of all of us who made the decision that Your Excellency is the most deserving Slovak for this Award in 1973.

**TO THE GRADUATES OF 1973**

**HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, graduation is a time for great rejoicing, nostalgic remembrances, and deserving recognition for educational achievement. It is a day in which accolades of praise are paid to teachers for their patience, and dedication of purpose, words of hearty con-

gratulations are given to the members of the graduating class for their scholastic accomplishments, and special references are made to parents for their sacrifices and noble aspirations.

And I think there is nothing finer than a graduation speech that can bring together the momentoes, the exaltation, and the comradeship of that splendid occasion.

At this point in the RECORD, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues a truly memorable graduation speech delivered by my good friend and chairman of the Watertown School Committee, John Carver, at the Watertown High School graduation exercises of 1973:

**TO THE GRADUATES OF 1973**

Dr. Kelley, Reverend Clergy, Graduates of the Class of 1973, Ladies and Gentlemen: Graduation is a time for great rejoicing. Everyone—teachers, parents, friends and relatives congratulate young men and women who have reached another plateau in their educational development. Aside from celebrating this educational achievement, graduation brings classmates closer together in a common bond. You have shared confidences, exulted in victories and accepted setbacks together. Now you celebrate a glorious occasion, one that will be forever a burning memory, a sacred recollection.

While you students are to be congratulated for your scholastic achievements, gathered here today are others who have made your success possible. I refer to your parents who have made enormous sacrifices in time, money and effort to provide you with an education superior to their own. They have tried to give you more advantages than they themselves ever received. Now they see in each of you an image of themselves that they wish to perfect. May God bless each and everyone of them for the aspirations they have for you.

Your teachers, likewise, deserve commendation for their patience, perseverance and sincerity of purpose on your behalf. Some of you will study in schools and colleges of higher learning. Others will work with giants of industry. But I say to you now that these teachers will be the ones you'll always remember, the ones you'll turn to for advice and guidance.

Newsweek Magazine once published an article hoping to alert Americans to their basic responsibilities. It was captioned quote "No Man" quote and it ran like this.

"You say let us—the No Man says let's not. You say here's an idea, the No Man says it won't work. You say yes, he says no. You find this type of person in families, armies, business, clubs and even sometimes high in the affairs of our country. Doesn't he know or can't he learn that No-Man's Land is a waste-land where nothing—yes nothing can grow."

While the article ended thusly, its philosophy can readily be expanded and can serve as an object lesson for you as you move ahead on life's highway.

We have examples of this "No Man" in every community. He is the man who wants to retain the status quo. He wants no expansion of industry, no cultural and economic promotion—nothing which might disturb existing tranquility—or as you young people would say, "Don't make any waves."

He is the man who would stunt the growth of our cities and towns, who would discourage the spending new buildings to replace a cooing and obsolete structure of the past. He is the man who can never recognize the difference between an historic landmark which should be preserved and time's natural decay which should be destroyed. He is the man who believes that what was good for yesterday is adequate for

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

July 24, 1973

today. He is the man who stands still while progress moves his companions ahead.

He is one who views with alarm what others view with courage. He is one who puts his back against the wall instead of his shoulder to the wheel; the one who resents everything and advocates nothing. He is a man of little faith and no tolerance who obstructs instead of improvising; who takes exception to every idea not consistent with his narrow concept of life. Ah, yes—this "No Man" is a tower of consistency and he regards it as a noble virtue. But consistent men can be dull and unimaginative men who consistently believe they are right in all things; that war is the only way to settle disputes or conversely, that peace can be maintained at any price; that America can stand alone, isolated from the rest of the world and yet survive; that one race of men is ethnically superior to another. Such consistency is ignorant, short sighted and so typical of the "No Man."

America cannot afford him any more than it can afford the "Yes Man." The only type of man for today's world is the "Go Man," who moves toward the future with confidence, courage and faith—and the determination to build a better world. The "Go Man" learns when to reject; when to lead and when to follow. He is the man of the past who built the present; he is the man of the present to whom nothing is impossible. He belongs to the construction gang, not the wrecking crew.

I'll close now on a personal note. Down through the years your teachers have ranked classes. Some are good, some better than others and some adjudged outstanding. This 1973 class ranks high by every standard of measurement, in scholarship, arts, science, athletics and in your contributions to the community. You leave this school with a sterling reputation and you take with you the best wishes of proud parents, the admiration of your teachers and the confidence in your ability to make this a better world, and as for me, I congratulate you on bringing great credit on yourselves, your parents, teachers and on this Town.

## THE ENERGY CRISIS IS REAL

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, Mr. L. Frank Pitts, president of the Computer Systems, Dallas, Tex., gave an address to the Rotary Club of Dallas, Tex. the other day concerning the energy crisis. If there is anyone who doubts that we have a problem, I commend Mr. Pitts' remarks to them:

ENERGY SPEECH BY L. FRANK PITTS,  
ROTARY CLUB, DALLAS, TEXAS

The energy crisis is no illusion, it's real—it's going to be with us for quite a while—to live with it, and eventually overcome it, will require total dedication of our people—and a substantial investment—in patience as well as money.

Only three short years ago if I had stood here and prophesized that our Capital City—Austin—and the third largest Metropolitan area in our wonderful State, San Antonio, would be suffering because they did not have enough natural gas to operate their electric power plants—

Who would have believed it!! Yet—today—the officials there are asking people to up the temperature of their homes and offices from 72° to 82° and to minimize the use of lighting and power usage—thereby utilizing every device and opportunity possible to reduce the demand for natural gas.

Why has this come about? Why?—particularly in this State that has been so lavish in shipping tremendous volumes of this wonderful energy to aid and comfort millions of citizens in other States—hundreds, yes, even thousands of miles distant—

Today, energy is used for so many things, and so universally, that an *adequate quantity is necessary and essential* for our daily well being.

During the past several months we have seen some dramatic changes in attitudes by the citizen-consumer concerning his energy supplies.

In the past, our Nation has known nothing but fuel abundance. We now are suffering, to a limited extent thus far, the penalty for delay in exploration and drilling for oil and gas resulting in electric power brown-outs—empty fuel tanks, closed schools, stranded trucks and tractors, and factories with locked doors.

WHY IS THE UNITED STATES SHORT OF ALMOST  
EVERY TYPE OF FUEL?

The basic fact is that our Nation's appetite for fuel is enormous. America, with only 6% of the world's population, consumes 33% of the world's energy and the demand continues to grow.

LET'S FACE THE FACTS ABOUT OUR ENERGY  
OUTLOOK

The Nation's requirements for energy will about double between now and 1985. In this period, we shall have to rely upon gas, oil, coal, and nuclear power for at least 95% of our needs. The fact is that energy is the livelihood of industrial nations, the one resource without which all others are useless.

## NATURAL GAS IS SCARCE

Presently, our supply of natural gas is enough to last 12 years. Ten years ago, we had 20 years' supply. There has been a decline of 38% in a decade.

## CRUDE OIL IMPORTS WILL HAVE TO QUADRUPLE

In 1971, we had only 8 years' supply of oil compared with 10 years' supply in 1961. We are currently importing near 30% of our oil—most of it from the tinder box area of the Middle East—and it is estimated that by 1985, we will be importing between 50% and 60%.

## NUCLEAR POWER—WHERE IS IT?

Today, we have the equivalent of only ten plants of 1,000 megawatts each, in operation, and about 45 planned or under construction. On line schedules are being retarded by technical difficulties and environmental restraints.

COAL—WE PRODUCE LITTLE MORE NOW THAN  
WE DID 50 YEARS AGO

Production of coal will probably double during the next 15 years. We have adequate reserves. Limiting factors are the availability of manpower, environmental considerations, mine health and safety regulations, and a proven process to commercially produce liquids and pipeline gas.

## RESEARCH

We are now spending at the rate of 30 to 40 million dollars annually—this must be doubled or tripled—maybe not to the degree of that spent on space, but a major increase.

Investment? Enormous capital inputs will be necessary to provide for our energy requirements. A plant producing 250 million cubic feet of gas daily may cost 250 to 300 million dollars—to meet our energy needs, the required capital outlay will probably reach a level of several hundreds of billions of dollars.

NEAR-TERM SHORTAGES—WE CANNOT ESCAPE  
THEM

We may be able to relieve our near-term energy problems through appropriate government and industry action, but there is no realistic probability of a complete escape from them. This is true because of the long lead times—often five to eight years—re-

quired for the development of major new energy supplies. The critical "balance wheel" will be the volume of foreign oil imports; this will be the element which will adjust for our failures or successes in other energy areas.

## SURPLUS PRODUCTION CAPACITY

Up until recently, we have heard about the great quantity of oil and gas that Texas and Louisiana could produce. Today, these two states are producing all of the oil and gas they can efficiently produce. Nothing is being held back from the consumer. The comforting surplus once maintained by our market demand proration systems has been consumed.

## BALANCE OF PAYMENT PROBLEMS

Increased oil and gas imports will provoke a large, deficit in the U.S. balance of trade. By the early 1980's, this could be in the \$20 to \$30 billion dollar range, compared to less than \$3 billion dollars.

"When topmost leaders speak of 'impacting' our whole way of life, they are talking not only of the national security implications but of the terrible consequences of an American industrial 'dimout'."

Furthermore, these men are acutely aware of the damage to our international position from the outflow of dollars caused by the purchase of foreign oil.

The Middle East has 85% of oil reserves of Western world outside U.S.A. and Canada; therefore, they can control the world energy market any way they wish—including shutting off the supply, if they so desire, or raising the price to whatever level suits their own self-interests. Today we are in stiff competition with Europe and Japan for Middle East's oil; it is definitely a seller's market.

The day may not be far off when our great country will be blackmailed because of policies which have failed to protect our own energy needs.

## ENERGY COSTS ARE BOUND TO RISE

We have seen the lowest price for energy that we will ever see in our lifetime. There is only one way for prices to go, and that is up.

## POLITICAL FAULT FINDING

The bureaucrats and politicians want a "whipping boy" for higher fuel prices and shortages and apparently their target is the oil companies. All the criticism the last few weeks and months hasn't found or produced one barrel of oil or one thousand cubic feet of gas. If they'd turn the spotlight on themselves instead of pointing an accusing finger at someone else maybe conditions would change for the better.

## WHAT CAUSED THE ENERGY CRISIS?

To explain what caused the energy crisis, its ramifications and offer my views on what can be done to improve the present situation on both a short and long term basis is too complex to encompass in the time allowed for a rotary club speech. Here are some observations which may be helpful.

## GASOLINE

Because gasoline supply probably affects more people, I will discuss it first.

Is there really a gasoline shortage? Yes, but not critical. We are not out of gasoline. There is enough for basic purposes. Refineries are producing more gasoline, but consumption has increased faster and has outstripped supply.

In the five-year period from 1962 to 1967, gasoline demand increased at a growth rate of 18 percent. In the next five years, demand spurted at a rate of 57 percent over the previous five year rate. And thus far, this year, another 25 percent increase.

This is dramatic growth. Why? There are several reasons.

1. New car sales are at record highs.
2. People drive their cars more.
3. New cars, with pollution controls and safety devices mandated by government, consume more gasoline.

The demand for home heating oils and diesel fuels during last winter's heating season contributed to this shortage today because domestic refiners concentrated their efforts on these products, with full knowledge of governmental authorities. This maximization of these products, necessarily reduced our ability to build up gasoline inventories for the summer peak motoring season.

The reverse may be the case next winter.

#### NATURAL GAS

About 1954 the Federal Power Commission placed artificial prices on natural gas which have proven to be low, forcing natural gas into a non-competitive situation with other fuels.

Maintenance of this policy probably more than anything else, helped accelerate the drain on our energy reserves because:

First, the low price of natural gas caused people to use more.

Second, gas economics were insufficient to interest investors to search for new oil and gas sources.

#### THE ENVIRONMENTALISTS HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE ENERGY CRISIS

Congress has passed needed legislation to protect our environment. But today, many people are justifiably concerned that this issue is being escalated beyond reason.

Ramifications of environmental protection on the oil industry are a lot like ripples in a stream. Without delving too deeply into these issues—or trying to debate the pros and cons of each—I would like to list for you some of the developments related to the environment which, taken in composite, helped bring about the energy shortage:

First, the largest reserves of oil and gas discovered in our country in recent years are offshore and in Alaska.

Restrictions on offshore petroleum development have hindered production of California, in the Gulf of Mexico and offshore east coast.

The largest energy market in the world is along our east coast from Washington to Boston. The people in this area refuse to allow drilling offshore where there are two huge basins that have great potential. So far, no well has been drilled.

They think it's alright for us to drill offshore Texas and Louisiana and ship our oil and gas at low prices to them for their economic gain and social enjoyment.

Second, opposition to the construction of the trans-Alaskan pipeline has seriously delayed the ultimate delivery of north slope oil to markets in the lower 48 states.

Third, restriction by major cities against sulphur emissions into the air have sharply curtailed the role of coal—the fuel in greatest supply in the U.S.—while further straining our oil and gas reserves. These restrictions also limit the kinds of crude oil that can be delivered and where they can be used.

(EXAMPLE—ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.—AD-LIB)

Fourth, environmental considerations have made it increasingly difficult for oil companies to construct new refineries and terminals, and without increased refining capacity, no amount of available domestic or imported crude oil can alleviate our present energy problem.

Fifth, federal automobile emission standards have increased gasoline consumption in new cars and required substantially more crude oil to produce the same amount of unleaded gasoline. Studies have shown that emission control devices on 1973 cars have reduced gasoline mileage by approximately 15 percent and this percentage will increase markedly—possibly as much as 25 percent by 1976—as these standards get tougher.

Although there are other factors that helped the energy shortage along, I believe these five led the way.

#### COAL

America is blessed with broadly scattered coal reserves and estimated to be sufficient to furnish our total basic energy needs.

With annual consumption of 600 million tons, we have proven reserves for some 200 years. In addition, all western states hold vast quantities of oil-shale from which relatively high grade oil can be extracted at cost, competitive with the probable price of imported oil.

Research and development has been in progress for more than 25 years.

From coal and shale, hydrocarbons can be derived and commercial processes are available today.

Large sums are being expended to this end by both industry and government—but much more needs to be done to achieve our goals.

Within the next ten years, we can protect our requirements for gas, oil and electric power using coal and shale as the basic source.

While large investments will be required for research and construction of facilities, the use of our own natural resources will react to our economic advantages rather than being burdened with billions of dollars resulting from the payment of unfavorable trade balances.

#### WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT THE ENERGY SHORTAGE

One step that has been taken is to increase our imports of crude oil and refined products. For the next decade at least, we will continue to rely on foreign oil to supply a considerable portion of our needs.

More domestic refining capacity clearly holds the key to clearing the bottleneck in the petroleum flow. However, it would take a lead time of two or three years before a new refinery is in production, even if started today.

To minimize the impact of the energy of living. This doesn't mean that we'll have to go back to burning candles, or the horse and buggy. It does mean that we will need to use energy more wisely in our daily lives. Higher prices will be one of the things that will make us more energy conscious.

As the cost of operating big cars continues to increase, we may switch to small, more economical cars or perhaps drive less mileage.

More mass transit in the larger cities will help relieve the commuter crunch on our overcrowded highways and, at the same time, reduce gasoline consumption measurably.

Improved insulation of homes and buildings will reduce heating and air conditioning costs . . . and energy consumption.

Cutting off unnecessary lights and appliances at home and the office will further conserve energy.

#### WHAT CAN GOVERNMENT DO?

First, we strike a better balance between environmental goals and energy requirements. The present strict air quality standards should be relaxed so that coal and heavy fuel oil can be substituted for heating oil and natural gas.

With coal reserves sufficient to last for hundreds of years, using this abundant resource in some of its traditional markets for electric power generation will help ease the drain on our oil and gas supplies. It will also free up natural gas or heating oil for home use. Although this isn't an ideal solution, it seems quite practical if we are to utilize all of our domestic energy supplies in the most efficient manner.

Hold automobile emission standards roughly at their present levels.

Second, energy prices should be allowed to find their own competitive level in the marketplace. This would provide the necessary economic incentive to bring forth more exploration activities, more productive capacity and more refineries in this country, and incidentally, it may also serve to dampen demand.

Third, institute a coordinated national energy policy that spells out clearly our commitment to the development of new energy supplies. This policy must be coordinated at the Federal level so that we can avoid the duplication, delays and sometimes contradictory judgments affecting our business that presently result from having 64 agencies in Washington with some say in energy matters. The appointment of Colorado Governor John Love to head the new White House energy office is an encouraging step in the direction of better coordination.

#### CLOSING—ECOLOGISTS

We in America are facing the question whether simon pure air and water are more beneficial to our health and welfare than is electric power and other products from hydrocarbon sources.

We are now faced with the fact that both our energy sources, other than coal, and our minerals are running out.

Without immediate implementation of our technological processes through basic research and development to replace both energy and mineral sources, America is faced with a complete change in its way of life and a lowering of its standard of living.

However, I firmly believe we can find the answer to the energy shortage when we put our minds, talents, and our expertise in technology to this problem just as we were successful in putting men on the moon in a relatively short space of time. And I don't think it will cost nearly as much.

#### GOT A BORING JOB?—READ THIS

#### HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, last week I took the opportunity to insert in the RECORD an analysis of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's special task force report, "Work in America," in an attempt to bring the issue of work quality to the attention of my colleagues.

A recent book, "Job Power," by David Jenkins, has provided a much needed supplement to the report. In detailing the results of experiments with "industrial democracy" experienced in various industries in many different countries, Jenkins' book furthers the dialog on the issue of industrial democracy that was begun in this country by "Work in America."

In particular, "Job Power" points out the rather substantial benefits of permitting workers a voice in structuring the conditions of their immediate environment. It seems that forms of industrial democracy hold tremendous promise for the revitalization of the U.S. economy and American society in that both increases in productivity and decreases in worker alienation have invariably been the results of such experiments. These positive implications of industrial democracy merit greater public attention than the subject has been given to date.

For the information of my colleagues, Robert Sherrill's perceptive critique of

Mr. Jenkins' book, which appeared in the "New York Times Book Review" of July 8, 1973, follows:

BOOK REVIEW

("Job Power," Blue and White Collar Democracy. By David Jenkins. 375 pp. New York: Doubleday & Co. \$8.95.)

("Work in America," report of a Special Task Force to the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Foreword by Elliot L. Richardson. 263 pp. Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, Paper, \$2.95.)

(By Robert Sherrill)\*

When Peter J. (Pistol) Brennan was up for confirmation before the Senate Labor Committee, Senator Edward Kennedy asked him what proposals he had for overcoming worker alienation and low job morale. Brennan's suggested remedy was to bring in "some go-go girls" to entertain male workers. "If it is women, we bring in men to dance."

Whether or not that accurately measures the intellectual horsepower of our new Labor Secretary, it is fairly representative of the kind of dippy response you can expect from most bureaucrats and most labor leaders when they are asked to develop a rescue program for employees who are bored stiff by their assignments, who feel exploited and helpless, and whose work shows it.

Far from being singular to our era, this problem is actually old and chronic. The auto worker who bitches because day in and day out he does nothing but tighten the same six bolts is the inheritor of a long, rich tradition of boredom stretching back at least to that 18th-century pin factory immortalized by Adam Smith. ("One man draws out the wire, another straightens it, a third cuts it, a fourth points it, a fifth grinds it at the top for receiving the head.")

The latest wave of interest is artificially different only in that it is identifiable as post-Lordstown. Ever since workers on the General Motors assembly line at Lordstown, Ohio, walked off their jobs last year to protest what they considered an inhuman work pace (101 cars an hour) and deadening regimentation, a few of the corporate bosses of America have been fidgeting like Virginia planters in the wake of Nat Turner. Something would have to be done to get the menials singing again as they picked cotton and assembled autos, for happy workers are productive workers and productive workers equate with higher profits.

But fidgeting is a long way from making reforms. Just as most people were reluctant to accept the world as round, it will take a long while to convince most employers that a typical worker's head is not concave and that a firm's personnel problems may be traced to the fact that, as British industrial relations expert Leonard Neal expressed it, "The growth of affluence, the growth of education, has led to a shortage of morons." Many employers would probably agree with Henry Ford II: "The average worker . . . wants a job in which he does not have to think." Not too strangely, Ford's attitude is shared by many union officials. In 1970, the same year Ford made his appraisal, a United Auto Workers staff member told David Jenkins: "This concept of deadly monotony on the job is an intellectual middle-class concept—we wouldn't stand it—but for the worker it is acceptable because he doesn't have to think about what he's doing."

But those things were said before Lordstown. They were also said before an auto worker was freed by a jury of his peers for killing two foremen and another worker on the grounds that the assembly line had

\*Robert Sherrill's "The Saturday Night Special," on the politics of guns, will be published in September.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

driven him crazy. Are the lessons seeping upward? It's been known for a long time that many assembly line workers feel they must booze pretty heavily at noon to make it through the rest of the day, but now investigators are finding a shockingly large number who seek escape via heroin, too (15 per cent at one plant). Has word of this begun to penetrate the paneled walls of the boardrooms? And if so, what do our corporate deities intend to do about it besides sending down stone tablets commanding the rabble to cease and desist?

The few industrialists daring to show flexibility have often had impressive success. On a hot-plate assembly line where the routine was switched from having each girl do a tiny part of the job to letting each assemble the entire hot plate, absenteeism dropped from 8 per cent to 1 per cent in six months and rejects dropped from 23 percent to 1 per cent as productivity shot up to 47 per cent. At an Eaton's plant and at Texas Instruments, too, janitors who were allowed to oversee their own supply inventories and work out the plans for keeping the buildings clean actually began to keep them clean. Think of the potential if this kind of freedom spread. Airline stewardesses may not have the imagination of janitors; but if they were allowed to select the food for their passengers, there just might be less flying garbage.

Don't spend all your sympathies on the assembly line, however. Those unfortunates, after all, make up less than two per cent of the workers in this country, and in the scale of proper priorities, perhaps they are not the most in need of help. White-collar workers are just about as unhappy and probably have a great deal more to do with the quality of life in America. One poll shows that only 43 per cent of white collars would pick the same job if they had it to do over again, which is only two percentage points above the disenchantment of auto workers and steel workers. One college graduate for some reason complained being bored by her job with a company that had sent her to a Xerox school for three hours and, on graduating from it, gave her a goldplated plaque to show that she knew how to punch the button.

Well, naturally our Federal leaders are going to step right in and solve the problem, right? Just as they have solved our other problems. The President's National Commission on Productivity recently changed its name to National Commission on Productivity and Work Quality—a nice little gesture to let the workers know that their bureaucrats really care.

As for our vigilant Congress, last year Senators Edward Kennedy, Jacob Javits, Gaylord Nelson and Adlai Stevenson III introduced a typical New Frontier-Great Society trial balloon bill that they wanted to inflate with \$20-million to achieve something that sounds like it's right off the label of W. C. Fields' tonic cure-all—"solutions to the problem of alienation, absenteeism, high turnover, poor quality work and lessened productivity, poor mental health, poor motivation, alcoholism, drug abuse, and social dissatisfaction among workers."

These are penurious days for social programs, so the bill went nowhere in 1972, but it's back again this year. What are its chances? I called Kennedy's office and Javits' office to find out but was told in both places that the only men who knew anything about the subject were "away from their desks" and not likely to be back the rest of the day—a typical response from the highly-paid staffs of Capitol Hill, which I interpret to mean they have already solved the work problem in their own way.

And then there is "Work In America: Report of a Special Task Force to the Secre-

tary of Health, Education, and Welfare," written by 10 persons with impressive credentials and a humane bias. They have put together one of those useful assemblages of data, anecdotes and recommendations that will—like other task force studies on marijuana, pornography, campus unrest, civil disorders, and crime—doubtless be met with either indifference or hostility at the White House and Cabinet levels. At least the report has been out for several months now, and there is no sign that it has energized anyone at those levels.

Still, the report is good to have around, and so is David Jenkins' "Job Power: Blue and White Collar Democracy," a solid piece of leg-work that took him across two continents. Although the conclusions in these two books are not exactly new—for my money, they aren't saying much that John Ruskin wasn't saying on the same problem 120 years ago—it's just as well that they are making their points because to get anybody but theoreticians to pay attention you've got to make the same points repeatedly for at least a century or so.

If industrial democracy is the answer, Jenkins shows how far away this goal remains, and not only in America. If I read him correctly, the only impressive example is among Israel's kibbutzim. There's so little similarity between a kibbutz industry and, say, Inland Steel that attempting to find our guidance in the Israel experience might seem to be silly. Apparently their workers are motivated by an idealism that most Americans would look upon as naive.

But a different kind of idealism, a practical idealism, might work for us. Never mind the fuzzy stuff about working "for America" or "for the future" but just simply working for quality and honesty. Neither of these books gives enough weight to the possibility that regimentation and repetition may not have nearly so much to do with worker alienation as does the fact that much work just isn't worth doing at all or is basically corrupt. Even the dumbest worker hired to manufacture spray deodorant containers, or plastic plates, or pressed-sawdust furniture, or ersatz packaged food must realize that it wouldn't really matter if his factory closed down forever. So why should he care about his work?

A modified form of worthlessness was touched on recently by Sheldon Samuels, an AFL-CIO official, who pointed out to this reviewer that at the Ford agency where he gets his Pinto repaired, the three top mechanics drive Volkswagen. "One reason auto workers are unhappy," says he, "is that they are turning out lousy products and they know their companies don't want them to produce quality products. The consumer movement is going to do more for workers' morale than anything else could do."

And isn't it possible that an occasional beam of idealism, if encouraged, could even penetrate the stygian darkness of the bureaucracy, which now imprisons 15 per cent of our workers? What revolutionary improvements in morale might occur if, say, the employees in the Interior Department were allowed to administer Federal lands and natural resources for their children and their neighbors everywhere rather than primarily for oil and lumber and cattle corporations.

Until we get rid of products and services that aren't worth killing ourselves over, there's something to be said for the milder forms of sabotage, such as that of the steel-worker who confessed that "when I make something, I put a little dent in it. I like to do something to make it really unique." The Gothic nature, thank goodness, does survive and may be the workers' salvation after all.

July 24, 1973

## THE POSTWAR FOLLIES

## HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, the dictum that the man who does not know history is destined to repeat it is not just timeworn trivia. When we are talking in terms of naval preparedness, this dictum is doubly applicable. With the long-awaited end to the Vietnam conflict, our Nation again faces the specter of overreaction in terms of reducing our defense. I command to the attention of my House colleagues the following article by Rear Adm. Ernest McNeill Eller, USN (retired), entitled "The Postwar Follies," published in the May issue of *Sea Power*.

## THE POSTWAR FOLLIES

(By Ernest M. Eller)

(NOTE.—Rear Admiral Ernest McNeill Eller, former Director of the Naval History Division, retired from the Navy in 1970, ending a distinguished 48-year career. Currently, he is serving his second year as National Historian of the Navy League. Author of the book "The Soviet Sea Challenge," Admiral Eller has been an anxious observer of the momentous changes of the past decade which have eroded U.S. oceanic strength and tipped the precarious balance of sea power in favor of the Soviet Union. These are his views.)

After all major conflicts in which the United States has been involved there has been, and rightly so, a cutback of U.S. military forces.

Sometimes—more often than not, unfortunately—such cuts have gone beyond the point of reason and safety as the nation's craving for peace and weariness with war, particularly with expenditures for war, have caused the pendulum to swing too far—regardless of post war world conditions, U.S. international treaty responsibilities, and domestic economic needs.

The country again faces such a situation today as, in the wake of the longest war and one of the most divisive—in U.S. history, she begins a substantial dismantling of the country's defense establishment and turns to consideration of what many stridently proclaim as "higher priority" domestic matters.

But it is no exaggeration to say that, if America follows too closely the postwar excesses of the past, if she once again permits the pendulum to swing too far, she will be inviting calamity.

This is particularly true as regards the situation at sea, where the United States is losing the fight to a relentless opponent—and, in fact, in the opinion of many naval leaders, has probably already lost it.

It is also no exaggeration to state, alarmist though it may sound, that never before in history has the United States been in as great peril as she is today.

This is so because, for the first time in history, the nation is faced with a ruthless antagonist which, always strong on land, is now, and has been for several years, furiously building a strength at sea which is today second to none.

## THE BRITISH SHIELD

In the past, particularly throughout the last century, the benevolent shield of British sea power protected the United States and

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many other nations from would-be predators. When in this century aggressor nations, ambitious for world conquest, became more so because of the naval and military weakness of the democracies and finally did challenge the Royal Navy, as well as the ascendant, newly powerful U.S. Navy, at sea, there followed the catastrophe of two world wars.

Those who lived through the darkest days of World War II, particularly, know how perilously thin was the margin of naval/military strength by which the Allies finally won out, and should remember that Great Britain nearly succumbed to a submarine force insignificant to that which the Kremlin now directs. Those in the U.S. Navy who survived will never forget the dark and desperate year after Pearl Harbor when the Japanese had a stronger Navy in the Pacific, nor the immense efforts required of the combined navies of the United States, Great Britain, and other Allied countries to check the smaller German and Japanese navies.

With such examples from the recent past, with a strong friendly sea power no longer standing between America and potential adversaries, with an avowed enemy already armed to the teeth daily growing ever stronger—particularly on, under, and now over the seas—and with the acknowledged responsibilities thrust upon and accepted by her as the most powerful of the world's democracies, it seems incredible that America has allowed herself to become abysmally inferior in most of the essentials of sea power.

But this is exactly what has happened. It is hard to understand why this is so. Perhaps today's willingness, not to say eagerness, to demolish the tools of war simply reflects historical American tendencies to let hope ride over common sense. The country has always suffered heavily in times of war for its lack of foresight during the preceding periods of peace.

If history repeats itself once again, if the past is lantern for the future, which it is, Americans can expect cruel days ahead—but this need not be so if, in fact, U.S. leaders in Congress and in the Executive Branch can read history, and can learn from it.

## EARLY ECONOMY ERRORS

Examining the past may help to put the present situation in better perspective. After the American Revolution Yankee maritime enterprise ranged far and wide. Merchant ships multiplied, and commerce prospered. However, bankrupted by the long war, and struggling to unite on national purpose, the nation's forefathers disbanded the small U.S. Navy of the day and depended upon the good will of others for protection.

They soon learned—the hard way, unfortunately—that freedom cannot survive without the courage and sacrifice and strength that won it in the first place. In a world where power must back the best intentions, one cannot fight sturdily for the right and then on victory day abandon his arms and leave the future as unprotected as the past. Strength in peace is almost more important than in war, for it can prevent war. Weakness, on the other hand, invites war.

In 1785, as the United States auctioned off her last warship, Barbary corsairs captured American merchantmen and enslaved the crews. Neglected by their government, many luckless sailors, the "POWs" of their day, died in captivity, and a decade would pass before the last survivors were freed—any similarity with Korean War and Vietnam War POW experiences is more than coincidental.

Worse followed. The French Revolution that began in 1789 soon ignited the fifth World War of that century. In efforts to cut each other's lifelines, both England and France (America's ally, under another gov-

ernment, during the Revolutionary War) preyed on the American merchant marine. The U.S. government protested—but it was too weak to do more.

Then, in 1792, Algerian corsairs captured several ships and enslaved over 100 more American mariners. Congress finally authorized the building of six frigates—but soon cut that number to three when U.S. diplomats negotiated a humiliating peace at a tribute cost of one-sixth of the national revenue (then \$6 million).

At that time the nation's income came almost exclusively from taxes on foreign trade. During the 1795-97 period, income averaged under \$6.5 million annually, of which the Navy was allocated 5.5 per cent. Congress obviously wasn't rushing to rebuild a fleet, even though world war still raged.

As hostilities mounted, outrages against American commerce increased. French corsairs even captured ships in U.S. territorial waters. Congress consequently sped up commissioning a small fleet, and the country entered upon the naval quasi-war with France.

In 1801, following successful conclusion of that war, the U.S. government commenced operations against the Barbary pirates—but, as usual, tried to conduct them on a shoestring: naval appropriations dropped from \$2.111 million in 1801 to \$916,000 in 1802. The war thus dragged on for years until finally settled when the government agreed to pay ransom for the U.S. POWs.

Thereafter, as war continued and American commerce suffered heavily, naval budgets grew. From 1806 to 1811 they averaged around \$1.9 million annually, or 20 per cent of the national budget. Such wiser allocation of resources to provide protection at sea in perilous times, however, was hamstrung by what can only be called the "gunboat aberration." (Not only do Americans usually deceive themselves that the end of war means peace forever, but they ever follow the other chimera that security can be bought on the cheap. This time the bargain basement offered Mr. Jefferson's gunboats. Most of the Navy's increased funds went into this folly; hence real preparedness afloat benefited little.)

## FOLLY AND FORESIGHT

When the War of 1812 came the United States had, therefore, only a few high-seas warships. The little Navy could not stop the ravages—including the burning of Washington—of the British fleet, but it won notable single-ship duels and lake victories of lasting importance to the American future. When the war ended in 1815, the government consequently continued to strengthen the Navy by commissioning ships of the line, backbone of sea power. During the period 1817-21, appropriations for the Navy averaged \$3.56 million, or 18 per cent of total government spending. Three sea wars in less than two decades, and pirate depredations in the West Indies, had apparently driven the lesson home.

It is not necessary to detail the wisdom or folly in naval appropriations for the ensuing century to World War I, except to note two significant examples:

(1) Power afloat played a giant role on the ocean, bays, and rivers during the Civil War. Yet when peace came naval funds plummeted and stayed in the deep six. For 25 years they averaged under 7 per cent of the overall budget, and did not rise to above 10 per cent until the late 1890s. The nation survived such a perilously low level of security only because of Britain's benign rule of the seas—a safeguard no longer present.

(2) One of the few instances of wise and strong U.S. maritime policy over an extended peacetime period followed the short Spanish-American War. During that war, naval ex-

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penditures rose only moderately over the years immediately preceding, holding at about 10-11 per cent of total national spending (then \$605 million). But in 1900 a new trend began.

It was a time of cataclysmic changes. Giant forces were sweeping the world. The rising tide of the Industrial Revolution and accelerating technology had completely changed navies. A modern ship of the line, the "battleship," had evolved. Submarines were bringing their deadly stealth to boost the offensive strength of navies and increase defensive problems. Aircraft would soon follow.

These revolutionary developments at sea converged with the rise of ambitious rivals east and west yearning to wrest the sea from Britain. At the same time, although not understanding it, the United States was rising to world primacy. Without conscious preparation the nation was becoming world leader.

## TR'S PRESCIENCE

A number of Americans, with Teddy Roosevelt—a leader who demonstrates the overriding importance of a single great man in shaping history—in the van, did understand the changes taking place, however, and saw clearly that the key to the defense of freedom lay at sea. With Teddy Roosevelt on the bridge, funding for the Navy rose steadily to about 18 per cent of the rising national budget. Had the U.S. government held to the preceding low 6-10 per cent ratio, in the opinion of many military historians, World War I might well have gone the other way.

Roosevelt's foresight did, of course, provide the naval muscle needed by the Allies to win World War I, and should have been an example to future generations of the necessity for strength at sea. Yet, since the World War I armistice of November 11, 1918, the record of U.S. national peacetime leadership in providing a navy adequate to the nation's needs and to cope with changing and increasingly hostile world conditions has been as bleak as the worst of the past, with only a few bright spots.

Each generation seems to find its own false standard to displace strength, which history has repeatedly demonstrated is the one sure hope for peace in a world where aggression never sleeps. The post-World War I generation found solace in the term "disarmament." Full of good will, the United States scrapped real ships, afloat and building; other nations scrapped mostly blueprints and obsolete hulls.

The Depression and vocal anti-arms advocates led U.S. leaders to cut back even more. Hence, the Navy was not permitted to build up even to treaty levels. By 1930 funds allotted to the Navy had shrunk to under 11 percent of the national budget, and matters soon grew worse. From 1932 to 1939 Navy funding averaged well under half a billion dollars annually—about 7 percent of the national budget, approximating the doldrum ratio of the 1870s and 1880s. The Army received little more.

This head-in-the-sand folly, it should be noted, took place in an environment radically different from the post-Civil War era, when the British Navy kept world peace. During the 1930s explosive dangers raged on three continents as the world was rocked by the conquests of the Nazis in Germany and the Fascists in Italy at the same time Japanese imperialists were threatening Asia and the Communists were completing their brutal consolidation of the USSR.

## WHAT PRICE WEAKNESS?

The inevitable followed. Determined aggressors, encouraged by weakness, unleashed the horror of another world war. If Britain and America had been prepared, this and future generations may well ask, would Hitler have risked the gamble into Poland? If the

United States had doubled appropriations for sea power in the 1950s, would Japanese militarists have dared the Pearl Harbor Day of Infamy?

America's scrimping—Navy funding, for example, fell from \$2 billion in 1919 to a \$484 million average during the years 1931-38—during the fateful decade of the 1930s turned against her with a vengeance. Expenditures on the Army (and Army Air) exceeded \$50 billion in the single year of 1945, and on the Navy (and Marines and Navy Air), \$30 billion. During the long and bloody battles of World War II the small dollar savings achieved by crippling U.S. military strength in the 1930s were turned—at a cost of hundreds of billions of dollars—into an awesome and awful loss of life, untold human misery, and a world torn asunder and open, moreover, to yet another ruthless type of aggression: communism, with its evil philosophy that the end justifies the means.

Yet did America heed? No, she seemed bent on suicide, as in wild abandon, after VJ Day, she dissipated her expensive and hard-won military strength. Theorists hoisted a new signal of cheap security—the atomic bomb, which would now keep peace without the expense of conventional arms. Sea power, which had just made possible victory in the most gigantic struggle in the history of mankind, was obsolete, and this was where the biggest savings could be achieved.

Communist intrigue and aggression soon caused new crises: in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Berlin, Greece, Iran, and China. But the United States continued to cut its military strength, nevertheless. The party line now ran that if the nation spent more on defense it would go bankrupt. By 1950 the Navy's share of the now much-reduced defense budget had dwindled to 30 percent from nearly 50 percent through most of the 1930s—although dollar expenditures of course much exceeded those of the 1930s, as inflation and sophisticated weapons skyrocketed costs.

Looked at through another prism, the Navy's share of the overall national budget had shrunk to 10 per cent, a hazardous level at any time, but downright foolhardy in 1950, when the mantle of leadership of the Free World had fallen on the United States.

Thus, even with the tragic lesson of the 1930s made abundantly clear by hindsight, only a decade later U.S. leaders were making the same disastrous mistakes. Actually, such repetition of previous mistakes was far worse than the originals, since there was full evidence of the Kremlin's intent to dominate the world stage.

## THE LONELY GUARDIAN

The folly of the late 1940s surpassed preceding ones in yet another way. During the 1930s the Navy shared U.S. defense funds close to 50-50 with the Army, averaging over 45 per cent of the small pittance that Congress was allocating for security. But at that time Great Britain still had a powerful fleet, comparable in size to the U.S. fleet. By 1950, however, the U.S. Navy stood almost alone as guardian of the seas, but the share of the new tri-service defense budget earmarked for sea power had dwindled to 30 per cent.

Just as Pearl Harbor followed America's lack of foresight in the 1930s, so in 1950 came the onslaught of the communist juggernaut that rolled down Korea, sweeping to the last corner of land on that embattled peninsula before finally being checked by the Inchon landing and subsequent U.S./U.N. counter-attacks. The shadow of the mighty World War II Navy and Marine forces that had swept across the Pacific sufficed once again, though barely, and only because the sea was uncontested.

Had the U.S. Navy been stronger and had U.S. forces ashore been larger, however, there might have been no Korean War and no need

for an Inchon landing. The dollars saved by cutting the defense budgets from 1947 to 1950 went up like smoke. The loss of lives and the world disruption that followed those budget cuts—inevitably, it would seem—could be directly charged, once again, to abandonment of the wise maritime strategy that had just led to victory in World War II.

## THE SOVIETS MOVE AHEAD

Today, for the third time in one wracked generation, the United States is repeating the same mistakes of the recent past. With the Soviet Union driving to dominate the sea, the nation is spending less than 10 per cent of the national budget for security afloat—this was the level of disaster in the past, and was at that low a level only because no navy in any way comparable to the USSR's present-day fleet existed to challenge the Free World. Today, because of the USSR's furious naval/maritime build-up, coupled with America's own neglect—not to say deliberate cutback—of its Navy, the Soviet Union has shot ahead in nearly every aspect of sea power. In the Navy the Soviets lag only in carriers, amphibious ships, and at-sea replenishment ships. But the Russian fleet now far exceeds the U.S. Navy in submarines, guided-missile surface ships, minecraft, and—most important of all for the future—in new construction. One early consequence of U.S. lethargy occurred when the United States—which only five years earlier had been far ahead—accepted, in the 1972 SALT Agreement, a 3:2 Soviet superiority in sea-based ballistic missiles.

In shipyards, oceanography, R&D, merchant marine shipping, fishing fleets, and training of seamen, the Soviets also have drawn far ahead. The significance of the purposeful Soviet drive to win the world at sea, and of the incredible inaction of this country, becomes even more apparent when it is remembered that only 25 years ago the United States led overwhelmingly in all aspects of sea power, and the USSR, far behind, wasn't even in the running.

It is now evident, and becoming more so each day, that the United States will in the future have to import more and more raw materials for the U.S. economy—and, therefore, the American way of life itself—to survive. This being the case, intelligent men may ask, why have those who control this nation's destiny not seemed to learn, as apparently Kremlin leaders have learned, that the nation that controls the seas controls the course of civilization?

There are those who say that the present drive to cut expenditures for national security is a natural revulsion on the part of democratic peoples to spending heavily for armaments immediately after a war. There may be some truth in this theory, but it is evident from a study of history that the nation acted more wisely after the War of 1812, the Spanish-American War, and the Korean War. At least part of the difference, it would seem, was the foresight of the nation's leaders of those times, as well as their willingness to go to the people and explain to them the need for a continuing strong national defense.

The seas, and free access to them, have ever wielded a mighty influence on the American destiny, and will prove even more vital to the American future. Those who love and understand the sea, and who also know and love this country, may well pray today—having seen the Free World and the U.S. role in it twice barely escape annihilation—that in this third and last chance of this century U.S. leadership, in Congress as well as in the Executive Branch, will rise to the need and not throw away, once again, the strength that has always been a mandatory prerequisite to freedom.

## AMENDMENTS TO H.R. 9360

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

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. BINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, in accord with paragraph 6 of rule XXIII of the Rules of the House of Representatives, I wish to notify the House that I intend to offer the following amendments at the appropriate time during consideration of H.R. 9360, the Mutual Development and Cooperation Act of 1973, as reported by the House Foreign Affairs Committee:

Amendment to H.R. 9360, As Reported. Offered by Mr. Bingham.

Page 39, beginning in line 20, strike out "\$832,000,000" and insert in lieu thereof "\$441,000,000".

Amendment to H.R. 9360, As Reported. Offered by Mr. Bingham.

Page 51, strike out line 14 and all that follows down through line 17, and insert in lieu thereof the following:

(j) In section 36 of chapter 3, relating to reports on commercial and governmental military exports, amend subsection (a) to read as follows:

"(a) (1) Prior to making any sale, credit sale, or guaranty to any country under this Act exceeding \$25,000,000, and prior to making any sale, credit sale, or guaranty to any country under this Act in any fiscal year, the amount of which, when added to all other such sales, credit sales, and guaranties made during such year to that country will exceed estimates of the aggregate of such sales provided pursuant to subsection (b) for that fiscal year, the President shall transmit at the earliest possible time a written report to the Senate and the House of Representatives on the same day giving a complete explanation with respect to such proposed sale, credit sale, or guaranty. Any such report shall not include an explanation relating to more than one proposed sale, credit sale, or guaranty.

"(2) (A) The President may make such sale, credit sale, or guaranty thirty days after the report has been so transmitted unless, before the end of the first period of thirty calendar days of continuous session of Congress after the date on which the report is transmitted, either House adopts a resolution disapproving the sale, credit sale, or guaranty with respect to which the report is made.

"(B) For purposes of subparagraph (A) of this paragraph—

"(i) the continuity of a session is broken only by an adjournment of the Congress sine die; and

"(ii) the days on which either House is not in session because of an adjournment of more than three days to a day certain are excluded in the computation of the thirty-day period.

"(3) Paragraphs (4) through (11) of this subsection are enacted by Congress—

"(A) as an exercise of the rulemaking power of the Senate and the House of Representatives, respectively, and as such they are deemed a part of the rules of each House, respectively, but applicable only with respect to the procedure to be followed in the House in the case of resolutions described by this section; and they supersede other rules only to the extent that they are inconsistent therewith; and

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"(B) with full recognition of the constitutional right of either House to change the rules (so far as relating to the procedure of that House) at any time, in the same manner, and to the same extent as in the case of any other rule of that House.

"(4) For purposes of paragraphs (2) through (11) of this subsection, 'resolution' means only a resolution of either House of Congress, the matter after the resolving clause of which is as follows: 'That the \_\_\_\_\_ does not approve the (sale, credit sale, guaranty) for \_\_\_\_\_ and explained in the report transmitted to Congress by the President on \_\_\_\_\_, 19\_\_\_\_', the appropriate phrase within the parentheses being selected, the first blank space therein being filled with the name of the resolving House, the second blank space therein being filled with the name of the foreign country on whose behalf the sale, credit sale, or guaranty is made, and the other blank spaces therein being appropriately filled with the date of the transmittal of the report; but does not include a resolution specifying more than one sale, credit sale, or guaranty.

"(5) If the committee, to which has been referred a resolution disapproving a sale, credit sale, or guaranty, has not reported the resolution at the end of ten calendar days after its introduction, it is in order to move either to discharge the committee from further consideration of the resolution or to discharge the committee from further consideration of any other resolution with respect to the same sale, credit sale, or guaranty which has been referred to the committee.

"(6) A motion to discharge may be made only by an individual favoring the resolution, is highly privileged (except that it may not be made after the committee has reported a resolution with respect to the same sale, credit sale, or guaranty), and debate thereon is limited to not more than one hour, to be divided equally between those favoring and those opposing the resolution. An amendment to the motion is not in order, and it is not in order to move to reconsider the vote by which the motion is agreed to or disagreed to.

"(7) If the motion to discharge is agreed to, or disagreed to, the motion may not be renewed, nor may another motion to discharge the committee be made with respect to any other resolution with respect to the same sale, credit sale, or guaranty.

"(8) When the committee has reported, or has been discharged from further consideration of, a resolution with respect to a sale, credit sale, or guaranty, it is at any time thereafter in order (even though a previous motion to the same effect has been disagreed to) to move to proceed to the consideration of the resolution. The motion is highly privileged and is not debatable. An amendment to the motion is not in order, and it is not in order to move to reconsider the vote by which the motion is agreed to or disagreed to.

"(9) Debate on the resolution is limited to not more than two hours, to be divided equally between those favoring and those opposing the resolution. A motion further to limit debate is not debatable. An amendment to, or motion to recommit, the resolution is not in order, and it is not in order to move to reconsider the vote by which the resolution is agreed to or disagreed to.

"(10) Motions to postpone, made with respect to the discharge from committee, or the consideration of, a resolution with respect to a sale, credit sale, or guaranty, and motions to proceed to the consideration of other business, are decided without debate.

"(11) Appeals from the decisions of the Chair relating to the application of the rules of the Senate or the House of Representatives, as the case may be, to the procedure relating to a resolution with respect to a sale, credit sale, or guaranty are decided without debate."

## MURDER BY HANDGUN: A CASE FOR GUN CONTROL—NO. 7

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON  
OF MASSACHUSETTS  
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, today's account of a gun murder, published in the Chicago Tribune, demonstrates how vulnerable we all are to the violence which can strike at any minute, as long as handguns are so easily available.

Timothy Tharbs, age 21, was shot and killed by an unidentified man as Tharbs walked toward his porch. Tharbs was a narcotics dealer, according to witnesses, so he may have known that the lifestyle which he had chosen had many elements of violence attached to it. His fate, unfortunate as it was, may not have come as a complete surprise.

But eight people who lived in the building were sitting on the porch as Tharbs ran up the stairs, pursued by gunfire. Two of those people, Grover Travis, 44, and Emma Carter, 46, were shot, wounded in the back. They were innocent victims, caught in the middle of a violent situation not of their own making.

We are all potential victims. We may consider ourselves decent citizens, concerned only with our jobs and our families. We may think that no one would want to shoot us. Yet that stray bullet—that bullet meant for someone else, that bullet fired out of malice, that bullet fired for no apparent reason—could strike any one of us.

Handguns are the earliest weapons in the country. They are easily concealed, they are easily obtained, and they kill very effectively. We can decrease our own sense of vulnerability only if we decrease the number of handguns in circulation. Strong gun control legislation would be a step in the right direction.

The article from the July 20 Chicago Tribune follows:

## 21-YEAR-OLD MAN IS SHOT TO DEATH

A 21-year-old man was shot and killed Wednesday night and two other persons wounded on the front porch of a three-flat building at 1618 S. Christiana Av.

Sgt. Frank Hughes of the Marquette Police District said an unidentified man walking south on Christiana began firing a gun at Timothy Tharbs, 7956 S. Aberdeen St., as Tharbs walked toward the porch. Tharbs ran up the stairs and the gunman kept shooting, striking a man and woman who were among eight persons on the porch, Sgt. Hughes said.

Tharbs was pronounced dead in Mount Sinai Hospital with a bullet wound in the chest. According to Sgt. Hughes, witnesses said that Tharbs was a narcotics dealer. Grover Travis,

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44, and Emma Carter, 46, who lived in the building were both wounded in the back. They were in guarded condition in Mount Sinai, but not immediately admitted.

GIBSON COUNTY, TENN.,  
SESQUICENTENNIAL

## HON. ED JONES

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. JONES of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, as the first Congressman from Gibson County, Tenn., since Davy Crockett, it is my pleasure to announce the sesquicentennial celebration of Gibson County, Tenn. The purpose of the celebration is to commemorate Gibson County's 150 years of continued progress. In the following brief history of Gibson County, one can easily understand the appropriateness of the theme of the sesquicentennial celebration:

An Honorable Past with a Pathway to a Great Future.

Named in the honor and memory of Col. John H. Gibson, Gibson County was organized October 21, 1823. Eaton, the oldest settlement in Gibson County was the port of river commerce for the county. However, with the introduction of the railroad, more settlements sprang up and the development of the county was underway. The oldest town in Gibson County, Trenton, now has the honor of being the county seat. The first term of county court was held in the home of Luke Biggs on January 5, 1824. After completion of the county's first courthouse, the county court was moved and held its first session there in April 1825.

The first bank in the county, currently celebrating 100 years of service, was known as the Banking House of E. A. Collins, and it is now known as the Milan Banking Co. Currently, Gibson County has more banks than any other county in the State and is the only county in the State to have a bankers association. Another historical distinction that Gibson County enjoys stems from the Gibson County Fair, the oldest county fair in the South, which was first held in October 1856.

With the continuing progress that Gibson County has enjoyed in its history came the formation of the Gibson County Electric Membership Cooperative. The purpose of the Co-op was to extend the conveniences of electricity to rural areas. Also, as a result of the concern that Gibson Countians had and still have for one another came the establishment of the Gibson County Health Department, the first such department in west Tennessee and the third in the entire State.

Gibson County takes pride in the progress of its citizens. Col. Davy Crockett represented Gibson County in the Tennessee State Legislature in 1821 and later represented the west Tennessee area as a Member of Congress in 1826. In addition, three members of the Gibson County Bar Association have served with distinction on the Tennessee Supreme Court.

Today, Gibson County is still a prosperous and progressive section of Tennessee. Although the county is primarily agriculturally oriented, there are large numbers and a variety of industries who call Gibson County their home. Citizens of Gibson County take pride in the number and quality of churches, modern hospitals, and libraries which have been established.

Being the 12th largest county in the State of Tennessee populationwise, Gibson County has 26 towns and communities which the citizens of the county call home. Unincorporated towns and communities include Brazil, Cades, Eaton, Edison, Fairview, Frog Jump, Fruitland, Gann, Gibson Wells, Goat City, Goosefoot, Graball, Holly Leaf, Idlewild, Lynn Point, Neboville, Sitka, Skullbone, and Whiteway. The incorporated towns are Bradford, Dyer, Gibson, Humboldt, Kenton, Medina, Milan, Rutherford, Trenton, and my own hometown Yorkville.

Citizens of Gibson County take great pride in their communities and they certainly have reason to. Bradford is the noodle soup capital of the world. Gibson is a shipping point for truck crops. Humboldt is the home of the West Tennessee Strawberry Festival. Kenton is the home of the rare and beautiful white squirrels. Dyer was an important rail shipping point for adjoining Dyer County. Medina this year celebrates its centennial. Milan is the home of Dr. Andrew Holt, president emeritus of the University of Tennessee at Knoxville. Rutherford is the home of Davy Crockett. Trenton boasts the world's largest and finest collection of Porcelain Veilleuse Theseres. Skullbone is the home of former world's champions "fist and skullbone fighters."

I am proud to say I am a Gibson Countian. As a resident of Yorkville, I realize and share the proud tradition that is part of Gibson County. Davy Crockett introduced the bill to create Gibson County in the Tennessee Legislature. And now, 150 years later, it is my pleasure to announce the Gibson County sesquicentennial celebration which will be held October 15 through 21, 1973. Don Farmer, president of the Sesquicentennial Association, and his associates have devoted much time and effort into making the celebration as successful as the history of Gibson County.

As a resident of Gibson County, I take this opportunity to invite everyone to come and participate in the sesquicentennial celebration, and to see for yourself why Gibson County is a county "with an honorable past with a pathway to a great future."

## THE RIGHT TO LIFE

## HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, July 24, 1973

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the attitude that there is such a thing as a "life not worth living or not worth letting live" which is reflected in certain popular

movements today, cannot be countenanced or accepted by a nation whose way of life comprises an obvious and certain recognition of the law of God. On January 22, the Supreme Court handed down its tragic decision which turned "thumbs down" on the lives of millions of unborn children. The new legal arrangement on abortion makes a mockery of the God-given and most important human right—the right to life. As the dangers of public acceptance of this improvident decision become more evident, we must strengthen our efforts to reverse the Court holding and restore respect for the life of the unborn in our society.

Mr. Speaker, among the hundreds of letters which I have recently received expressing opposition to the Court ruling, one was sent by Mary Higgins, a young lady studying nursing at the University of Wisconsin. Enclosed in Miss Higgins' letter was a study which she had recently completed on abortion. The insight, and the sense of firmness and hope are reflected in Miss Higgins' own statement that each person has a job to do in life that no one else could ever duplicate. She writes:

We all touch one another's life in ways that are irreplaceable. Man's gross judgment can in no way imitate the natural order of things. There isn't a judgment capable of perfect selectivity—which abortion implies. No matter how gifted a visionary is, he cannot possibly foresee the potential of goodness or justice that may come out of life, if that life is given a chance.

Mr. Speaker, at this time I would like to commend Miss Higgins' study to the attention of our colleagues:

## THE RIGHT TO LIVE

In this age of social consciousness and outrage over injustice to the helpless, it is ironic that abortion should slide so easily into vogue. This is definitely a turning point in the course of human affairs for the American people. The calmness with which the people are accepting the Supreme Court decision of January 22 signals the shadowing of a dangerous idea over the face of our peoples. This new passiveness will seep through the cracks under the doors of our houses and nudge each of us.

Some say that the fetal life is not a human being. Who is to define a human being? Does thought or independent sustenance or age determine whether growing matter is a life? When a baby is born prematurely and survives, is that being more human than one which was forcibly aborted at the same age?

There are a number of social consequences that abortion has which act as negative forces in society. Someone once said: Centuries from now historians will look back on this era and say that was a time when men killed their young." Those historians will write about the ills our society suffered because of the snowball effect that abortion had on "liberal" views of control of human life. "It is easier for a man to kill if those around him are killing, and it is easier for a man to kill if he has killed before. All fanatical tyrants have known this from ancient oriental chieftains to Torquemada to Hitler to Mao. The moral instincts of humans are generally fragile, and if they are not constantly renewed by vigorous use, they wear away until they crumble completely."<sup>1</sup> This view sounds a little bit extreme in relation to abortion until you take a look back at a tragic case. The beginnings in Germany were merely a shift in emphasis of the basic attitudes of physicians. It started with the ac-

<sup>1</sup>Footnotes at end of article.

ceptance of the attitude, basic in the euthanasia movement, that there is such a thing as a life not worth living or nor worth letting live.<sup>2</sup>

Possibly one of the most convincing factors for abortion is the tremendous number that have already been performed. It is overwhelming and nauseating at the same time to believe that those unborn persons were wrongly murdered. It is much more easier to the conscience to drift with the tide and say that the nation's physicians performing abortions can't all be wrong. People want to believe that events surrounding them are normal and sane. The burden or bother of questioning a law is too much with such an important affair.

I see no way of stopping the widespread acceptance of legal abortion—which is inevitable if the next generation grows up with it—from blossoming into a general acceptance of euthanasia and eventually selectivity in breeding. Even though there may be ideals and great plans of Utopia behind it, the manipulation of human birth and existence by scientists is a jinxed expedition. Man will end up exterminating other men. "If we find the taking of human life acceptable for purposes of social convenience under some circumstances, are we not going to pave the ground for the taking of human life under other circumstances in order to meet other objectives of social convenience?"—Sen. James Buckley.

With the dawning of women's rights, the issues are getting badly confused. There is no reason for women to believe that life is a bed of roses. It isn't that way for anyone. No woman should be led to believe that she can prevent a pregnancy 100% with anything but abstinence from sex or sterilization. That's a risk that must be taken into consideration. Instead of looking to abortion as a relief from their "burden", woman should pursue other relatively acceptable alternatives: to put the baby up for adoption after her 9 months or to pursue her interests in court with a paternity suit.

The United States Supreme Court legalized abortion saying that the termination of an unwanted pregnancy is up to a woman and her doctor. The court ruled that the criminal abortion laws of almost every state violated a constitutional "right of privacy" and must therefore be struck down. The "right to privacy" argument used by many pro-abortionists is fine for the adult woman as a single individual, but how about the unborn woman or man? If you stand outside of a door and listen to a mother battering her child, even to the point of killing it, what would you do? Would you respect the privacy of her home? You probably would not. Hopefully you would break down the door and rescue the child. By virtue of her abuse of another human person, she surrendered her constitutional right to privacy in this case. The same analogy applies to abortion.<sup>3</sup> Rights of personhood and life must be judged superior to the rights of privacy or sexual identity.

Daniel Callahan writes that "the essence of the moral problem in abortion is the proper way in which to balance the rights of the unborn (who very early have heads, fingers, toes, receptivity to stimuli, recordable EEG's, . . . no less than you and me) against the right of a woman not to have a child she does not want . . . Values are reconstructed by making the value of a potential human being dependent upon being wanted by its mother."<sup>4</sup>

It is not true that a child born today could be unwanted. The adoption agencies across the nation have waiting lists of prospective parents eager for a baby to love. There are homes for the babies whose mothers will not or cannot take up the mother role. "With the availability of abortion in New York and other states there has been a precipitous de-

cline in babies available for adoptions. Many adoption agencies have stopped accepting applications from childless couples . . .

Throughout the U.S. and Canada babies for adoption have become almost unavailable. There are and will be far more good homes than babies available."<sup>5</sup>

It is my thesis that the undefinable fetal life (it is definitely growing and living) must be treated as sacred human material—analogous to any other unconscious, dependent form of human life. We are all dependent on people or forces outside of ourselves to varied degrees; so that the criterion of dependence doesn't make something inhuman. The human vegetables or people who will never come out of a coma are still human beings. They have the more noticeable manifestations of our characteristics of dependence and unconsciousness. The fetal life is just as human as these, just more easily swept under the rug. Society still has some conscience in caring for and preserving the dependents in adult life; why do they abandon the prenatal life? The fetal life has the qualities present in our own lives in different extremes and proportions.

Something that many people forget when discussing the fetus is that there were more than two forces (the parents) involved in the formation of a new life. Procreation is a power given by God. The growth of a unique new group of cells is a miracle. Scientists should be proud of their test tube DNA, artificial insemination, sperm freezing and absentee mothers—but this still isn't life produced independently of God. Decisions controlling this new life are not ours to make.

There is another important property of the fetal life which should demand our respect. It is at least a potential (if not already true) person. This means that the world's most valuable resource is being threatened—life by life. The race is not necessarily in danger, but the irreplaceable elements are. We all have a great interest—almost as an investment—in each potential life. "Each human being is unique and irreplaceable. In the realm of being, no one can take the place of another. Theodosius Dobzhansky, the Nobel Laureate in genetics says that the possible variations of human genotypes constitute so vast a number as to be equal to the number of atoms in the universe. Uniqueness does not wait upon one's being born and becoming a conscious person; rather, each combination of ovum and spermatozoon initiates unique life. The definition and identity of human life must be given in terms of personhood, and not alone in terms of living tissue."<sup>6</sup> Countless significant and essential persons—which everyone is—will never be allowed to leave a scratch on the surface of the earth, as they were meant to do. It is my personal belief that each person has a job in life that no one else could ever do like him. We all touch another's life in ways that are irreplaceable. Man's gross judgments can in no way imitate the natural order of things. There isn't a human judgement capable of perfect selectivity—which abortion implies. No matter how gifted a visionary is, he cannot possibly foresee the potential of goodness or justice that may come out of a life, if that life is given a chance.

Our government, however, has haphazardly entrusted every mother and her doctor with this role of selector. The Supreme Court says that abortion is o.k., but that is an empty approval. It is not their place to condone this slaughter. They have surrendered to the mob, they have washed their hands of their role as protector of the unborn.

The court seems to be running away from any responsibility or sense as a guiding body of supposedly wise leaders. The court dramatizes what has been clear under other signs for some time: we stand in danger of becoming

an abortion culture. It is a comfortable way of life that settles for the least inconvenient solution to moral dilemmas.

What was said in Sweden 20 years ago now seems to apply in the United States: If a majority of the people hold an act to be moral, it is moral.<sup>7</sup> However the "majority" is barely representative of the public's opinion. A Gallup poll released one week after the decision disclosed that 46% of the public favors the right of a woman on advice of her physician to have an abortion during the first trimester; 45% opposed and 9% no opinion.<sup>8</sup> It appears that the Supreme Court has listened only to the high pressure element that favors abortion.

In the 7-2 majority opinion, Justice Blackmun, while taking note of the prominence of this question, wrote: "We need not resolve the difficult question of when life begins. When those trained in the respective disciplines of medicine, philosophy and theology are unable to arrive at any consensus, the judiciary, at this point in the development of man's knowledge, is not in a position to speculate as to the answer."<sup>9</sup> This is saying: we don't understand something, so we will leave the decision up to the multitude. We will hurry up and say yes and later maybe we'll understand what it is we are doing.

Scholastic speculations about the time of "ensoulment" of the fetal life are inappropriate and misleading. It is impossible for theologians and physicians to determine the exact point in the continuum of tissue life when it can be said that personhood has been attained. "When is day truly day and night truly night, rather than dusk or dawn which distinguished them. The belief in personhood is basic, but the definition remains in dispute."<sup>10</sup>

In the interest of life and justice I oppose the murder of our young. What a society values, it protects with laws.

"If a man loses reverence for any part of life, He will lose his reverence for all life"

—ALBERT SCHWEITZER.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Edwin A. Roberts, *National Observer*, Jan. 18, 1971, in *Handbook on Abortion* (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1972), p. 128.

<sup>2</sup> Leo Alexander, *Medical Science Under Dictatorship*, *New England J. of Med.*, July 1949 in *Handbook on Abortion*, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> J. C. Evans, "The Abortion Decision: A Balancing of Rights" *Christian Century*, February 14, 1973, p. 197.

<sup>4</sup> "Callahan on Abortion", *Commonweal*, February 9, 1973, p. 410.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. & Mrs. J. C. Willke, *Handbook on Abortion*, (Cincinnati, Ohio 1972), p. 142.

<sup>6</sup> J. R. Nelson, "What Does Theology Say About Abortion?" *Christian Century*, January 31, 1973, p. 124-8.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> Dr. & Mrs. J. C. Willke, *Handbook on Abortion*, p. 51.

<sup>9</sup> J. C. Evans, "The Abortion Decision: A Balancing of Rights" *Christian Century*, Feb. 14, 1973, p. 196.

<sup>10</sup> J. R. Nelson, "What Does Theology Say About Abortion?" *Christian Century*, Jan. 31, 1973, p. 124-8.

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