

## ANNUAL REPORT ON STATE OF SMALL BUSINESS

SEC. 8. The first sentence of subsection (a) of section 10 of the Small Business Act and the first word of the second sentence of such subsection are amended to read as follows: "The Administration shall, as soon as practicable each calendar year make a comprehensive annual report to the President, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Such report shall include a description of the state of small business in the Nation and the several States, and a description of the operations of the Administration under this chapter, including, but not limited to, the general lending, disaster relief, Government regulation relief, procurement and property disposal, research and development, technical assistance, dissemination of data and information, and other functions under the jurisdiction of the Administration during the previous calendar year. Such report shall contain recommendations for strengthening or improving such programs, or, when necessary or desirable to implement more effectively Congressional policies and proposals, for establishing new or alternative programs. In addition, such".

## ANTI-DISCRIMINATION AMENDMENT

SEC. 9. Section 4(b) of the Small Business Act is amended by adding after "The Administrator shall not engage in any other business, vocation, or employment than that of serving as Administrator." the following new sentence: "In carrying out the programs administered by the Small Business Administration, including its lending and guaranteeing functions, the Administrator shall not discriminate against any person or small business concern receiving assistance from the Small Business Administration based on sex, and the Small Business Administration shall give special consideration to veterans of United States military service and the survivors of their immediate families."

Mr. CRANSTON. Mr. President, I move that the Senate disagree to the amendment of the House on S. 1672 and ask for a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and that the Chair be authorized to appoint the conferees on the part of the Senate.

The motion was agreed to; and the Presiding Officer appointed Mr. SPARKMAN, Mr. PROXMIER, Mr. STEVENSON, Mr. CRANSTON, Mr. TOWER, Mr. TAFT, and Mr. WEICKER conferees on the part of the Senate.

## ORDER FOR TRANSACTION OF ROUTINE MORNING BUSINESS TOMORROW

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that on tomorrow,

after the two leaders or their designees have been recognized under the standing order, there be a period for the transaction of routine morning business for not to exceed 30 minutes with statements therein limited to 3 minutes.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## ORDER FOR THE SENATE TO PROCEED TO CONSIDERATION OF S. 1560 TOMORROW

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that following the transaction of routine morning business tomorrow, the Senate proceed to the consideration of S. 1560, the Emergency Employment Act of 1971.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## PROGRAM

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, the program for tomorrow is as follows:

The Senate will convene at the hour of 10 a.m. There will be a period for the transaction of routine morning business for not to exceed 30 minutes, with the usual limitation of 3 minutes on statements.

At no later than 10:30 a.m., the Senate will take up S. 1560, the public service employment for unemployed persons bill. Yea-and-nay votes may occur thereon.

At no later than 12:30 p.m., and possibly earlier, the Senate will resume the consideration of S. 372, the campaign reform bill. Yea-and-nay votes will occur on amendments thereto.

## ADJOURNMENT TO 10 A.M.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move in accordance with the previous order that the Senate stand in adjournment until 10 a.m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and at 6:49 p.m., the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, July 26, 1973, at 10 a.m.

## NOMINATIONS

Executive nominations received by the Senate July 25, 1973:

## DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Melvin A. Hove, of Iowa, to be U.S. marshal for the northern district of Iowa for the term of 4 years. (Reappointment)

Isaac George Hylton, of Virginia, to be U.S. marshal for the eastern district of Virginia for the term of 4 years. (Reappointment)

J. Pat Madrid, of Arizona, to be U.S. marshal for the district of Arizona for the term of 4 years. (Reappointment)

## DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Thomas R. Byrne, of Pennsylvania, a Foreign Service officer of class 1, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Norway.

## U.S. POSTAL SERVICE

John Y. Ing, of Hawaii, to be a Governor of the U.S. Postal Service for the term expiring December 8, 1981. (Reappointment)

## IN THE AIR FORCE

The following officer under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 8066, to be assigned to a position of importance and responsibility designated by the President under subsection (a) of section 8066, in grade as follows:

## To be general

Lt. Gen. Samuel C. Phillips, xxx-xx-xxxx FR (major general, Regular Air Force) U.S. Air Force.

Brig. Gen. Harold R. Vague, xxx-xx-xxxx FR, for promotion to the grade of major general and for appointment as the Judge Advocate General, U.S. Air Force, under the provisions of chapter 839 and section 8072, title 10 of the United States Code.

## IN THE ARMY

The following named officer under the provisions of title 10, United States Code, section 3066, to be assigned to a position of importance and responsibility designated by the President under subsection (a) of section 3066, in grade as follows:

## To be lieutenant general

Maj. Gen. William Edward Potts, xxx-xx-x... U.S. Army.

## THE JUDICIARY

Joseph T. Sneed, of California, to be a U.S. Circuit Judge, ninth circuit, vice Frederick G. Hamley, retired.

## CONFIRMATION

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate July 25, 1973:

## DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Julius Shiskin, of Maryland, to be Commissioner of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, for a term of 4 years.

(The above nomination was approved subject to the nominee's commitment to respond to requests to appear and testify before any duly constituted committee of the Senate.)

## EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

## A CONGRESSMAN'S MAILBAG—A LINK WITH CONSTITUENTS

## HON. WILLIAM M. KETCHUM

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. KETCHUM. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to call to the attention of the Congress today a newspaper article which appeared in the Daily-News Post and Monrovia News Post. The subject of

the article is our esteemed colleague and my personal friend, Congressman JOHN ROUSSELOT of San Marino, Calif.

Congressman ROUSSELOT is an energetic and dedicated individual who exemplifies the very essence of public service in America today. A man of tireless energy, he serves the people of California's 24th Congressional District in an exemplary manner. I personally respect the advice and counsel of JOHN ROUSSELOT and appreciate his assistance during my first 7 months in Congress.

Within the California congressional delegation, JOHN commands the respect and admiration of his colleagues and is considered one of the delegation leaders.

The following article is a compliment to Congressman ROUSSELOT and his performance as a Member of Congress:

THREE HUNDRED LETTERS A WEEK—A CONGRESSMAN'S MAILBAG—A LINK WITH CONSTITUENTS

(By Andrew Knox)

Congressman John Rousselot receives every kind of letter you can imagine. They are let-

ters concerning people's problems, or thank you letters for things he has accomplished for them.

Some of the letters concern people's problems with federal agencies, with the armed services, the internal revenue services, and the legislature. H. Donald Harper, the congressman's administrative assistant, said.

The letters come in to his offices in Arcadia, Lancaster and Washington, D.C. at the rate of about 300 each week.

"We do not support federal welfare laws, but the congressman helps his constituents who need this type of service," Harper pointed out. "We are concerned with the abuse of food stamps, but Rousselot helps the people get the stamps they need."

"Whether he agrees with a program or not, Rousselot feels it's his duty to help the people," he added.

A few of the letters praised Rousselot's office staff—such as this one.

"We will certainly take every opportunity to convey to everyone, the fact that you and your staff have a sincere interest in helping people," the letter writer said.

"This was most gratifying for we did not expect to find this kind of sympathetic response from an elected officials of office," the writer added.

A person in Pomona said the congressman's staff responds effectively to public need. He said that the staff was dedicated to service, and showed administrative efficiency.

"We are dedicated to service, and I am not just talking," Harper emphasized. "We don't care what a man's party affiliation is, if he is having problems with the federal government."

Rousselot said one of his objectives in congress is to encourage the implementation of more effective management techniques in federal offices.

"It gives me pleasure and satisfaction to inform the voters of a congressman who has a vital concern for the people in his district," a Claremont woman wrote.

Another writer commended Rousselot for working to improve government telephone manners, and seeing to it that rude and inefficient personnel are removed from the job.

A Pomona youth thanked the congressman for rectifying his difficulty with the Selective Service Board.

"Your consideration and rapid action has enabled me to complete my college education, and greatly enhanced my chances for future success in both the service and civilian life," the youth wrote.

Rousselot aided Monrovia in getting its paramedic radio frequency licenses. A city official wrote the congressman after the license application was delayed in Washington, D.C.

"Due to your intervention, the paramedic teams went into action right on schedule," the official stated.

Another constituent said Rousselot helped speed up the process of his wife's visa. He expressed a deep sense of appreciation to the congressman.

An Arcadia man thanked the congressman for helping him become a United States citizen. An Alhambra woman showed appreciation for his helping her parents to arrive in America from Spain.

Among the other thank you letters in Rousselot's office are as follows. He arranged a tour for a man's first visit to the nation's capitol.

He acquired information about a Glendora family's son in Vietnam. The congressman helped a Covina youth get summer employment with the weather service, and he aided an Arcadia man in receiving \$1,643 in Social Security compensation that was due him.

Claremont College was seeking federal funding to establish a work-study program for its students. With Rousselot's help they received \$15,000.

The congressman gave a speech before the economics and government classes at Glendora High School recently. In the thank you letter, a teacher wrote:

"I tell my students that you are a good example of how good government works," the teacher stated.

He received letters from other elected officials as well.

William Timmons, an assistant to President Nixon, wrote a letter in behalf of the chief executive for Rousselot's remarks when a group of youths attempted to disrupt the operation of the federal government in 1971.

"No disruptive elements will be permitted to impinge upon the rights of law-abiding citizens and government," Timmons stated.

Gov. Ronald Reagan wrote a letter to the congressman, informing him that they shared many of the same concerns.

The El Monte-South El Monte Chamber of Commerce said the development of the West San Gabriel Valley is due mainly to its civic leaders like Rousselot.

A woman who lives in San Dimas, praised the congressman for the objective way he conducted a meeting in Baldwin Park. She called him an able and impartial arbitrator.

"I have been proud to have you as my congressman," one constituent wrote, "but never have I been prouder than when I read about your courageous vote against the SALT agreements."

Rousselot often writes thoughtful letters to his supporters, and they often write thoughtful letters back.

"We received your letter congratulating us on our 50th wedding anniversary," a Big Bear Lake couple wrote the congressman. "We were surprised and greatly pleased that you would take time from your busy schedule to write to us."

Some letters are written in opposition to Rousselot. When such a letter arrives, the congressman meets with the constituent and finds out where the disagreement lies, Harper said.

Office secretaries open all mail, and place it on Rousselot's desk. He answers all mail, but if a matter is going to be taken care of by office staff, then the secretary clips a note to the letter to inform the congressman, Harper added.

"The answers to some letters require research," he pointed out. "If it's a legislative matter, then we have our legislative consultants in Washington research the information."

"If the questions are on immigration, then our immigration team does the research," Harper continued.

During election, the mail is handled by the campaign workers, some who are paid and others are volunteers. The congressman answers all campaign mail, he said.

"When a question is being asked during the election weeks by many constituents, Rousselot will write a position paper on the issue," Harper commented.

"The paper gives his answers to the problem, and its available to all the voters."

#### A SIMPLE KINDNESS

### HON. JESSE A. HELMS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, on July 22 a fine newspaper in my State, the Asheville Citizen-Times, took note of the constant courtesy and civility of our colleague, the distinguished senior Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Scott).

There is a lesson for all of us in this editor's appraisal of HUGH SCOTT, and I

commend this brief editorial to the attention of all Senators. I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

#### A SIMPLE KINDNESS

Senator Hugh Scott, the Senate minority leader, is almost a caricature of most peoples' image of a professional politician.

That and his spirited advocacy of his beloved Republican Party sometimes belies his profoundly civilized mind and courteous demeanor.

It is a custom of long standing with the veteran lawmaker to break bread at breakfast with his opponent the day following an election campaign. The practice remains the same in both defeat and victory.

Scott realizes the truth in George Santayana's line, "There is nothing to which men, while they have food and drink, cannot reconcile themselves."

That simple politeness illustrates not only kindness, but also an intelligence. Any oaf can be rude. It takes a thinker to be considerate.

If more political combatants would follow Scott's custom—and not just after an election—a degree of much needed civility might be restored to the political process.

The voters, too, might look for such refinement in candidates. Good manners may tell more about a person than most people realize.

#### HISTORIC LOCKS AT DELAWARE CITY

### HON. PIERRE S. (PETE) du PONT

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. du PONT. Mr. Speaker, for some time I have been engaged in an effort to upgrade the area around the Historic Locks at Delaware City. As a matter of fact, Mr. Warner Foraker of Delaware City was the first person to contact my office in regard to his interest in seeing this site preserved, a project that I feel would be a most worthwhile undertaking.

This week I received a copy of the Delaware State Senate Joint Resolution No. 27 which further indicates the historic significance of these locks by asking the Delaware congressional delegation to request the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to examine the possibility and feasibility of restoring the historical locks at Delaware City.

Today I am submitting a copy of this resolution for the RECORD:

DELAWARE STATE SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION  
No. 27

Memorializing the Delaware Congressional Delegation to request the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to examine the possibility and feasibility of restoring the historic locks at Delaware City

Whereas, the old lock canal which was opened in 1829 with its eastern-most lock at Delaware City holds great historical significance for the town of Delaware City; and

Whereas, the canal was first recommended as early as 1661 by Augustine Herman of Bohemia Manor and seriously considered by Benjamin Franklin in 1786; and

Whereas, with the construction of the present Chesapeake and Delaware Canal, the old locks, which are now only a branch channel of the new waterway, have been covered with mud; and



Whereas, the restoration of these locks would provide Delaware City with a historical tourist attraction where the people of Delaware and visitors to the State could discover the special distinction and flavor of the old canal town that sets Delaware City apart from any of the other river and bay side towns in Delaware from New Castle to Lewes.

Now, therefore:

Be it resolved that the members of the 127th General Assembly and the Governor of the State of Delaware request the Delaware Congressional Delegation to contact the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers concerning the possibility and feasibility of restoring the historic locks at Delaware City.

Be it further resolved that the members of the Delaware Congressional Delegation incorporate a copy of this resolution into the Congressional Record or into the record of any committee hearings that may be conducted relative to this subject.

Be it further resolved that a copy of this Memorial be mailed to Senator William V. Roth, Jr. and Joseph R. Biden and to Representative Pierre S. DuPont, IV at their respective Senate and House offices in Washington, D.C.

#### SHORTER CAMPAIGNS

#### HON. BILL FRENZEL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, recently David Broder wrote an article appearing in local newspapers in which he suggests that a shortening of the campaign period between primary and general elections would be a great advantage to the incumbent in an election contest.

In response to that article, the St. Paul Dispatch ran an editorial on Thursday, July 12, stating that in its opinion the shortened campaign period was not an undue disadvantage to the challenger.

I agree strongly with what I think is Mr. Broder's main thesis: that challengers should have a reasonable opportunity to defeat incumbents and that most "reform proposals" are actually incumbents' insurance policies in the guise of reform.

However, in this case I agree with the St. Paul Dispatch editorialists that the shortened campaign period is of no particular advantage to the incumbent. Far worse advantages lie in so-called "reform" proposals for Federal financing, strict limitations of contributions, and strict limitations of expenses.

The St. Paul Dispatch editorial follows:

#### SHORTER CAMPAIGNS

David Broder, a Washington columnist whose article on this page today criticizes two election-reform measures now before the Congress, is in our opinion making mountains out of small hills.

One bill, already approved by the Senate, would shorten the campaign—the time between primary and general elections—for any federal office. "There is precious little reason," says Broder, "to think any challenger, limited to an eight-week campaign, would stand a snowball's chance in hell of defeating an incumbent . . . who has had . . . years to

gain name recognition and familiarity, to propagandize his constituents at public expense and to organize his re-election campaign."

Broder is right in saying there are advantages for an incumbent—the name familiarity and the rest—but then his logic falters. A challenger is not starting from scratch on the day of the primary. Under the bill, there is nothing to prevent the challenger from doing what has always been done: starting as early or as late before the primary as he or she wishes. As to the advantages built in for the incumbent, these are not diminished by a longer campaign, since they are advantages that begin as soon as he has won his first election. And a short general election campaign is not necessarily a disadvantage to the challenger. Indeed, it may be an advantage to him, to the incumbent and to the public, by forcing both candidates to come earlier and more firmly to grips with issues, instead of wasting time and money, and eroding public interest, in meaningless feinting and jabbing. The latter is all too often the case in campaigns as they are now conducted.

With modern communications, eight weeks are plenty for any general campaign and for any candidate, incumbent or challenger, to get his story across, even if we disregard the fact the challenger has doubtless spent considerable time before the primary in building his case. Short campaigns are the rule in most other democracies, and no one seriously argues that incumbents in these countries are never, or even seldom, defeated. The argument that shorter general election campaigns are a firm guarantee of re-election simply vanishes before the facts.

As to the overall spending limit: here again, Broder's argument is that it places the challenger at an impossible advantage against an incumbent who has been, in effect, spending public funds limitlessly during his tenure. Well, scarcely any amount of spending by the challenger can possibly alter that fact of political life. That is no excuse for not placing a limit on campaign spending. Such spending has become preposterous in the last few years, as emphasis on vastly expensive television advertising has grown. Some rule of reason has to be applied. To argue that the incumbent has an "impossible" advantage is to argue that no limit should be placed on the challenger's spending—and that only means opening the door to the worst kinds of abuses and to limiting candidates to those of the very rich or the very corrupt.

The foregoing does not mean we thoroughly approve of the Senate bills. Indeed, we agree with Broder that the Senate avoided a more positive alternative to piecemeal reform—that is, government-financed campaigns for incumbent and challenger alike, with the financing equally divided. Oddly enough, however, Broder seems to fail to recognize that even this would not really equalize the advantages, for the incumbent would still be left with all his built-in headstart. But that headstart is an ineradicable factor in politics, one no reasonable challenger is unwilling to accept.

#### THE LATE JAMES V. "JIM" SMITH

#### HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, the loss of a friend surely is one of the most difficult challenges we face as we proceed along the road of life. The most untimely

passing on July 11 of one who many of us proudly claimed as friend and former colleague, James V. "Jim" Smith, can only be described as tragic.

Because of his sterling qualities as a man, Jim came to occupy a special niche among his colleagues in this House. Although his service among us was brief, he quickly demonstrated that he was a man of his word, a man who worked tirelessly for those he represented, a man who clearly perceived the greatness of this Nation and its promise for the future.

President Nixon fully recognized Jim's capabilities by appointing him as Administrator of the Farmers Home Administration. While serving in that capacity, I had numerous occasions to contact Jim regarding FHA matters brought to my attention by my constituents. Always did Jim respond in a forthright manner, and I soon came to depend upon him for advice and counsel on a program which has had a significant impact upon my largely rural district in Illinois.

Mr. Speaker, I rise in tribute to the memory of my late friend, Jim Smith. His life, well spent, will be an inspiration to those who follow.

#### BLACKOUTS OF HOME GAMES OF PROFESSIONAL SPORTS

#### HON. TORBERT H. MACDONALD

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. MACDONALD. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing legislation which will prevent blackouts of home games by professional sports teams when those games are sold out 48 hours or more in advance. This legislation applies only to those professional football, baseball, hockey, and basketball games which are broadcast under the authority of a league television contract.

The main thrust of the bill goes to the regular and postseason games of the National Football League.

As my colleagues are well aware, in 1962 Congress enacted legislation which provided an antitrust exemption to allow professional sports teams to pool their broadcast rights and to enable the various leagues to negotiate network contract on behalf of their member teams.

Since the NFL utilizes the pooled network contract for its regular season and postseason games, it has been the prime beneficiary of this antitrust exemption.

In 1962, the NFL's television revenue was \$300,000 per team. Earlier this week, it was reported that the NFL and the major networks had reached agreement on a new 4-year contract which will bring the league \$200 million in revenue. This comes out to approximately \$1.9 million for each team per year, or an increase of more than 600 percent in 10 years.

Despite this financial windfall, certain NFL spokesmen still adhere to a general "public be damned" attitude, which I, for one, can neither understand nor accept.

If the NFL continues to flaunt the public interest and to ignore the justified concern of the Congress, we will have no other alternative than to enact legislation similar to that which I am introducing today.

Your Subcommittee on Communications, of which I am privileged to be the chairman, will begin hearings next Tuesday—July 31—on my bill and those introduced by other Members on this important subject. These hearings will enable us to determine if legislation is, in fact, the only solution to the problem, and if it is, what form the final bill should take. Once the record is clear, I intend to act with all appropriate haste to see that the sports blackout impasse is broken.

The text of my bill is as follows:

H.R. 9553

A bill to amend the Communications Act of 1934 for one year with regard to the broadcasting of certain professional home games

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That part I of title III of the Communications Act of 1934 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

**"BROADCAST OF SOLD-OUT PROFESSIONAL HOME GAMES**

"SEC. 331. (a) If (1) during the one-year period which begins on the date of enactment of this section, any professional football, baseball, basketball, or hockey game is broadcast under the authority of a league television contract, and (2) tickets of admission to such game are no longer available for purchase by the general public 48 hours or more before the scheduled beginning time of such game, then television broadcast rights shall be made available for television broadcasting of such game at the time at which and in the area in which such game is being played.

"(b) For the purposes of this section, the term 'league television contract' means any joint agreement by or among persons engaging in or conducting the organized professional team sports of football, baseball, basketball, or hockey, by which any league of clubs participating in professional football, baseball, basketball, or hockey contest sells or otherwise transfers all or any part of the rights of such league's member clubs in the sponsored telecasting of the games of football, baseball, basketball, or hockey, as the case may be, engaged in or conducted by such clubs."

**EFFICIENCY OF ENERGY USE IN THE UNITED STATES**

**HON. JOHN BRADEMAS**

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. BRADEMAS. Mr. Speaker, in view of the increasing discussion of "The Energy Crisis" in the United States, I believe that Members will read with interest an article entitled "Efficiency of Energy Use in the United States," by Eric Hirst and John C. Moyers, published in the March 30, 1973, issue of *Science*, a

publication of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

The authors are research staff members in the Oak Ridge National Laboratory-National Science Foundation environmental program, Oak Ridge National Laboratory, Oak Ridge, Tenn. Their report was sponsored by the National Science Foundation RANN program under a contract between the Union Carbide Corp., and the Atomic Energy Commission.

The article describes three uses of energy in which greater efficiency is feasible: transportation, space heating, and air conditioning. The authors of the article conclude that—

It is possible—from an engineering point of view—to effect considerable energy savings in the United States.

The text of the article follows:

**EFFICIENCY OF ENERGY USE IN THE UNITED STATES: TRANSPORTATION, SPACE HEATING, AND AIR CONDITIONING PROVIDE OPPORTUNITIES FOR LARGE ENERGY SAVINGS**

(By Eric Hirst and John C. Moyers)

Conflicts between the demand for energy and environmental quality goals can be resolved in several ways. The two most important are (i) development and use of pollution control technologies, and of improved energy-conversion technologies and (ii) the improvement in efficiency of energy use. Increased efficiency of energy use would help to slow energy growth rates, thereby relieving pressure on scarce energy resources and reducing environmental problems associated with energy production, conversion, and use.

Between 1950 and 1970, U.S. consumption of energy resources (coal, oil, natural gas, falling water, and uranium) doubled (1), with an average annual growth rate of 3.5 percent—more than twice the population growth rate.

Energy resources are used for many purposes in the United States (2) (Table 1). In 1970, transportation of people and freight consumed 25 percent of total energy, primarily as petroleum. Space heating of homes and commercial establishments was the second largest end-use, consuming an additional 18 percent. Industrial uses of energy [process steam, direct heat, electric drive, fuels used as raw materials (3), and electrolytic processes] accounted for 42 percent. The remaining 15 percent was used by the commercial and residential sectors for water heating, air conditioning, refrigeration, cooking, lighting, operation of small appliances, and other miscellaneous purposes.

During the 1960's, the percentage of energy consumed for electric drive, raw materials, air conditioning, refrigeration, and electrolytic processes increased relative to the total. Air conditioning showed the largest relative growth, increasing its share of total energy use by 81 percent, while the other uses noted increased their shares of the total by less than 10 percent in this period.

The growth in energy consumption by air conditioners, refrigerators, electric drive, and electrolytic processes—coupled with the substitution of electricity for direct fossil fuel combustion for some space and water heating, cooking, and industrial heat—accounts for the rapid growth in electricity consumption. Between 1960 and 1970, while consumption of primary energy (1) grew by 51 percent, the use of electricity (4) grew by 104 percent. The increasing use of electricity relative to the primary fuels is an important factor accounting for energy growth rates because of the inherently low efficiency of electricity generation, transmission, and distribu-

tion which averaged 30 percent during this decade (1, 4). In 1970, electrical generation (1) accounted for 24 percent of energy resource consumption as compared to 19 percent in 1960.

Industry, the largest energy user, includes manufacturing; mining; and agriculture, forestry, and fisheries. Six manufacturers—of primary metals; of chemicals; of petroleum and coal; of stone, clay, and glass; of paper; and of food—account for half of industrial energy consumption (5), equivalent to 20 percent of the total energy budget.

Energy consumption is determined by at least three factors: population, affluence, and efficiency of use. In this article we describe three areas in which energy-efficiency improvements (the third factor) might be particularly important: (i) transportation of people and freight, (ii) space heating, and (iii) space cooling (air conditioning).

Energy efficiency varies considerably among the different passenger and freight transport modes. Shifts from energy-intensive modes (airplanes, trucks, automobiles) to energy-efficient modes (boats, pipelines, trains, buses) could significantly reduce energy consumption. Increasing the amount of building insulation could reduce both space-heating and air-conditioning energy consumption in homes and save money for the homeowner. Energy consumption for air conditioning could be greatly reduced through the use of units that are more energy efficient.

**TRANSPORTATION**

Transportation of people and goods consumed 16,500 trillion British thermal units (6) in 1970 (25 percent of total energy consumption) (1). Energy requirements for transportation increased by 89 percent between 1950 and 1970, an average annual growth rate of 3.2 percent.

Increases in transportation energy consumption (7) are due to (i) growth in traffic levels, (ii) shifts toward the use of less energy-efficient transport modes, and (iii) declines in energy efficiency for individual modes. Energy intensiveness, the inverse of energy efficiency, is expressed here as British thermal units per ton-mile for freight and as British thermal units per passenger-mile for passenger traffic.

Table 2 shows approximate values (8) for energy consumption and average revenue in 1970 for intercity freight modes; the large range in energy efficiency among modes is noteworthy. Pipelines and waterways (barges and boats) are very efficient; however, they are limited in the kinds of materials they can transport and in the flexibility of their pickup and delivery points. Railroads are slightly less efficient than pipelines. Trucks, which are faster and more flexible than the preceding three modes, are, with respect to energy, only one-fourth as efficient as railroads. Airplanes, the fastest mode, are only 1/60 as efficient as trains.

The variation in freight prices shown in Table 2 closely parallels the variation in energy intensiveness. The increased prices of the less efficient modes reflect their greater speed, flexibility, and reliability.

Table 3 gives approximate 1970 energy and price data for various passenger modes (8). For intercity passenger traffic, trains and buses are the most efficient modes. Cars are less than one-half as efficient as buses, and airplanes are only one-fifth as efficient as buses.

For urban passenger traffic, mass transit systems (of which about 60 percent are bus systems) are more than twice as energy efficient as automobiles. Walking and bicycling are an order of magnitude more efficient than autos, on the basis of energy consumption to



produce food. Urban values of efficiency for cars and buses are much lower than intercity values because of poorer vehicle performance (fewer miles per gallon) and poorer utilization (fewer passenger per vehicle).

Passenger transport prices are also shown in Table 3. The correlation between energy intensiveness and price, while positive, is not as strong as for freight transport. Again, the differences in price reflect the increased values of the more energy-intensive modes.

The transportation scenario for 1970 shown in Table 4 gives energy savings that may be possible through increased use of more efficient modes. The first calculation uses the actual 1970 transportation patterns. The scenario—entirely speculative—indicates the potential energy savings that could have occurred through shifts to more efficient transport modes. In this hypothetical scenario, half the freight traffic carried by truck and by airplane is assumed to have been carried by rail; half the intercity passenger traffic carried by airplane and one-third the traffic carried by car are assumed to have been carried by bus and train; and half the urban automobile traffic is assumed to have been carried by bus. The load factors (percentage of transport capacity utilized) and prices are assumed to be the same for both calculations. The scenario ignores several factors that might inhibit shifts to energy-efficient transport modes, such as existing land-use patterns, capital costs, changes in energy efficiency within a given mode, substitutability among modes, new technologies, transportation ownership patterns, and other institutional arrangements.

The hypothetical scenario requires only 78 percent as much energy to move the same traffic as does the actual calculation. This savings of 2,800 trillion Btu is equal to 4 percent of the total 1970 energy budget. The scenario also results in a total transportation cost that is \$19 billion less than the actual 1970 cost (a 12 percent reduction). The dollar savings (which includes the energy saved) must be balanced against any losses in speed, comfort, and flexibility resulting from a shift to energy-efficient modes.

TABLE 1.—END-USES OF ENERGY IN THE UNITED STATES  
[In percent]

Item	1960 <sup>1</sup>	1970 <sup>2</sup>
Transportation	25.2	24.7
Space heating	18.5	17.7
Process steam	17.8	16.4
Direct heat	12.9	11.0
Electric drive	7.4	8.1
Raw materials	5.2	5.6
Water heating	4.0	4.0
Air-conditioning	1.6	2.9
Refrigeration	2.1	2.3
Cooking	1.5	1.2
Electrolytic processes	1.1	1.2
Other <sup>3</sup>	2.7	4.9

<sup>1</sup> Data for 1960 obtained from Stanford Research Institute (SRI) (2).

<sup>2</sup> Estimates for 1970 obtained by extrapolating changes in energy-use patterns from SRI data.

<sup>3</sup> Includes clothes drying, small appliances, lighting, and other miscellaneous energy uses.

TABLE 2.—ENERGY AND PRICE DATA FOR INTERCITY  
FREIGHT TRANSPORT

Mode	Energy (Btu ton-mile)	Price (cents ton-mile)
Pipeline	450	0.27
Railroad	670	1.4
Waterway	680	0.30
Truck	2,800	7.5
Airplane	42,000	21.9

TABLE 3.—ENERGY AND PRICE DATA FOR PASSENGER  
TRANSPORT

Mode	Energy (Btu/passenger-mile)	Price (cents/passenger-mile)
Intercity: <sup>1</sup>		
Bus	1,600	3.6
Railroad	2,900	4.0
Automobile	3,400	4.0
Airplane	8,400	6.0
Urban: <sup>2</sup>		
Mass transit	3,800	8.3
Automobile	8,100	9.6

<sup>1</sup> Load factors (percentage of transport capacity utilized) for intercity travel are about: bus, 45 percent; railroad, 35 percent; automobile, 48 percent; and airplane, 50 percent.

<sup>2</sup> Load factors for urban travel are about: mass transit, 20 percent; and automobile, 28 percent.

To some extent, the current mix of transport modes is optimal, chosen in response to a variety of factors. However, noninternalized social costs, such as noise and air pollution and various government activities (regulation, subsidization, research), may tend to distort the mix, and, therefore, present modal patterns may not be socially optimal.

Present trends in modal mix are determined by personal preference, private economics, convenience, speed, reliability, and government policy. Emerging factors such as fuel scarcities, rising energy prices, dependence on petroleum imports, urban land-use problems, and environmental quality considerations may provide incentives to shift transportation patterns toward greater energy efficiency.

#### SPACE HEATING

The largest single energy-consuming function in the home is space heating. In an average all-electric home in a moderate climate, space heating uses over half the energy delivered to the home; in gas- or oil-heated homes, the fraction is probably larger because the importance of thermal insulation has not been stressed where these fuels are used.

The nearest approach to a national standard for thermal insulation in residential construction is "Minimum Property Standards (MPS) for One and Two Living Units," issued by the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). In June 1971, FHA revised the MPS to require more insulation, with the stated objectives of reducing air pollution and fuel consumption.

A recent study (9) estimated the value of different amounts of thermal insulation in terms both of dollar savings to the homeowner and of reduction in energy consumption. Hypothetical model homes (1800 square feet) were placed in three climatic regions, each representing one-third of the U.S. population. The three regions were represented by Atlanta, New York, and Minneapolis.

As an example of the findings of the study, Table 5 presents the results applicable to a New York residence, including the insulation requirements of the unrevised and the revised MPS, the insulation that yields the maximum economic benefit to the homeowner, and the monetary and energy savings that result in each case. The net monetary savings are given after recovery of the cost of the insulation installation, and would be realized each year of the lifetime of the home. A mortgage interest rate of 7 percent was assumed.

The revised MPS provide appreciable savings in energy consumption and in the cost of heating a residence, although more insu-

lation is needed to minimize the long-term cost to the homeowner. A further increase in insulation requirements would increase both dollar and energy savings.

The total energy consumption of the United States (1) in 1970 was 67,000 trillion Btu, and about 11 percent was devoted to residential space heating and 7 percent to commercial space heating (2). Table 5 shows reductions in energy required for space heating of 49 percent for gas-heated homes and 47 percent for electric-heated homes in the New York area by going from the MPS-required insulation in 1970 to the economically optimum amount of insulation. The nationwide average reductions are 43 percent for gas-heated homes and 41 percent for electric-heated homes. An average savings of 42 percent, applied to the space heating energy requirements for all residential units (single family and apartment, gas and electric), would have amounted to 3100 trillion Btu in 1970 (4.6 percent of total energy consumption). The energy savings are somewhat understated—as insulation is added, the heat from lights, stoves, refrigerators, and other appliances becomes a significant part of the total heat required. The use of additional insulation also reduces the energy consumption for air conditioning as discussed later.

Electrical resistance heating is more wasteful of primary energy than is direct combustion heating. The average efficiency for electric power plants (1) in the United States is about 33 percent, and the efficiency (4) of transmitting and distributing the power to the customer is about 91 percent. The end-use efficiency of electrical resistance heating is 100 percent; so the overall efficiency is approximately 30 percent. Thus, for every unit of heat delivered in the home, 3.3 units of heat must be extracted from the fuel at the power plant. Conversely, the end-use efficiency of gas- or oil-burning home heating systems is about 60 percent (claimed values range from 40 to 80 percent), meaning that 1.7 units of heat must be extracted from the fuel for each unit delivered to the living area of the home. Therefore, the electrically heated home requires about twice as much fuel per unit of heat as the gas- or oil-heated home, assuming equivalent insulation.

The debate about whether gas, oil, or electric-resistance space heating is better from a conservation point of view may soon be moot because of the shortage of natural gas and petroleum. The use of electricity generated by nuclear plants for this purpose can be argued to be a more prudent use of resources than is the combustion of natural gas or oil for its energy content. Heating by coal-generated electricity may also be preferable to heating by gas or oil in that a plentiful resource is used and dwindling resources are conserved.

The use of electrical heat pumps could equalize the positions of electric-, oil-, and gas-heating systems from a fuel conservation standpoint. The heat pump delivers about 2 units of heat energy for each unit of electric energy that it consumes. Therefore, only 1.7 units of fuel energy would be required at the power plant for each unit of delivered heat, essentially the same as that required for fueling a home furnace.

Heat pumps are not initially expensive when installed in conjunction with central air conditioning; the basic equipment and air handling systems are the same for both heating and cooling. A major impediment to their widespread use has been high maintenance cost associated with equipment failure. Several manufacturers of heat pumps have carried out extensive programs to improve component reliability that, if successful, should improve acceptance by homeowners.

TABLE 4.—ACTUAL AND HYPOTHETICAL ENERGY CONSUMPTION PATTERNS FOR TRANSPORTATION IN 1970

	Total traffic	Percentage of total traffic					Total energy (10 <sup>12</sup> Btu)	Total cost (10 <sup>9</sup> )
		Air	Truck	Rail	Waterway and pipeline	Auto	Bus <sup>1</sup>	
Intercity freight traffic:								
Actual	2,210	0.2	19	35	46			2,400
Hypothetical	2,210	.1	9	44	46			1,900
Intercity passenger traffic:								
Actual	1,120	10.0		1		87	2	4,300
Hypothetical	1,120	5.0		12		58	25	3,500
Urban passenger traffic:								
Actual	710					97	3	5,700
Hypothetical	710					49	51	4,200
Totals:								
Actual								12,400
Hypothetical								9,600

<sup>1</sup> Intercity bus or urban mass transit.  
<sup>2</sup> Billion ton-miles.

<sup>3</sup> Billion passenger-miles.

TABLE 5.—COMPARISON OF INSULATION REQUIREMENTS AND MONETARY AND ENERGY SAVINGS FOR A NEW YORK RESIDENCE

Insulation specification	Unrevised MPS <sup>1</sup>		Revised MPS <sup>1</sup>		Economic optimum	
	Gas	Electric	Gas	Electric	Gas	Electric
Wall insulation thickness (inches)	0	1 1/2	1 1/2	1 1/2	3 1/4	3 1/4
Ceiling insulation thickness (inches)	1 1/2	1 1/2	3 1/2	3 1/2	3 1/2	6
Floor insulation	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Storm windows	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes
Monetary savings (dollars per year)	0	0	28	75	32	155
Reduction of energy consumption (percent)	0	0	29	19	49	47

<sup>1</sup> Minimum property standards (MPS) for 1 and 2 living units.

## SPACE COOLING

In all-electric homes, air conditioning ranks third as a major energy-consuming function, behind space heating and water heating. Air conditioning is particularly important because it contributes to or is the cause of the annual peak load that occurs in the summertime for many utility systems.

In addition to reducing the energy required for space heating, the ample use of thermal insulation reduces the energy required for air conditioning. In the New York case, use of the economically optimum amount of insulation results in a reduction of the electricity consumed for air conditioning of 26 percent for the gas home or 18 percent for the electric home, compared to the 1970 MPS-compliance homes.

The popularity of room air conditioners is evidenced by an exponential sales growth with a doubling time of 5 years over the past decade; almost 6 million were sold in 1970. The strong growth in sales is expected to continue since industry statistics show a market saturation of only about 40 percent.

There are about 1400 models of room air conditioners available on the market today, sold under 52 different brand names (10). A characteristic of the machines that varies widely but is not normally advertised is the efficiency with which energy is converted to cooling. Efficiency ranges from 4.7 to 12.2 Btu per watt-hour. Thus the least efficient machine consumes 2.6 times as much electricity per unit of cooling as the most efficient one. Figure 1 shows the efficiencies of all units having ratings up to 24,000 Btu per hour, as listed in (10).

From an economic point of view, the purchaser should select the particular model of air conditioner that provides the needed cooling capacity and the lowest total cost (capital, maintenance, operation) over the unit's lifetime. Because of the large number of models available and the general ignorance of the fact that such a range of efficiencies exists, the most economical choice is not likely to be made. An industry-sponsored certification program requires that the cooling rating and wattage input be listed on the nameplate of each unit, providing the basic information required for determining efficiency. However, the nameplate is often hard to locate and does not state the efficiency explicitly.

The magnitude of possible savings that would result from buying a more efficient unit is illustrated by the following case. Of the 90 models with a capacity of 10,000 Btu per hour, the lowest efficiency model draws 2100 watts and the highest efficiency model draws 880 watts. In Washington, D.C., the average room air conditioner operates about 800 hours per year. The low-efficiency unit would use 976 kilowatt-hours more electricity each year than the high-efficiency unit. At 1.8 cents per kilowatt-hour, the operating cost would increase by \$17.57 per year. The air conditioner could be expected to have a life of 10 years. If the purchaser operates on a credit card economy, with an 18 percent interest rate, he would be economically justified in paying up to \$79 more for the high-efficiency unit. If his interest rate were 6 percent, an additional purchase price of \$130 would be justified.

In the above example, the two units were assumed to operate the same number of hours per year. However, many of the low-priced, low-efficiency units are not equipped with thermostats. As a result, they may operate almost continuously, with a lower-than-desired room temperature. This compounds the inefficiency and, in addition, shortens the lifetime of the units.

In addition to the probable economic advantage to the consumer, an improvement in the average efficiency of room air conditioners would result in appreciable reductions in the nation's energy consumption and required generating capacity. If the size distribution of all existing room units is that for the 1970 sales, the average efficiency (10) is 6 Btu per watt-hour, and the average annual operating time is 886 hours per year, then the nation's room air conditioners consumed 39.4 billion kilowatt-hours during 1970. On the same basis, the connected load was 44,500 megawatts, and the annual equivalent coal consumption was 18.9 million tons. If the assumed efficiency is changed to 10 Btu per watt-hour, the annual power consumption would have been 23.6 billion kilowatt-hours, a reduction of 15.8 billion kilowatt-hours. The connected load would have decreased to 26,700 megawatts, a reduction of 17,800 megawatts. The annual coal consumption for room air conditioners would have been 11.3 million tons, a reduction of 7.6 million tons, or at a typical strip mine yield

of 5000 tons per acre, a reduction in stripped area of 1500 acres in 1970.

## OTHER POTENTIAL ENERGY SAVINGS

Energy-efficiency improvements can be effected for other end-uses of energy besides the three considered here. Improved appliance design could increase the energy efficiency of hot-water heaters, stoves, and refrigerators. The use of solar energy for residential space and water heating is technologically feasible and might some day be economically feasible. Alternatively, waste heat from air conditioners could be used for water heating. Improved design or elimination of gas pilot lights and elimination of gas yard lights would also provide energy savings (11). Increased energy efficiency within homes would tend to reduce summer air-conditioning loads.

In the commercial sector, energy savings in space heating and cooling such as those described earlier are possible. In addition, the use of total energy systems (on-site generation of electricity and the use of waste heat for space and water heating and absorption air conditioning) would increase the overall energy efficiency of commercial operations.

Commercial lighting accounts for about 10 percent of total electricity consumption (12). Some architects claim that currently recommended lighting levels can be reduced without danger to eyesight or worker performance (13). Such reduction would save energy directly and by reducing air-conditioning loads. Alternatively, waste heat from lighting can be circulated in winter for space heating and shunted outdoors in summer to reduce air-conditioning loads.

Changes in building design practices might effect energy saving (13). Such changes could include use of less glass and of windows that open for circulation of outside air.

Waste heat and low temperature steam from electric power plants may be useful for certain industries and for space heating in urban districts (14). This thermal energy (about 8 percent of energy consumption in 1970) (15) could be used for industrial process steam, space heating, water heating, and air conditioning in a carefully planned urban complex.

The manufacture of a few basic materials accounts for a large fraction of industrial energy consumption. Increased recycle of energy-intensive materials such as alumi-



num, steel, and paper would save energy. Savings could also come from lower production of certain materials. For example, the production of packaging materials (paper, metal, glass, plastic, wood) requires about 4 percent of the total energy budget. In general, it may be possible to design products and choose materials to decrease the use of packaging and to reduce energy costs per unit of production.

#### IMPLEMENTATION

Changes in energy prices, both levels and rate structures, would influence decisions concerning capital versus life costs, and this would affect the use of energy-conserving technologies. Public education to increase awareness of energy problems might heighten consumer sensitivity toward personal energy consumption. Various local, state, and federal government policies exist that, directly and indirectly, influence the efficiency of energy use. These three routes are not independent; in particular, government policies could affect prices or public education (or both) on energy use.

One major factor that promotes energy consumption is the low price of energy. A typical family in the United States spends about 5 percent of its annual budget on electricity, gas, and gasoline. The cost of fuels and electricity to manufacturers is about 1.5 percent of the value of their total shipments. Because the price of energy is low relative to other costs, efficient use of energy has not been of great importance in the economy. Not only are fuel prices low, but historically they have declined relative to other prices.

The downward trend in the relative price of energy has begun to reverse because of the growing scarcity of fuels, increasing costs of both money and energy-conversion facilities (power plants, petroleum refineries), and the need to internalize social costs of energy production and use. The impact of rising energy prices on demand is difficult to assess. According to one source (16):

In the absence of any information, we assume a long-run price elasticity of demand of -0.5 (meaning that in the long-run a doubling of energy prices will reduce demand by a factor of the square root of 2, namely to about 70 percent of what it would have been otherwise).

The factors cited above (fuel scarcity, rising costs, environmental constraints) are likely to influence energy price structures as well as levels. If these factors tend to increase energy prices uniformly (per Btu delivered), then energy price structures will become flatter; that is, the percentage difference in price between the first and last unit purchased by a customer will be less than that under existing rate structures. The impact of such rate structure changes on the demand for energy is unknown, and research is needed.

Increases in the price of energy should decrease the quantity demanded and this is likely to encourage more efficient use of energy. For example, if the price of gasoline rises, there will probably be a shift to the use of smaller cars and perhaps to the use of public transportation systems.

Public education programs may slow energy demand. As Americans understand better the environmental problems associated with energy production and use, they may voluntarily decrease their personal energy-consumption growth rates. Experiences in New York City and in Sweden with energy-conservation advertising programs showed that the public is willing and able to conserve energy, at least during short-term emergencies.

Consumers can be educated about the energy consumption of various appliances. The energy-efficiency data for air conditioners presented here are probably not familiar to most prospective buyers of air conditioners. If consumers understood energy and dollar costs of low-efficiency units, perhaps they

would opt for more expensive, high-efficiency units to save money over the lifetime of the unit and also to reduce environmental impacts. Recently, at least two air-conditioner manufacturers began marketing campaigns that stress energy efficiency. Some electric utilities have also begun to urge their customers to use electricity conservatively and efficiently.

Public education can be achieved through government publications or government regulation, for example, by requiring labels on appliances which state the energy efficiency and provide estimates of operating costs. Advertisements for energy-consuming equipment might be required to state the energy efficiency.

Federal policies, reflected in research expenditures, construction of facilities, taxes and subsidies, influence energy consumption. For example, the federal government spends several billion dollars annually on highway, airway, and airport construction, but nothing is spent for railway and railroad construction. Until recently, federal transportation research and development funds were allocated almost exclusively to air and highway travel. Passage of the Urban Mass Transportation Act, establishment of the National Railroad Passenger Corporation (AMTRAK), plus increases in research funds for rail and mass transport may increase the use of these energy-efficient travel modes.

Similarly, through agencies such as the Tennessee Valley Authority, the federal government subsidizes the cost of electricity. The reduced price for public power customers increases electricity consumption over what it would otherwise be.

Governments also influence energy consumption directly and indirectly through allowances for depletion of resources, purchase specifications (to require recycled paper, for example), management of public energy holdings, regulation of gas and electric utility rate levels and structures, restrictions on energy promotion, and establishment of minimum energy performance standards for appliances and housing.

The federal government spends about \$0.5 billion a year on research and development for civilian energy, of which the vast majority is devoted to energy supply technologies (16):

... Until recently only severely limited funds were available for developing a detailed understanding of the ways in which the nation uses energy ... The recently instituted Research Applied to National Needs (RANN) Directorate of the National Science Foundation ... has been supporting research directed toward developing a detailed understanding of the way in which the country utilizes energy ... This program also seeks to examine the options for meeting the needs of society at reduced energy and environmental costs.

Perhaps new research on energy use will reveal additional ways to reduce energy rates.

#### SUMMARY

We described three uses of energy for which greater efficiency is feasible: transportation, space heating, and air conditioning. Shifts to less energy-intensive transportation modes could substantially reduce energy consumption; the magnitude of such savings would, of course, depend on the extent of such shifts and possible load factor changes. The hypothetical transportation scenario described here results in a 22 percent savings in energy for transportation in 1970, a savings of 2800 trillion Btu.

To the homeowner, increasing the amount of building insulation and, in some cases, adding storm windows would reduce energy consumption and provide monetary savings. If all homes in 1970 had the "economic optimum" amount of insulation, energy consumption for residential heating would have been 42 percent less than if the homes were

insulated to meet the pre-1971 FHA standards, a savings of 3100 trillion Btu.

Increased utilization of energy-efficient air conditioners and of building insulation would provide significant energy savings and help to reduce peak power demands during the summer. A 67 percent increase in energy efficiency for room air conditioners would have saved 15.8 billion kilowatt-hours in 1970.

In conclusion, it is possible—from an engineering point of view—to effect considerable energy savings in the United States. Increases in the efficiency of energy use would provide desired end results with smaller energy inputs. Such measures will not reduce the level of energy consumption, but they could slow energy growth rates.

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A CANADIAN ALTERNATIVE FOR  
ALASKAN OIL

## HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Canadian Parliamentarians flew here July 24 for a meeting with Members of Congress on the proposed delivery system for Alaskan oil. They expressed concern that Canada's willingness to receive an application for a pipeline across its territory had been misrepresented by the U.S. Government. Canadian Government responses to specific inquiries from Congress were not relayed by the State Department before the crucial Senate vote July 13 on the Mondale-Bayh amendment. The Canadian Parliamentarians also expressed concern over probable oil spills along their coast if oil were shipped south by tanker from Valdez to Seattle.

Mr. Speaker, the attitude of the Canadian Government is clear. Canada is willing to consider an oil pipeline built across its territory to the United States. The application would have to proceed through normal channels in Canada, and there is a difference of opinion as to whether a formal treaty is necessary. But the Canadian Government has assured us that the approval process could be completed in 12 to 24 months, that native claims present no obstacle, and that Canada does not require 51-percent ownership of the pipeline as the State Department, until July 16, stated it did.

My colleague from Minnesota, Senator MONDALE, at hearings this week before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, commented that on July 13 it was only reasonable for Senators, having been assured unequivocally by the State Department that there was no Canadian alternative, to vote as they did, 61 to 29, not to consider a nonexistent alternative.

We know now that this alternative does exist. The Canadian Government has made that clear.

Let me review briefly why an all-land route across Canada is preferable to the proposed Alaska-pipeline-tanker system: First of all, weighing west coast needs against those of the Midwest and the East, the needs of the latter two regions clearly prevail. The west coast has its own sources of oil, plus reasonably secure foreign sources. The Midwest and East do not.

Second, according to a 1972 Interior Department estimate, construction of an all-land route across Canada could mean as little as 1 year's delay, possibly 2.

Third, there is little difference in cost between construction of an Alaskan pipeline-tanker system and construction of a single oil-gas pipeline corridor across Canada.

And finally, disruption of the environment would be less from a single corridor. Moreover, the Canadian route would avoid the earthquake-prone southern portion of the trans-Alaska route as well as the danger of oil spills at sea.

We know in the House what the Senate

on July 13 did not know—that there is a Canadian alternative. Building an oil pipeline across Canada is a practical possibility. Mr. Speaker, it is not too late, as perhaps some hoped it would be. We can still act to see that the possibility of a Canadian alternative becomes a reality. We can still move to strengthen our historic friendship with our northern neighbor by construction of this mutually beneficial "iron artery."

## SAVING HEART VICTIMS

## HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, many Members of this body live in Montgomery County, Md., which I represent, and have been very interested in the lifesaving techniques pioneered by the Montgomery County Heartmobile.

This experimental vehicle very nearly had its own life cut off too soon, having only then been in operation about a year. I was pleased to help obtain Federal funds for an extension which permitted the training of 50 ambulance workers from various parts of the county in the Heartmobile techniques. This nucleus of trained personnel permitted us to think along the lines of a broadened effort.

Now, I am pleased to report, there are firm plans to broaden the program. This report of the plans is from the July 12 edition of the Gaithersburg Gazette:

## SAVING HEART VICTIMS

(By Pat Ettl)

An Emergency Medical Service Program, using state-certified paramedics, will be instituted in Montgomery County, making it the first jurisdiction in the Metropolitan area to receive in reality the life-saving techniques, which for many to date has meant little more than the dramatization on a television program.

The announcement of the program, which has had the full participation of the Montgomery County Medical Association and the Fire and Rescue Board in its planning, was made by County Executive James P. Gleason.

Gleason said the past six months have been spent on working out the program which has involved many agencies.

As now planned the program would go into effect in January of 1974.

Instituting the program will require a supplemental appropriation of \$218,000 from the County Council. This would be the cost of the program for 1974. Years following a lesser amount would be needed (approximately \$125,000) since the first year's expenditures would include the cost of equipment.

The major expenditure would be the life-saving vehicles and related equipment which Gleason estimated would cost \$163,000.

Initially (in 1974) it would be hoped to station one of the vehicles at the Bethesda-Chevy Chase Rescue Department and one at the Wheaton Department. By 1975, a third vehicle would be stationed in the Gaithersburg-Rockville area.

Specially trained paramedics would be assigned to the vehicles and by direct contact with the four county hospitals, under the direction of a doctor, they would be able to use practices and skills to save a person's

life. As of now persons on ambulances are restricted to using only basic first-aid techniques on persons.

The equipment would be used in cases of the critically injured for other emergency cases such as heart conditions. For many of these cases time is of essence in saving a life, it was pointed out.

## FIFTY ALREADY TRAINED

In anticipation of getting such a program started in the county some 50 members of fire departments and rescue squads have taken the highly intensive training required for a paramedic and have already been certified by the state.

The four county hospitals—Montgomery General, Suburban, Washington Adventist, and Holy Cross, have also been in on the planning stages as well as the Heart Association which has operated a Heartmobile in the county.

Mary Beth Lagoey, who was associated with Heartmobile and also with Holy Cross Hospital, has been named temporary program officer of the Emergency Medical Service Program.

IT IS TIME FOR THE UNITED  
STATES TO CEASE FINANCING THE  
TORTURE OF VIETNAMESE POLITICAL  
PRISONERS

## HON. SHIRLEY CHISHOLM

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mrs. CHISHOLM. Mr. Speaker, there is presently a situation in South Vietnam that I feel is deplorable. That is the existence and the treatment of political prisoners, and the fact that financial aid from the United States is instrumental in perpetuating this situation. Therefore, I believe that it is the duty of the Congress to do everything in its power to rectify this problem.

The end result of the Vietnam war was to have been the establishment of a democratic form of government in South Vietnam—one where all people would have an equal voice in the government. What has resulted instead is a regime that suppresses any form of political opposition, and shows a total lack of regard for justice. Thousands of men, women, and children have been thrown into jail as political prisoners. There are 200,000 of these prisoners now being confined in conditions that are often too inhumane to believe.

The biggest atrocity of all is the huge sums of money from the United States that supports this regime. While AID asserts that they have halted aid to South Vietnamese prisons and police, the following disturbing items have been found in the AID fiscal year 1974 budget:

(A) Indochina Postwar Reconstruction Assisting Program.

(1) \$869,000 for computer training of 200 National Police Command Personnel.

(2) \$1,505,000 for Police Telecommunications System (USAID Project 730-11-995-380) of this, \$985,000 will be for 24 U.S. civilian advisors.

(3) \$256,000 for training of 64 police commanders (USAID Project 730-11-799-372).

(B) Unliquidated Obligations Account.

(1) \$1,285,000 for Public Safety Communi-

cations (Project 730-11-710-299).



(2) \$2,472,000 for National Police Support (Project 730-11-710-352).  
 (3) \$30,000 for corrections centers (730-11-710-353).

The Vietnam war was the darkest hour in the history of our country. It divided our Nation, and seriously weakened the faith of many American citizens in the ability of the governing body to govern. But we must not cause any further weakening in our governmental structure by idly watching South Vietnam make a mockery out of democratic rule. The rationale given for continuation of the Vietnam war for so many years was that: the people of South Vietnam have a right to determine their own political destiny, and our only purpose in fighting was to make sure that their right was realized. Well, it is high time that we begin to seriously consider whether the actions of Thieu's regime are really representative of the views of the people of South Vietnam.

I, therefore, urge that you support Representative PARREN MITCHELL's amendment to discontinue funds to South Vietnam until that government releases all political prisoners.

#### INTERNATIONAL JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

#### HON. FRANK J. BRASCO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. BRASCO. Mr. Speaker, some nations are like children. They insist on going ahead with destructive policies in spite of the uselessness of their actions and the threat such activities pose to innocent bystanders. No better recent example of this can be singled out than France's latest series of nuclear bomb tests.

Scheduled for early summer, these tests are slated to be conducted at the South Sea atoll named Muroroa, where France has conducted atmospheric tests since 1966. These tests too will be conducted in the atmosphere, dumping radioactive pollution and fallout in a wide swath across the globe.

French scientific and governmental sources brush off such fears, claiming there will be minimal fallout. Yet everyone remembers the fearful effects of atmospheric testing leading to the partial test ban treaty, which, except for French intransigence, has emerged as a genuine international step ahead.

It should also be added that the impending series of tests will include a massive H-bomb explosion, with all the dangers this poses. France in addition refused to sign the partial test ban treaty.

Nations in the area, especially Australia and New Zealand, feel directly imperiled by these tests, and with excellent reason. Both governments have vigorously protested to the French Government, and have been rebuffed. Both countries have taken their complaint to the

World Court at the Hague in Holland.

Two major international groupings of trade unions, non-Communist and Communist, have threatened global strike action and boycotts against French goods, shipping, airlines, and industries. Several nations, among them Australia and Peru, are considering breaking off diplomatic relations with France as a consequence.

In France itself, opponents of the nuclear program have called attention to the massive waste of resources involved in the independent nuclear program carried forward by that country since De Gaulle set it afoot in 1959. That undertaking takes up approximately one-third of the French military budget.

What this amounts to is a gigantic, expensive ego trip at world expense and in defiance of international détente. Recognizing that testing edged the world ever closer to nuclear pollution and devastation, the great powers have painfully and slowly begun to construct curbs on nuclear undertakings.

Renewed nuclear testing can only take the world a step backward, a tragedy of the first order, particularly in light of painstaking efforts around the world to ease pressures and areas of friction.

The United States will also be harmed by massive radioactive fallout, for a considerable part of that fallout will inevitably find its way into our own area of the world. No one, not even France, has been able to control wind currents. We may not receive all the direct fallout. That dubious gift will be showered on nations in the immediate vicinity. But we will, along with everyone else, receive some of it.

France seems to follow the most abrasive policies in its own national interest and to the detriment of virtually every other nation. Heroin comes to the United States courtesy of the French Government's policy of looking the other way.

She is one of the leading purveyors of arms to developing nations of the world. If any country seeks ordnance, French merchants are ready, eager, and willing to peddle them what they wish and can pay for.

Perhaps the classic example of this is the sale of French warplanes of the most modern sort to Quaddafi of Libya. These aircraft, numbering more than 100, were sold to Libya, in spite of the almost certain knowledge that they would immediately be made available to Egypt, thus increasing the possibility of a major flareup in the Middle East.

It is not an exaggeration to note that France is today probably the one nation in the world most opposed to the aims of the United States. As we move closer to détente and easing of tensions with Russia and China, and as our role in the war in Southeast Asia terminates, France emerges as the nation most hostile to the United States.

I defy anyone to pick out any major U.S. policy with which France agrees and in which she has aided us.

Around the world, a major boycott of French products is set to begin, led by trade unions, Australia and New Zealand. In the past, similar efforts have been mounted on a limited scale here, espe-

cially against French wines by the Restaurant Association of Long Island.

Whenever anyone suggests such a move, the State Department, ever eager to be "civilized" and "cool-headed" at American expense, calls attention to a favorable balance of trade between France and the United States. Rarely if ever do they admit to the truth of other aspects of French-American relationships, which far outweigh, in a negative sense, any favorable trade balance.

I believe we should seek to express sympathy for endangered nations in the South Pacific. If we join in adding pressure on France, we may be able to curb this upcoming series of tests, which can only be termed international juvenile delinquency.

#### THEIR CHILDREN'S CHILDREN SHALL SAY THEY HAVE LIED

#### HON. ROBERT W. KASTENMEIER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. KASTENMEIER. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues an article written by Tom Wicker which appeared in the July 24, 1973, New York Times.

Although the President has signed legislation to end the bombing of Cambodia on August 15, I wonder, in view of the various efforts put forth by this administration, which Mr. Wicker discusses, to deliberately deceive the American people and the Congress, whether we, indeed, can believe Mr. Nixon will cease the Cambodian bombing on that date.

The article follows:

#### THE BIG LIE REQUIRES BIG LIARS

(By Tom Wicker)

The proper word for the Cambodian bombing story is not dissembling or deceiving or protective reaction or cover story. The proper word is lying. And this long chronicle of lies, perhaps more graphically than the Pentagon Papers, shows the extent to which lying is a respected "option" at the top levels of the so-called "national security establishment," including the White House.

For fourteen months, the Pentagon, the State Department and the White House repeatedly insisted that Cambodian neutrality was being respected, while all conspired to keep secret the fact that in 3,630 raids American B-52's had dropped more than 100,000 tons of bombs on Cambodia.

During that period, the left hand of the Pentagon lied repeatedly to the right hand, as documents were falsified to show the 3,630 raids as having been launched not on Cambodia but on South Vietnam. Only a few high officials with a "need to know" were told the truth.

(This raises the question how anyone knows what the real truth is, even today. If one set of documents was fixed, why not another? Maybe there were 5,000 raids, who knows? Were they lying to Mr. Kissinger, too? To President Nixon?)

Even after secret war became open war in Cambodia, the lies continued. Last March and last June, the Pentagon sent deliberately lying reports, concerning the Cambodian bombing, to the Senate Armed Services Committee. The Pentagon spokesman, Jerry Friedheim, knowingly distributed the same lies to the press.

"I knew at the time it was wrong and I'm sorry," Mr. Friedheim said, when caught. He ought to be fired out of hand, but he won't be. It even appears that he may have opposed within Pentagon circles the decision to lie to the Senate committee, which was deliberately taken at the highest level. If so, he ought to have quit out of hand, but he went along.

Of this compounded lie, Mr. Friedheim's summary judgment was eloquent. "We weren't smart enough to foresee," he said, the testimony of former Maj. Hal H. Knight, who disclosed the secret bombing and falsified documentation. They weren't smart enough not to get caught in the lie, that is; if they had been, they'd have told a different and less detectable lie.

If all of this lying was originally to fend off increased domestic opposition to the Southeast Asia war, then to cover up the original lies, it was indefensible. If Prince Sihanouk had agreed to the bombing, and the lies were to protect him from the wrath of his own people, it was indefensible. If the lying was for both reasons, it was twice as indefensible; since either way it was intended primarily to permit the President and his war machine to pursue their war without let or hindrance from anyone, least of all the American people.

Mr. Kissinger deplores the falsification of records. What did he expect, when he and Mr. Nixon deliberately ordered falsification of the facts of the Cambodian bombing? Why should majors and colonels have higher standards than the White House?

Gen. Earle G. Wheeler, the former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, expressed horror at the falsification of the records, but said that if the President had ordered him to falsify them, "I would have done it." Why should he be astonished that when some general ordered some major to do it, the major did?

Worst of all, Mr. Nixon himself appeared on national television and told the American people on April 30, 1970, that since 1954 American policy had been to "respect scrupulously the neutrality of the Cambodian people." And for five years, he said, "neither the United States nor South Vietnam has moved against" North Vietnamese sanctuaries in Cambodia. This was after fourteen months of B-52 raids on Cambodia, including the sanctuaries.

This was a deliberate and knowing lie, broadcast in person to the American people by their President. Neither the claim that it was not really a lie but a "special security arrangement," nor the contention that other Presidents have done it, is a justification; both are indictments of the "security" mania that distorts national life. And this episode clearly calls into question the credibility of Mr. Nixon's television address of April 30, 1973, when he claimed innocence of wrongdoing in the Watergate matter.

But whatever history may say, Yeats had lines for all these spokesmen and generals and diplomats and Presidents:

"Weigh this song with the great and their pride:  
I made it out of a mouthful of air,  
Their children's children shall say they have lied."

#### SAFETY FIRST

### HON. JACK BRINKLEY

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. BRINKLEY. Mr. Speaker, yesterday morning's Washington Post carried

an especially important article about the Department of Transportation's recommendations for adopting more stringent safety standards for schoolbus construction. Because of its importance, I highly commend the reading of this article to our colleagues:

#### DOT URGES STRICT SCHOOL BUS STANDARDS

School buses are the safest means of highway transport, but still contribute to 5,000 injuries a year to school children, according to a task force of the Department of Transportation.

In recommending that the federal government adopt more stringent standards for school bus construction, the task force noted that 93 per cent of the injuries to children in bus-related accidents occur inside the bus.

On the other hand, the report said that of the 83 children killed each year in such accidents, most die outside buses when they are hit by their bus or passing cars.

The recommendations parallel a recent statement by the National Transportation Safety Board, which reported that the "lack of structural integrity" and the absence of highback seats contributed to the deaths of five students and injuries to 44 others in a bus-train crash near Congers, N.Y.

Many of the injuries occurred, the NTSB said, when the bus disintegrated, exposing sharp metal edges. It said this was caused by failure of joints assembled with relatively few fasteners.

The task force commented that "school bus manufacturers are not complying with accepted industrial practice in the joining of panels," and recommended the adoption of standards to control the strength of joints.

Higher standards for brakes and seats were also recommended by the panel, which said five out of 17 bus accidents it studied were related to brake failure.

Mr. Speaker, in connection with the points raised by this article I would like to bring to the attention of our colleagues the truly outstanding safety record which has been compiled by the Blue Bird Body Co., with home offices in Fort Valley, Ga., manufacturers of the Blue Bird All American Schoolbus:

There has never been a student or driver fatality in a Blue Bird All American schoolbus during the 25 years it has been built by the Blue Bird Body Company.

What makes this safety record all the more impressive is the fact that Blue Bird schoolbuses have been sold and operated in all 50 States, in every Canadian province and territory, in the Caribbean, Guam, the Virgin Islands, and in Central and South America.

In my estimation, Mr. Speaker, Blue Bird is "all American" in every respect and certainly lives up to its company motto—

Your Children's Safety Is Our Business.

#### RICKENBACKER EULOGY

### HON. ROBERT PRICE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. PRICE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, our country has lost a valuable and legendary citizen in the passing of Capt.

Eddie A. Rickenbacker. From the days when I was a jet fighter pilot in the Korean war to the present, Captain Rickenbacker has served me as an example of greatness.

The captain exemplified much of what we have come to believe is the epitome of the American man. His courage, tenacity, and faith are known worldwide. Born the son of immigrant parents, he worked his way to the top of one of the world's great industries, serving both his Nation and his God along the way. He will be recorded in history as one of America's foremost pioneers.

Eddie Rickenbacker had the foresight to see the future of the airplane both as a military and a commercial vehicle at a time when only a handful of men believed in its future and he has been one of the great contributors to aeronautical progress. In times of war, he devoted himself fully to the defense of freedom. In times of peace, he devoted himself to the building of a better world, always ready to take the time to extol a political philosophy based upon a faith in our Republic and her great institutions.

The most decorated pilot of World War I, a famed auto racer, world business leader, a man of individual greatness, Eddie Rickenbacker has challenged each of us to expand the horizons of our thinking and to have the courage to live our lives affirmatively. He was a rare man: the possessor of great moral strength and the possessor of the knowledge, courage, and energy to help shape events of this century.

#### ON AIM

### HON. CLEM ROGERS McSPADDEN

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. McSPADDEN. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following press release:

PRESS RELEASE: WASHINGTON, JULY 25

Rep. Clem McSpadden, Oklahoma's 2nd District Congressman, today scored the release of food to the American Indian Movement's so-called National Spiritual Unity Convention set to begin today at White Oak, Craig County, Oklahoma.

It's a sad state of affairs when the Federal Government has cut veteran's pensions; when the consumer is paying higher and higher prices for everything they purchase and then this same benevolent federal government makes a gift of food that the tax payers of this country paid for with their hard earned tax dollars to a group of people who readily admit they are being subsidized by dollars which come from outside the United States. They apparently can't buy food with this money but can pay \$2,000. in prizes for a drum contest, Rep McSpadden said.

He reminded the public this is the same group which has already cost the federal government, in one way or the other, over \$8.5 million for the siege at Wounded Knee and the destruction of the Washington offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. "I am wholeheartedly against this action by the federal



government to continue to subsidize this handful of people who are representative only of themselves," McSpadden concluded.

# ONE HUNDRED AND TEN PERCENT

## HON. ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, the July 9 issue of Sports Illustrated magazine contained an article written by George Allen, head coach of our Washington Redskins, in cooperation with Joe Marshall. The article dealt not only with the activities of the Redskins as a football team, but it also related the aims of a dedicated man intent on giving 110 percent in every activity he undertakes.

Mr. Allen is a graduate of Alma College, a fine liberal arts school located in the 10th Congressional District of Michigan. He is another example of the kind of person Alma College prepares for the future.

George Allen has a philosophy of life which he applies to the game of football. He believes that every man and woman should exert total effort in each task that is set before them. His outlook on life is one to be admired, for George advocates dedication, pride, and mental preparedness, those important values so essential in carrying out a meaningful life. Coach Allen is the embodiment of a man intent on giving only his best and nothing less, in everything he does. I feel that such conviction is an example of a man born in the American tradition and spirit and pledged to continue in that same tradition and spirit.

I now submit the article for the collective attention of my colleagues.

The article follows:

GEORGE ALLEN

If I've succeeded it's because I outwork most people. Work is simply a synonym for effort, and as I tell my players, "a hundred percent is not enough." The average American pictures himself as an extremely hard worker. Sociologists and psychologists have shown, however, that most persons are really operating on less than half power. In terms of effort, they may never get over 50% although they think of themselves as 90% producers. Therefore, to get 100% you must aim for 110%. The world belongs to those who aim for 110%.

I never expect anyone to do more than I do. Long ago I learned that regardless of how little or how much a football coach works, most of those with whom he is associated will work a little less. I've always been fortunate to have good assistants. I have known football coaches who have made it a point never to work after dinner. And in each instance their assistants made the same point. When I was an assistant under George Halas I didn't work as hard as the head coach. A man's work habits are set by the boss. I have closely studied every coach I have known, head coach and assistant, and I have found hardly any difference between the best of them and the worst of them. You wonder why does this guy win, why does that guy lose? The guy that loses seems to be a good guy, seems to know his stuff. Yet some are winners and some are losers—both now and probably forevermore. And three things

divide them all: total effort versus not quite that much, total preparation versus less than that and an understanding that winning is living.

To me the real test of every man and every woman is how much they give of themselves. What grates me most is that people think they want something but when it comes to a little work—a job or doing some extra study—they fall by the wayside.

I'd like to hire a young coach with about four years of experience who is single, who would work day and night seven days a week and who wanted to learn. He'd want to work so badly that he'd work for nothing. If I could find that guy, then I'd have a picture of myself 26 years ago. I'd really like to find somebody like that. That guy could go up the ladder in a hurry.

I think that when you like your job so much that you enjoy coming to the office every morning you're fortunate. That's the way I have always been. I'd rather do my job than anything else. I can see no difference between a chair and a man who sits in a chair if he is not accomplishing something. One must accomplish to live. I don't care to take a long lunch hour. I eat right on the job. I think that in two years here I have only had about four lunches somewhere else because I'd rather work out and be with my coaches or the staff discussing something that's going to help us win. We often put in a 40-hour week by Wednesday. When I watch TV, and I don't watch often, I always arrange some pamphlets or a notebook or some quick phone calls for the commercials. I don't want to waste the time while I'm watching. I just dread anything that takes me away from trying to improve our situation. Here's something I strongly believe: every day you waste is one you can never make up. Winners don't waste time and that applies in every walk of life.

The winner is the only individual who is truly alive. I've said this to our ball club: every time you win, you're reborn; when you lose, you die a little. If players are willing to accept a season in which they win half their games, they will win half their games and they will emerge half alive. A lot of players are half dead and don't know it. If they lose all their games and the fact does not kill them, they are already dead. Some players are dead. This is the way I feel.

I was reading about a team that lost 23 straight games, or maybe more than that, and in the report everyone was blaming everyone else. Not one guy said, "Listen, I didn't do my job." The 76ers are a good example of that. They lost more games than any basketball team in history and not one person blamed himself. I think their new coach Gene Shue, will turn them around, though.

The situation was similar with the Los Angeles Rams in 1966. The players blamed the coaches, the coaches blamed the players, the owners blamed each other, the front office blamed the coaches.

I thought the Redskins, with a fine offense and no defense, was a good place for me. I knew that first I had to get another quarterback to back up Sonny Jurgensen, and the only one I had in mind was Billy Kilmer. Kilmer had always done a good job against the Rams and I had promised my players there that if he ever became available I'd get him for us. With our fine offensive personnel I thought the Redskins could win the first year if we could get a strong defense. Early in my coaching career, about 1952, I realized that you weren't going to win a championship unless you had a great defense. I spent most of my time on offense then and we had success, but we didn't have a strong enough defense to stop the opposition when the offense had an off day. The Knicks win on defense, the Canadiens win on defense, even the great Yankee teams were defensively oriented.

So I set about trying to get defensive men. That's when we picked up all those players from the Rams. People have called that a short-term trade, but I don't understand why. Diron Talbert was what—27? He had five more years, and in my opinion he's one of the best defensive linemen in the league. He went for our first draft choice in that trade. Where are you going to get a first draft choice like that, already trained in your system? Heck, here are the men who represent our first three choices since I've been in Washington: Talbert, Verlon Biggs this year and Roy Jefferson next year. We also got Jack Pardee in that Ram trade as well as Myron Pottios. I think John Wilbur was 28 when we got him. He's a starting guard who's been an outstanding performer. Maxie Baughman was also in that trade and he made a contribution even though he didn't play. In addition, we traded Los Angeles' fifth draft choice to Green Bay for Boyd Dowler.

When I came to the Redskins, there was no off-season program. If you don't do things in the off-season, you're not going to win. There's a million and one things to do and people who think there's an off-season in this business, or in any business, are mistaken. If there's an off-season, there's something wrong. The off-season is the time when you improve.

Every day, unless you make some progress you're going to get behind or someone's going to get ahead of you. To me, what you do with your free time determines how successful you'll be and what you're going to contribute in life. We have a big sign in the weight room and it says one thing: WHAT YOU DO IN THE OFF-SEASON DETERMINES WHAT YOU DO DURING THE SEASON. That's part of my philosophy. I have always believed the future is now, in life as in football. Another part of our philosophy here is to take somebody nobody wants, somebody who is supposed to be a problem, because we think we can solve his problems. We have lots of players who were supposed to be troublemakers, and they have played well for us. I have yet to find a player with a reputation as a bad egg who actually is a bad egg. Money isn't always the answer. Money doesn't make one happy, although it helps. Biggs made less with us his first year here than he did with the Jets, but he has played fine football for us. What most people really want is recognition. Mainly it is just a matter of understanding a player and knowing how to handle him.

I think the toughest part of coaching is the individual conferences with players going over their problems. Not football problems. That's the least of it. It's the other worries, the type a man has no control over, but if you don't solve them or help solve them, then that man is not going to produce well. If a player has a problem, I think that's my problem. I want to know every detail about it and see if we can't alleviate it so we can win.

One thing you can't do in this business. You can't let problems lick you, because you're going to have them. Every day I run up to three miles and work out with weights. The reason I do this is just to offset all the gosh darn problems that come up. If you're not in shape, the problems will lick you. Each year you're going to have more problems and different kinds, and if you approach them right you can solve them all. I really don't believe, and I say this in all sincerity, that we were put on the earth just to have a good time, to laugh and joke. I think we were put here to overcome problems.

I don't think there are any I can't solve or that we can't solve together. And I don't fear them.

We've got a linebacker in our camp named Steve Kiner. He was originally a third choice of the Dallas Cowboys but last year he had some bad personal difficulties and was released outright by the New England Pa-

triots and the Miami Dolphins. No one wanted him. So we brought him in and sent him to a psychiatrist. We gave him constant treatment and the players helped him and worked with him. We had him on defense in some practices and one of our halfbacks would be carrying the ball in a regular half-line scrimmage and Kiner would haul off and clobber him. But he was going through stages of improving himself. We've now reached the point with Kiner where we know he may be able to help us. This is important because I think coaching is not just taking a player who's got a lot of talent and using him. Whether he plays football for the Redskins or not, we think we've helped a guy and maybe saved a life. Steve Kiner spent the winter working out at Redskin Park, our practice facility. He's quick—he'll run the 40 in about 4.7 and he's become the second strongest player on the team. When he came in he weighed 198 pounds and he's now up to around 218. The only man stronger is Manny Sistrunk and Manny's got arms like a blacksmith. Even with Dave Robinson, whom we just got from the Packers, Kiner is still very important in our program. He's going to start our first preseason game at left linebacker, Jack Pardee's old spot, and he'll play three quarters.

Part of my personality is that I like my players, regulars or not. I'm happy for their success. When I talk about them with others I actually feel emotional, just like they were members of my family. That's partly my philosophy but it's also my disposition. I try to develop a team of people whom I knew. If we prepare them properly, they'll win. When they make a mistake or do something wrong, I blame myself. When they lose I blame myself. If they lose, I feel that somehow, subconsciously, I let them down.

Whoever said you don't need to motivate a pro didn't know how wrong he was. You've got to motivate everybody, veterans and rookies alike. I feel very fortunate that throughout my life, for one reason or another, I have been a self-starter. Not that I don't have my ups and downs, but it seems that the more problems I have, the more setbacks, the more things stimulate me the other way, whereas some guys get down about the least little thing.

I think that each person is an individual and what works with one will fail for another. I don't try to start motivating a player right away. If I don't know him too well, I just talk to him and get his thinking on different things—on what he hopes to achieve, what he's done in the past, why he didn't succeed, what he was going to do in the off-season and what he was going to do after practice. You can learn a lot just talking to a guy. And then after that I see what he does on the practice field, in meetings, off the field, and I soon find out whether it's just talk or if he's in earnest. Sometimes just the way you talk to people can motivate them. But I don't have much patience with a player who won't study and prepare himself and make a few sacrifices. That player is not going to help us win our championship. You know the type of guy I'd like to hire if I were at the Naval Academy? I'd hope that the man I was interviewing would say, "I'd like to play Army a nine-game schedule. Nobody else but Army." That's the type of guy I want to hire.

I think the mental part of the game is more difficult than the physical part. I don't know how much more difficult it is.

I think mental preparation never ends, whereas I think with physical preparation you can be out on the field for an hour and a half or two hours and it's over. But the mental part continues on and on—when you're eating, when you're sleeping, when you're walking around.

Trading is part of the mental game for me and it is another thing you have to work very hard at. You have to know what you want—that's the most important thing in trading, to know what you want and what you'll give up. I think if you want something badly enough, you'll get it. It's really that simple. If you want it badly enough, no matter what it is, you'll get it if you just stay on it morning, noon and night, if you just drive yourself and drive yourself to get it. You have to know more than just the position, you have to know the type of player that will fit into your team. Experience itself isn't worth a cent unless it's the right type of experience. The right type of experience means being in an organization that knows how to win, knows what to do to win, is completely organized, has a philosophy and a program. This is why I wanted Dave Robinson. I wanted the right type of individual, not just experience. The woods are full of experience.

There's so much misunderstanding about experience that it's even difficult to talk about. Just because a guy is 30 or over doesn't mean he's old. Maybe he's not as fast, but he doesn't have to be because he's smarter and he'll be in the right spot at the right time. I don't think you can always be building toward the future. People are constantly looking for a player who's 22, who has eight or nine more years. In baseball you always hear about the great young pitching staff where the oldest starter is 24. That has nothing to do with it. How much ability do they have? How much do they want it? To me the best years of an athlete's life are after 30, provided he takes care of himself. I think he appreciates more, he has more leadership, he's smarter, he's more dedicated, he makes more of a contribution to the entire team than he did when he was 24. Al Kaline is a notable example in baseball. Henry Aaron, Frank Robinson and Willie Mays are others. In hockey Alex Delvecchio of the Red Wings is one and so is Henri Richard of the Canadiens.

What the heck, where would the Lakers be without Jerry West and Wilt Chamberlain? Or for that matter, where would Miami be without Earl Morrall? He's a 39-year-old quarterback. Look what George Blanda has done. And there are many others. Houston has two fine young quarterbacks and they've got a future. But there has to be somebody guiding the program and getting a balance in there, otherwise you're just showing up for the game, that's all.

Everybody has to have a philosophy. A lot of teams don't have one or, if they do, it changes every year. You've got to believe in certain things, know what you want, and not let the criticism of the public and the media bother you. Men like Walter Alston, Bill Sharman, Johnny Wooden and Emile Francis took charge of their programs this way and succeeded. You don't change your philosophy when you lose if it's a sound philosophy and you understand it. Some teams change their philosophies just because they've lost. I'd never do that. For instance, I think what J. D. Roberts is trying to do in New Orleans is going to take a little time, but I think in the long run it's sound. They're going with youth, and it's taking them a little longer for various reasons I'm not going to get into, but I think they are on the right track. But if they get disgusted after another losing season and suddenly change, then all those years are wiped out.

So winning isn't just getting experienced players or spending money. The Seattle SuperSonics may have spent more money than any team in basketball and they finished next to last. The most important thing you need is organization.

One of the results of good organization is concentration from your players. Concentration is necessary for good practices and

they're a large part of winning. I don't want our game plan defeated before we have a chance to execute it. But you can't concentrate with distractions all around. You can't enjoy a lecture or an artist performing if you aren't comfortable. It's like taking a night class and in the room in which the professor lectures the acoustics aren't good and the seats are uncomfortable and as a result you don't get much out of it. If I were teaching the class, I'd want a certain seating arrangement. I'd want the student to be stimulated as he walked in the classroom, before I even started lecturing. That's not pampering, that's part of the lecture.

When I was in L.A., I used to get permission to attend the classes of the professors of the year at the University of Southern California. I'd sit in the last row and just watch how that professor handled a class. I've gotten a catalog for Georgetown University and intend to do the same there soon. That's my way of having a little personal clinic. It shows me the reasons why that professor is so successful—the discipline he had in class and the techniques he used to communicate.

I like signs and other reminders. I just love them. I have a sign on my desk that says *THE TEAM IS NEVER UP!* I put that there after the Super Bowl. We were flat for the Super Bowl, hard as that is to imagine. Just before the game I was going to talk to the team and rile them up. I thought the dressing room was subdued. But then I thought to myself, "I don't have to do that, this is the Super Bowl. It's the biggest game of their lives." That sign reminds me never to take anything for granted and to always do what you believe. I like to get people to think. That's why I use constant reminders. I think you've got to say things over and over again because you only get through to about 40% the first time. It doesn't bother me that those 40% have to listen to it maybe seven times. That's no problem. That's the way it should be. It's better for them to listen to it seven times and win than not to listen to it and lose.

We'll make changes at our training camp this year. Every season we make some changes but never just for the sake of change. Every thing we do is calculated to help us win. These things may seem minor but the results can be major. Last year we stopped running 40-yard striders at the end of practice and replaced them with "perfect plays." The players have to sprint only 20 yards on a perfect play, but since we run 10 or 15 of them they get as much running done. This gives the physical work a different flavor; they're not just running for the sake of running. For every play they bust they have to do two more even if just one player makes a mistake. This way they are learning plays and at the same time developing better concentration as a team, plus improving their condition.

I had an agronomist in this spring and we went over the procedure of weed killing and sodding and grading and we're improving the drainage system at Redskin Park.

That may not seem like it's part of coaching philosophy but to me it is. When we come back from our training camp in September I want a great practice field to be waiting—green grass and no weeds. I don't want to be killing weeds in September. I want the field to be lined with yard markers and everything to be perfect so that we can start fresh. Some people would say that's the groundskeeper's responsibility. But to me it's my responsibility. Tommy McVean, our equipment manager, is going to replace the padding on the goalposts. I want my players to see that everything is freshly painted, everything is replaced, everything is new that has to be new and that it's the start of a new year.



July 25, 1973

We're doing so many things. I'm bringing in a man who has a punting machine. For years I've been looking for a punting machine so we wouldn't wear our kickers out, a machine that kicks spirals so we can practice catching punts. And when we are going to face a left-footed punter, the machine will spiral the ball the other way. It makes a difference—the ball fades away.

To me such things are ABCs and always have been. Some people don't consider that coaching. To me creating Redskin Park is a major coaching accomplishment. I wanted Redskin Park because I think it's important to have a place the players can call home, where we have everything under one roof. When a player comes out here, he's getting ready to win. There's nobody around who shouldn't be here. This is our home. When we practiced at Georgetown, we had students and people right off the street milling around. That's not conducive to winning football. Here the players have their own parking lot for 90 cars where they don't have to worry about getting a space or being towed. As a result, whenever they come into this area, they can concentrate on football and winning. It helps morale. The players can walk right out of the dressing room onto the practice field, and that's important. We not only have the grass field, we have an AstroTurf one. When we are scheduled to play on AstroTurf, we should practice on it. It's that simple. Besides that, in Washington weather is a consideration and the synthetic field always gives us a place to practice. All of this comes under one word: organization.

I know that we'll stay ahead in Washington because we will not let anything go without examining it. There is no detail that is too small. For instance I was the first coach to have a special teams assistant coach: now many teams do. Marv Levy did such a fine job that he's now head coach for Montreal. Special teams are important because the kicking game is vital to winning. I emphasize defense, and the next phase of the game that goes with defense is a fine kicking game and then an offense that doesn't give up the football, that controls it and keeps it away from opponents. A special teams coach is something that should have been thought of years before. Eventually all teams will have some form of a Redskin Park, and they all will have a special teams coach. You can look into many different areas of the game, but we will stay ahead because we will always think of something else to improve. What we're doing is so sound and so simple that it will continue to be productive.

I don't want anyone getting his training at my expense. That applies to the front office as well as the players. I have an experienced secretary named Shirley Krystek who came with me from the Rams. She's a tremendous help; she often knows what I'm thinking before I even say it. And we have experienced people throughout our front office. There are so many people I wish I could mention but I don't have the space. I am very fortunate in having a wonderful wife Etty, who understands me and who is patient. Unless a coach or executive in a responsible position has that type of wife I don't think he can succeed completely, because in order to do all the things that I want to do with my work I have to have a wife like mine who will put up with my being away from home so much. However, I try to get together with my family whenever I can. Recently Etty and I were guests of our children George, Greg, Bruce and Jennifer for a weekend that they planned for us. We drove down to Charlottesville to pick up my oldest son. Then our entire family went to Cape Hatteras for a weekend where we cooked out on the beach and enjoyed each other's company.

I am also thankful for my eight years with

George Hallas, who's a great man. I think that sometimes you can be around people who are successful and it doesn't rub off, but I've always been aware of being in the presence of someone like Hallas. I learned from Sid Gillman, too.

And one of the main reasons I'm with the Redskins is because of my great admiration for Jack Kent Cooke, a major owner, who is a guy who came up the hard way selling encyclopedias from door to door. I appreciate people who came up the hard way. And I appreciate working for Ed Williams, the president of the Redskins, who has supported me in everything I've done here.

I think football offers the toughest competition of any sport. The goal of every team and every coach is to win the Super Bowl. Some people say the Redskins can't win big games. Those people don't know what they're talking about. It takes a lot of games to get into the playoffs. And there are a lot of big games along the way. Look what we had to do last year to get into the Super Bowl. We had to beat Dallas twice. Dallas was the defending champion. Then we had to beat Green Bay twice. What I'm getting at is that the competition in the National Football League is so tough that you can't let down one quarter or you lose. Our football team is going to have to improve. Why? Because everybody who plays the Redskins says, "We're playing a Super Bowl team; it'd be nice to knock those guys off." So they're going to play a little harder.

No team had more dedication than the 1972 Redskins or better leaders than our captains, Charles Taylor, Len Hauss, Chris Hanburger, Diron Talbert and Speedy Duncan. Last year we had a great season and I'm pleased with the fact that our players put forth the effort to get to the Super Bowl. Mayor Walter Washington has said that the '72 Redskins were the best thing to happen to his city in years. That's quite an accomplishment and one that I'm proud of. We were unifying force for the city; we gave the people something to cheer about. We took a city that was known for last place and united it. Blacks and whites, Marylanders, Virginians and Washingtonians, Democrats and Republicans, they all were pulling together for the same thing. We felt a tremendous obligation to the nation's capital since we were the only professional team here. I know we'll get back to the Super Bowl sometime. It could be this season and it could be next. Nobody can predict that; there are too many intangibles. But I know we'll be back there again. I'm positive we'll be back.

#### SELFLESS AND HEROIC ACTIONS BY ROY VACCARO

**HON. NORMAN F. LENT**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. LENT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of my colleagues to the heroic actions of Roy Vaccaro 2 weeks ago in Baldwin, N.Y. Young Roy saved the life of Erin McGarry after she fainted and fell into a pool at a recent swimming party in Baldwin. Others at the party did not realize that Erin was in trouble, but Roy reacted quickly and dove to the bottom of the pool to retrieve her. Using artificial respiration techniques learned from his father, Roy was able to revive Erin and save her from certain drowning.

The town of Hempstead has seen fit to present this brave young man with a citation for his actions. I am sure my colleagues will join me in congratulating Roy Vaccaro for his alertness and bravery. I take great pride in inserting this citation into the RECORD at this point:

#### CITATION

Whereas, on Saturday, July 14th at a pool at the home of Mrs. Louis Frommeling, 877 Milburn Court, Baldwin, Roy Vaccaro of 963 Alhambra Road, Baldwin, saved the life of ERIN MCGARRY after she fainted and fell into the pool and failed to surface, and

Whereas, Roy dove to the bottom of the pool and brought Erin to the surface and then applied artificial respiration, learned from his father's instructions, and

Whereas, if it had not been for Roy's quick reaction Erin would have lost her life as those at the party did not realize that Erin was in trouble.

Now, therefore, I, Francis T. Purcell, Presiding Supervisor of the Town of Hempstead, do on this date, July 22, 1973, present this citation to Roy Vaccaro in recognition for his selfless and heroic actions.

FRANCIS T. PURCELL,  
Presiding Supervisor.  
ALFONSE M. D'AMATO,  
Supervisor.  
LEO F. MCGINITY,  
Councilman.

#### GEORGE MEANY ON PROPOSED WELFARE REGULATIONS

**HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON**

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, on April 20, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare published proposed regulations for the administration of the public assistance program. Combined with restrictive social service regulations, the Headstart fee schedule, and the latest set of guidelines concerning the assets test for welfare recipients, these regulations are part of a widespread move by the Nixon administration to weaken the Nation's social welfare programs. A letter from George Meany to Secretary Weinberger concerning the April 20 regulations puts into accurate perspective the administration's deceptive policy in this area.

I would like to insert that letter into the RECORD at this time:

MAY 11, 1973.

HON. CASPAR WEINBERGER,  
Secretary, Department of Health, Education,  
and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Last year the AFL-CIO joined with many other organizations in working for a genuine welfare reform bill which would have helped to solve the welfare crisis which we are facing in this country. These efforts failed, largely because the Administration refused to support its own reform proposals which President Nixon had initially advocated with so much vigor.

We are distressed to see that the Administration is now attempting to achieve through administrative fiat what it apparently wanted to achieve all along—a repressive welfare system which arbitrarily denies aid to needy individuals and families with-

out even a pretext of procedural fairness and due process.

We are particularly concerned about the proposed regulations published in the Federal Register on April 20, 1973. If implemented in their proposed form, these regulations would deny welfare recipients and applicants for assistance fundamental rights of due process which have always been the hallmark of justice and freedom in America. The victims will be among the most disadvantaged—the old, the disabled, the blind and mothers and children in fatherless families.

The AFL-CIO is vigorously opposed to the proposed regulations which would make it extremely difficult, and in some cases actually impossible, for needy persons to apply for aid and then would allow the states to delay unreasonably the decision as to whether or not they are eligible for assistance. Of course, while applicants were subjected to red tape delays, their basic needs would go unmet.

We have always insisted that public welfare should be reserved for those genuinely in need and that the needy should not be punished for their poverty. Welfare applicants and recipients have the same right as all other Americans to be treated with dignity and to have their constitutional rights respected.

We are especially shocked by the elimination of the current requirement that methods used for determining eligibility "will not result in practices that violate the individual's privacy or personal dignity, or harass him or violate his constitutional rights." This requirement was specifically aimed at protecting the legal rights and dignity of recipients from harassment by overzealous public officials and employees. Further, the proposed regulations sanction for the first time secret investigations by welfare departments, involving neighbors, landlords or employers, without any notice to the applicant.

We also object to the proposed changes in the right of recipients to appeal an adverse local decision to a state fair hearing before aid is terminated or reduced. Experience has shown that a very large percentage of contested local welfare office decisions have been reversed when reviewed at a higher level. Yet, without any justification, the proposed regulations for the first time would permit discontinuing or reducing aid before there is an opportunity for a state hearing. Such deprivation of basic appellate rights is inimical to the American system of justice and has no place in a federally funded welfare system.

In addition, the proposed regulations discourage recipients from exercising their rights to a hearing prior to termination or reduction by allowing the states to recover payments made pending the hearing if the local action is ultimately sustained. This is contrary to the current policy which does not permit such recovery except where actual fraud is found. The potential of recovery is a veiled threat which will have the effect of deterring persons from exercising rights which are basic to the American system of justice. Similarly, the regulations eliminate entirely the right to a prior hearing in a number of situations when it is most necessary to protect the recipient, such as when there has been a charge of fraud or when the welfare department has decided of its own volition to make the payment to a third party instead of the recipient.

We oppose the proposed regulation which will allow the states to recover overpayments made to recipients where the reason for the overpayment is attributable to the welfare department itself. Social Security beneficiaries are not subject to such unfair policies. We do not understand why welfare

recipients, who are living on minimal incomes, should be made to pay for mistakes which are not their fault.

The proposed regulations, if they were to be implemented, would bring about a blatant invasion of the privacy and democratic rights of the most defenseless and deprived people in America.

On behalf of the AFL-CIO, I urge that they be withdrawn. No changes should be made in the existing regulations that do not assure protection of the basic rights of the people to whom they apply.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE MEANY, President.

## MONTGOMERY CHAMBER'S AWARDS

### HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to present awards recently to eight citizens of Montgomery County, Md., who were selected by the Montgomery County Chamber of Commerce for their service to the community and the Nation.

These eight citizens, each quite different from the other, have contributed in their own special ways. Their work, which illustrates what individual citizens can do, is described in this material assembled by the chamber of commerce:

#### MONTGOMERY CHAMBER'S AWARDS

##### I. OUTSTANDING YOUTH OF THE YEAR AWARD

1. Andrea Kormann, age 17, Rollingwood Drive, Chevy Chase, Maryland.

Not only has she done an outstanding job academically, but she is involved in her community. She has been a volunteer office worker for the Maryland Association of the Visually Handicapped. She organized a benefit at the Bethesda-Chevy Chase High School for the visually handicapped. She is a youth representative on the Administrative Board and the Worship Board of the Chevy Chase Methodist Church. She is the Editor-in-Chief of the Bethesda-Chevy Chase yearbook, and is the secretary of the Interact Club of Bethesda-Chevy Chase, which is a Rotary sponsored organization.

2. Fritz Douglas Pollard, III, age 18, of 2215 Westview Drive, Silver Spring, Maryland.

Fritz graduated in June of 1972 from Blair as an outstanding student carrying a 3.8 academic average, and was also an outstanding athlete. He was acutely aware of the racial problems at Montgomery Blair in 1972, and through his leadership was a key factor in alleviating serious eruptions. He helped make integration work.

He was voted Montgomery Blair's outstanding athlete, and lettered in football, basketball and track, and was voted the outstanding senior of 1972. He also participated in the dramatics program.

##### II. DISTINGUISHED SERVICE AWARDS

1. Lt. Col. Charles X. Suraci, Jr., Deputy Wing Commander, National Capital Wing, Civil Air Patrol, Rockville.

Charles Suraci, Jr. has been an inspiration to youth since 1957 when he joined the Civil Air Patrol. Seven months after joining he completed the basic course and was promoted to Warrant Officer. In eight years he was promoted to his present rank of Lt. Colonel. He was a founder of Wheaton-Silver Spring Squadron, and later served as the Squadron Commander. The Squadron was number one

in the Wing for six years while under his command. He was responsible for arranging the Wheaton-Silver Spring Cadet Squadron's Staff Meetings in the Pentagon every year. (First in the history of Civil Air Patrol.)

As Deputy Wing Commander he is responsible for making governmental and neighboring official contacts. He set up the Aerospace Workshop in the D. C. School System, and the National Aerospace Education Association.

He has received the CAP Meritorious Service Award and Exceptional Service Award; the Community Leader of America Award for two years; and the YMCA Leader and Service Award from the Silver Spring Branch of the YMCA.

In May 1970 he received a Presidential Commendation from President Nixon in recognition of exceptional service to youth for his work with Civil Air Patrol.

2. Mrs. Beulah Harper, Poolesville. For the past two years she has been President of the Women's Interfaith Service which operates a center in Rockville, Maryland which receives donations of clothing and distributes them to poor families. Last year more than 1,500 families with 4,000 children received a box of clothing per family. Mrs. Harper was the Thursday manager for eight years. In 1965 she was a member of the County Anti-poverty agency for the Community Action Committee representing the community of Tobeytown. She served on the Food Stamp Advisory Committee for the Social Services Board.

When there were racial problems in the Poolesville area she helped organize the Community Relations Committee and served as Vice President. She played an active role in reducing the tension.

Mrs. Harper is half of the Poolesville area HELP organization which responds to calls for emergency help such as food, furniture and transportation. Over the past two decades she has worn out dozens of tires and several automobiles taking disadvantaged individuals from Poolesville to clinics in Gaithersburg and to Rockville to buy food stamps and to get welfare grants. She goes to court with individuals when there are problems, and makes short runs to the dentist. She gets surplus bread and baked goods for needy residents.

She has been a foster mother for six children, ranging in age from three days to fifteen years.

She is an active member of the Jerusalem Church, Poolesville, singing in the choir, superintendent of the Sunday School, Church Secretary, Deaconess and for many years president of the Women's Auxiliary.

3. Johnny Holliday, Silver Spring. In November of 1969 Mr. Holliday came to the Washington area from the West Coast and joined WWDC as an "On Air Personality" better known as a disc jockey. In response to calls from area high schools trying to find ways to raise money for band uniforms, Mr. Holliday organized the WWDC Radio "Oneders" Basketball Team. Calling on friends in the sports world, and using some of the radio station personnel, he swung into action in 1970 playing junior and senior high school faculties, and boys clubs in the area. The concept was so successful that from 1971 to 1973 they played sixty schools, raising over \$100,000 for area schools.

Mr. Holliday then organized a softball team to help other organizations raise money. Some of the organizations that have benefited from the softball "Radio Oneders" have been the Walter Reed Annex, D.C. Police Department, churches of all denominations, boys clubs, and Heroes, Inc.

Most recently he was involved as co-chairman (with his good friend Ray Schonkey of the Washington Redskins) of the Retarded Citizens of Montgomery County Bike Marathon.



### III. PRESIDENT'S AWARD FOR OUTSTANDING CHAMBER MEMBER

Oland Harvey, Olney, has just finished his sixth year as President of the Olney Chamber of Commerce. Coinciding with that, it is his sixth year on the Board of Directors of the Montgomery County Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Harvey was Director of Public Works in Montgomery County from 1934 to 1966, a total of 32½ years. Since that time he has been a consultant with various counties on public works.

Mr. Harvey has been a widower for twelve years, and resides in the home that he built 28 years ago at 18201 Hillcrest Avenue in Olney, Maryland.

### IV. SPECIAL PRESIDENT'S AWARD FOR MILITARY SERVICE TO THE NATION

Major Arthur Burer, Rockville, spent 83 months in prison camps of North Vietnam as a prisoner of war, and this grateful county would like to say, "Thank you."

Art Burer was born September 3, 1932 in San Antonio, Texas, the second of four sons, of a man who himself dedicated 25 years to the U.S. Air Force. His early life was spent around various military posts. His older brother served for 20 years in the Air Force, and his younger brother was a graduate of the U.S. Military Academy of West Point. Major Burer graduated from Anacostia High School in 1950 and worked for one year as a paying and receiving teller with American Security and Trust Company in Washington, D.C. During the Korean conflict he enlisted in the Air Force and served as an aircraft maintenance technician while assigned to Bolling Air Force Base. In 1957 he won an appointment to the Officer Candidate School which led to a commission and flight training. He served as aircraft maintenance officer at Sheppard Air Force Base, Texas, and then was assigned as an instructor pilot, U.S. Air Force Training Program. He attended George Washington University, Laredo Junior College and graduated from the University of Omaha under the Air Force Bootstrap Program in 1954.

In early 1965 he volunteered for reconnaissance flying in Southeast Asia. On March 21, 1966 his RF 101 Reconnaissance aircraft was struck by hostile fire while on a mission deep in North Vietnam. He holds a good conduct medal, longevity medal, National Defense medal, Vietnam medal, Air Force Commendation medal, air medal with oak leaf cluster, distinguished flying cross and the purple heart.

We wish Art well in making up for those 83 months that he spent out of contact with his lovely family.

### V. MONTGOMERY COUNTY'S NATIONAL FIGURE OF THE YEAR AWARD

Fire Chief David B. Gratz, Silver Spring, has dedicated his life to the national fire service.

Specifically, his concept of a Mobile Fire Safety Team has most recently won national recognition and renown for Montgomery County.

Chief Gratz was chief of the Silver Spring Fire Department, and has been made the first Director of the Fire and Rescue Services for Montgomery County, and as such will coordinate the county's independent fire departments, fire prevention activities, fire and rescue training operation and communications.

Dave has been involved in fire service since 1946, and served as the Fire Chief of Silver Spring from 1957 to 1973. He has been nationally recognized for the extensive fire service activities, particularly in the area of organization and management, a consultant to various agencies of the U.S. Government, the International Association of Fire Chiefs, a number of state and local agencies, and a qualified expert witness in the field of fire service operations.

In addition, he is a well-known writer in his field, with numerous articles published in national fire journals. In 1972 his textbook "Fire Department Management: Scope and Method" was published by the Glencoe Press.

In 1955 Dave won a B.S. degree in Political Science from American University and followed it up in 1961 with a Master's degree in Public Administration. He has recently completed the course work on his Ph. D. at the University of Maryland.

Chief David B. Gratz is being recognized for a very specific contribution to our community that has won national recognition—namely the Mobile Fire Safety Team concept. This concept combines three functions into one mobile unit. They are Fire Inspection, the Flying Manpower Squad, the Mobile Command Unit. In addition the Unit carries extensive information on microfilm.

This Unit, on the road 14 to 16 hours a day, automatically responds to all building fires and special emergencies, and carries the shift commander—the ranking officer for the shift. The Unit can receive and transmit on five radio frequencies and monitor an unlimited number of high and low band frequencies. A tape recorder allows the officer to dictate reports, and record special notes.

### CAN POSITIVE THINKING MAKE HOUSING PROGRAM GO?

#### HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, it has been approximately 6 months since James T. Lynn took office as the Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development. In his confirmation hearings earlier this year, he acknowledged that he was not a housing expert, but that he would soon learn.

Indeed, he has had to learn as his first charge as Secretary was to undertake a massive and complete reevaluation of this Nation's housing programs and policies. We all anxiously await the result of this study which is due September 7.

Mr. Speaker, in order to give my colleagues a better insight into the man overseeing this vital reevaluation, I would like to insert, at this point in the Record, an article entitled, "HUD's James T. Lynn: Can Positive Thinking Make Housing Programs Go?" which appeared in the July 1973 issue of Government Executive:

HUD'S JAMES T. LYNN: CAN POSITIVE THINKING MAKE HOUSING PROGRAM GO?

(By Samuel Stafford)

Housing and Urban Development Secretary James T. Lynn is—to paraphrase more than one secretary in HUD's 10th floor offices—"a charmer."

Whatever an interviewer wants, Lynn stands ready to provide. He is as friendly as an automobile salesman and as willing to please as a hotel doorman.

During his relatively brief tenure as head HUD honcho he has done his homework well. He can answer any question that might possibly be asked about HUD's current massive change of direction without flinching a line.

Lynn is amicable even at the end of a rat race day. No one in HUD has ever seen him when he was grumpy for more than 45 minutes. He has a ready smile for both the

great and the small and he tosses off little personal asides to the foot troops—"I really envy your ability; I could never do that and have it come out right"—like the new businessman on the block who knows he has to try harder than the shops on either side if he is to win consumer acceptance.

Lynn, like his predecessor, George Romney, is a buzzsaw of enthusiasm. Unlike Romney, at least so far, he tends to give subordinates the benefit of the doubt when things go wrong. And he does not seem susceptible to the foot-in-the-mouth disease that has afflicted some Nixon Administration appointees. He is, a former associate said, a very sharp man who guards his flanks well and tries very hard to learn what his political antennae tell him he should know.

HUD, however, with its Democratic origins, hardly makes a dent in Washington's Republican power structure, as Romney quickly learned. As a bastion of Great Society sloppy thinking, so the Nixon team reasoned after taking office, HUD was a prime target for reform along "New Federalism" lines.

During Nixon's first term, HUD lavished considerable time and energy trying to convince all and sundry that HUD really was what Lyndon Johnson had intended it to be—an agency dedicated to the proposition that all Americans, rich or poor, should have decent housing within one or at the most two decades—but that the Democrats were going about the business all wrong.

As time passed, Romney spoke less and less of the prospect of achieving a national goal of "26 million new homes in 10 years." By 1971, HUD was deep into the process of turning itself inside out. The way was being paved for a phaseout of HUD's categorical programs like urban renewal and Model Cities and replacement of such programs with "few-strings-attached" block grants to be used as localities saw fit when Congress gave a go-ahead to the Administration's special revenue sharing program.

Romney, former associates say, left Washington a frustrated man. HUD's much ballyhooed research and development program, *Operation Breakthrough*, if not an outright failure, at least was no roaring success. Congress sat on the Administration's ambitious revenue sharing proposals. And fast buck builders and developers meanwhile took HUD to the cleaners in the subsidized housing grant program, leaving the Federal Government with a scandalous legacy of deteriorating properties in inner cities throughout the Nation. A moratorium still in effect was imposed on the subsidized housing programs and HUD task forces at the moment continue to wrestle with the question of what went wrong and to try to come up with improved ways of managing the subsidy programs.

#### IMPRESSIVE INITIATIVES

So Lynn by any lights came to HUD at an inauspicious time in the agency's relatively brief but tumultuous history. In his four months on the job, he has diligently plumped for the Administration's Better Communities Act, which would fold a number of Johnson era categorical grant programs into the New Federalism block grant program, and has spoken up for the Administration view of "returning power to the localities" at every opportunity.

Lynn, a former Undersecretary of Commerce, had not been considered a top candidate for the HUD post. His qualifications, however, were impressive. He was young and energetic and a dedicated advocate of the New Federalism cause. He had no discernible political base and no ties to special interest groups. He would, it was decided in the highest levels of the Administration, be a perfect candidate to preside over the final dismantling of Great Society housing programs.

His subsequent appointment drew hoots from the media, the tenor of the criticism

being that the President probably could have found a better HUD Secretary by pegging darts at a dartboard.

Lynn has been a good soldier even though, like Romney before him, he has had his frustrating moments.

Early this year, the White House announced that it was designating three Cabinet members as White House "counselors" and that responsibilities of the counselors would extend beyond their departments to include functionally related programs of other agencies.

Lynn was designated Counselor for Community Development with broad authority over housing, transportation and other areas dealt with by HUD, the Department of Transportation, the Department of Agriculture, the Office of Economic Opportunity and other agencies.

The other two special counselors were Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz and HEW Secretary-designate Caspar Weinberger.

As an interim move to try to pull together some of the Government's functional elements in lieu of the massive reorganization of the Federal bureaucracy which Nixon had been unable to sell to Congress, the idea had much merit.

From a practical standpoint, it was doomed from the start. The press came out with "Super-Secretary" headlines and congressional committees and their constituencies which felt threatened counterattacked. The President later rescinded the counselor plan, while enjoining Cabinet officers to continue meeting informally on common problems.

Lynn also was a victim of bad timing of a news break—a cardinal sin in Washington, D.C., where maximum favorable press coverage of an event is so assiduously courted.

As chance would have it, Lynn held a White House press conference on details of a Better Communities Act the very day that reporters were breathlessly awaiting a hot new break on the Watergate scandal. Few of the newshawks rushed to the telephones with word of the impressive new housing initiatives.

More media wordage, in fact, was expended on criticism of the program—by congressmen and mayors of some larger cities who saw their cities losing money under the proposed Act—than on the original announcement.

Lynn, the unflappable, upbeat advocate of the New Federalism, is philosophical about these minor setbacks.

"I think we are in a period of letting provisions of the Act digest with the governors and mayors and the other people affected.

"The Act does represent a massive change. And it is complicated. I think some of the initial unfavorable reaction probably was based on a misconception of what we are trying to do.

"I've talked to some of the mayors who were most concerned at first and I think we're gaining a lot more support."

Was it not true that many mayors were irked by the sudden drying up of Federal money in their cities following the subsidized housing program suspension?

"Let's put it this way. There was a certain amount of overlap among people who yelled the loudest about the housing suspension and those who initially were critical of the Better Communities Act. How much of this is politics and how much is genuine concern about what we've done or not done on the housing side I leave to you to judge."

At his press conference, Lynn promised that HUD would run data through its computers and come up with more precise projections of just what each city would or would not get over a five-year period.

"We are," Lynn said, "well advanced in

developing such data. I think that when some of these uncertainties are eliminated, support for our program will grow.

"Actually, there is no uniformity in treating problems of the various cities. There can't be.

"Federal spending in some cities will go up substantially over a two or three-year period. In fact, if you consider just numbers of cities, you'll find that there are a lot more cities gaining than losing funds.

"Admittedly, some large cities, like San Francisco, are confronted by reductions in inner-city funding. But I think you have to look at what will be going to the entire metropolitan area and the states if you are going to put this into perspective.

"We have attempted to average out what has happened in a city over a period of time. Let's take an example of a city that has had one large urban renewal project and that's been their chief project among the seven categorical grant programs that we're replacing and that project would be over this year or the year after that.

"That city would have absolutely no assurance as to its funding level for the future and what we've done is give them the benefit of the doubt in our averaging formula so they really do start out at a high level whereas you could say that in the next year of full funding they wouldn't have received anywhere near that amount.

"You can't just look at the dollar levels.

"And there's another basic question here. Should we at a given funding level freeze in forever the distortions that may exist between cities when viewed from the standpoint of an objective needs formula?

"Our answer is that, while we want to avoid severe adjustments for cities that have been funded at high levels, we also want to move eventually toward distribution of this money on a needs formula basis rather than on one based on grantmanship—the idea that the city with the best grantsman is going to get the most money.

"And why should a community that can not come up with the matching money to participate be penalized? In the past, some cities simply haven't been able to take advantage of these programs because they didn't have matching funds. This doesn't mean that their problems are less severe than those of a city that has matching money. Probably the opposite is true."

Lynn's message, delivered frequently to legislators and civic groups, is that HUD's special revenue sharing proposals carry a \$2.3 billion price tag and that this figure is far more than the total appropriations for community development categorical programs that are being phased out.

Despite the Nixon Administration's diligent tub-thumping for its proposals during the past three years, some legislators continue to take a dim view of certain provisions of the bill and no one on Capitol Hill expects the legislation to emerge in any form remotely resembling the original version.

#### HASHING-OUT DECISIONS

Lynn chooses to be optimistic.

"No doubt Congress will find provisions of the bill it thinks can be improved," he said, "and as we ourselves receive comment around the country we will probably find things to change, too. But we're hoping that the main thrust of the Act will be retained."

He added, "The transition will be painful in some cases and it will take time. But we think we have the right chemistry. What we are trying to do is simply to return the priority-assessing decisionmaking machinery to the governments that are closest to the people."

Lynn conceded that the New Federalism concept may encounter problems of implementation at local levels because HUD has

found that the city-county-special district nature of metropolitan governments often prevents chief executives from putting into effect far-reaching community-wide policies.

His view, however, is that passage of the Act cannot help but strengthen the hands of local executives.

He is also philosophical about the on-again-off-again White House counselor program during which he briefly headed a "community development" committee consisting of the heads of four Cabinet departments and the Office of Emergency Preparedness.

"I think one of our basic problems with the counselor concept was that it was not perceived correctly on the outside from the beginning," he said.

"There was far too much emphasis on the super-Secretary idea. But the true mechanism consisted of Cabinet officers sitting down together to focus on common problems and interests. And these Cabinet officers were always on an equal footing.

"We intend as the President indicated to continue meeting on an informal basis. The idea of having some of these interagency things done in a coordinated way by Cabinet members reinforces the authority and flexibility of Cabinet officers because if we don't hash out these decisions ourselves, they will be made elsewhere—either in the Office of Management and Budget or in the White House."

Lynn said he had not spent enough time in Government to have yet developed a hard-and-fast managerial philosophy.

"I've read that the President has put top managers out in all the agencies and I must admit I'm flattered when I read that," he said.

"That is highly flattering to a fellow who no more than four years ago was working for a law firm and had very little managing to do. Maybe I am a decent manager, but that will be for other people to decide.

"I have only one rule about management and that is to surround yourself with able people and ask that they do the same.

"And by able people, I don't mean just people in a theoretical sense of mental ability. I mean people who care about what they're doing and think it's important.

"Sure, they have the brainpower for the job, but they also have imagination and judgment and they are people persons. They care about the feelings of the people who work for them.

"And if you can get these kinds of assistants to come aboard, you know instinctively that they will turn on the people who work for them and be responsive to you."

He said, "I have been encouraged by my visits to the regional offices. The people out there know the weaknesses of the programs because they have to live with them day after day.

"What I've found is that you are much more likely to come up with a workable idea when you talk to people at the working levels than you are at conferences in Washington.

"Out in the regions they know what works and what doesn't work. And now and then somebody just might tell you, 'Now wait a minute. That doesn't make sense and I'll tell you why... because under Form 2369 of some other agency, we've got to do this or that and wouldn't it make sense to combine these two functions to do this?'"

If being personable, doing your homework and being receptive to new ideas are important ingredients in being HUD secretary, Lynn should succeed in areas his predecessors found all but impossible to manage. A large supply of optimism at the outset is not necessarily a bad thing. HUD remains a cranky agency pulled in a dozen different directions by its conflicting constituencies. As George Romney learned, it is difficult to run the housing agency and still be an optimist.



MRS. MARY FRANCIS  
MORRISSETTE

HON. G. WILLIAM WHITEHURST  
OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. WHITEHURST. Mr. Speaker, an article was recently published in the Christian Science Monitor regarding an outstanding citizen and community leader in my district, Mrs. Mary Frances Morrisette. The article refers to Mrs. Morrisette in her role as the executive director of the Norfolk Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, a post from which she recently retired. However, I have known her as a friend and as a citizen who has worked tirelessly to instill the concept of humaneness in everyone she met. I am most pleased to say that although she has relinquished her responsibilities as head of the Norfolk SPCA, she remains active in the humane field. Her victories did not all come easy. She fought long and hard for her viewpoints and the reduction of cruelty to animals, and she richly deserves the outstanding reputation that is hers.

I include an article from the July 24 edition of the Christian Science Monitor at this point in the Record:

RECENTLY RETIRED SPCA LEADER DEMANDS A  
STRONG, GENTLE TOUCH IN PROTECTING  
ANIMALS

(By John D. Moorhead)

BOSTON.—She has been battling for almost four decades to get people to be kind to animals.

Seeing her today you immediately sense the kindness, but see no scars of the battle.

Mrs. Mary Frances Morrisette, recently retired as executive director of the Norfolk, Va., Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, is a small, very feminine, but impeccably dressed woman. But when she talks about things that hurt animals, there is fire in her eyes.

"We must have respect for life in every creature and teach this to our children," she says.

#### A NOTE OF CAUTION

And when there is an emergency she moves fast. Recently she rushed to help a grebe entangled in some fishing line. The loon-like bird was about 30 feet offshore in a swamp. Mrs. Morrisette exchanged her dress for coveralls and swam through icy water to free it.

"People should leave wild animals alone unless there is a real need," she says. "It is not true that if human hands have been on baby birds, fawns, and other 'born free' creatures, the mother will desert them. Her mother love for her offspring overcomes her fear or dislike of the smell of humans."

"But these young animals should never be touched unless they are sick or injured," she says.

She recalled one occasion on which she was informed that some children had taken baby mockingbirds from the nest and were carrying them around the neighborhood. She went to the area immediately, corralled the children, and returned the baby mockers to their nest.

"The mockingbird parents immediately began to feed those hungry little mouths," she says.

#### NO SHELTER, THEN

Her interest in animals goes back to girlhood, but she has been actively working in their behalf since becoming volunteer secretary of the Norfolk SPCA in 1935.

At that time the SPCA had no shelter of its own, no car, and only one paid employee, the humane officer.

In the late 1930's a shelter was acquired, a dark narrow room in the back of a blacksmith's shop. A much larger shelter was finally built in 1949.

At first, she says, she was "deathly afraid" of speaking before the Humane Society and other groups. "But I lost myself in helping the animals; there was so much cruelty."

In July, 1950, Mrs. Morrisette inaugurated a television show about animals and their care, over which she still presides today. (The program was off the air from 1956 to 1964.) The show gives information on the care and training of animals, and how animals fit into the community or function in the wild.

"A lost and found section has returned many pets to their owners and found good homes for others," she says.

And Mrs. Morrisette makes more than 200 personal appearances yearly in schools, recreation centers, almost anywhere else young people gather. Many thousands of children have seen and petted some usual and unusual animals in her "traveling zoo" in the past 8½ years.

"Some children are distrustful or afraid of animals," she says. "We stress the fact that we only fear what we do not understand. So we proceed to get acquainted."

Acquainted means with a skunk, kittens, a dog named Pixie, a boa constrictor, raccoon, guinea pig, rabbit, woodchuck, or an opossum.

"Most fears are lessened or completely dispelled on the first visit," says Mrs. Morrisette. "The kittens' claws don't seem quite so treacherous, and Slinky, the boa constrictor, is discovered to be a gentle friend."

One of the major skirmishes in her fight to aid animals has been to promote "neutering."

#### POLICY FINALLY CHANGED

She finally convinced the board of the SPCA "to agree that every female dog and cat and every male cat be altered (when old enough) before they leave this shelter."

This requirement was instituted 12 years ago. Mrs. Morrisette regrets more people cannot be convinced to have their pets altered, because there are so many strays.

Another of Mrs. Morrisette's campaigns involved the use of dieldrin, a long-lived pesticide. When the state of Virginia announced it was going to spray large areas with it to combat reported concentrations of white-fringed beetles, Mrs. Morrisette fought against the move. She appealed to the city council and then the Governor to ban the spraying, which she felt would kill many animals.

The spraying was done and she was right.

#### EVIDENCE COLLECTED

Afterward she and other members of the Cape Henry Bird Club (now the Cape Henry chapter of the National Audubon Society) collected more than 300 specimens of dead birds, animals, and bees for analysis by a testing laboratory in Patuxent, Md. The tests showed dieldrin had killed them.

Mrs. Morrisette says birds are still being affected by the pesticide more than 10 years after its application. And she maintains the state never proved there really was a white-fringed beetle invasion in the Norfolk area.

Rachel Carson, author of "Silent Spring," called Mrs. Morrisette's drive the "best fight of any" against indiscriminate pesticide use. Now use of substances like dieldrin is tightly controlled.

Although Mrs. Morrisette is stepping down as SPCA executive director, a post she has held since 1964, she continues as director of humane education. And she will still preside over her weekly television program, helping children and adults understand how to care for animals.

#### SECRETARY OF STATE POLL ON POST CARD REGISTRATION

HON. BILL FRENZEL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, a poll was taken of the secretaries of state of the 50 States, in an effort to determine the amount of support for a Federal post card registration system. A questionnaire was sent to each of the 50 secretaries of state. Included in the questionnaire was a cover letter explaining the purpose of the poll and an outline of the post card registration bill (S. 352). Each secretary was asked to describe any experience his or her State has had with coupon or mail registration now or in the past, and to choose between the following four alternatives:

First. I feel that a system of Federal post card registration is a better alternative than our current State system.

Second. I prefer our current registration system to the proposed Federal post card system.

Third. I feel that at a given cost other alternatives—such as mobile registration—may be better than the post card system.

Fourth. Any of the above systems would be acceptable.

A total of 38 secretaries of state responded. This is a response rate of 75 percent, an extremely high percentage for this type of questionnaire. Out of the 38 responses, only three secretaries felt that a system of Federal post card registration is a better alternative than their current State system. Twenty-nine stated that they preferred their current registration system to the proposed Federal post card system and seven felt that at a given cost other alternatives may or will be better than the post card system. Three secretaries thought any of the alternatives were acceptable or were neutral. The total number of responses is 40, which is greater than the number who replied, 36. This is due to the manner in which the questionnaire was constructed; it was possible for a secretary to check both alternatives first and third. Four secretaries of state did just that, which accounts for the discrepancy.

From the data cited above, it is quite clear that a vast majority of the people who will have to help administer the post card registration system do not believe it will work as effectively as the present system. Only two of the secretaries or about 6 percent of those who responded expressed support for the bill. If the officials who will be administering the bill express an almost unanimous lack of confidence in it, it is difficult to see how the plan can be made to work. Judging from the vehemence of their response, Congress should not expect these officials to make a wholehearted effort to implement this program. Certainly, Congress should be reluctant to pass legislation which has such strong opposition among those who will be charged with the responsibility for administering it.

The secretaries of state of the States of California, Pennsylvania, and South Dakota supported the idea of Federal postcard registration. The secretary of state of Pennsylvania stated that—

I wholeheartedly endorse and support S. 352. Once Congress takes this action most States will follow.

The secretary of state of South Dakota said that—

Stringent rules and regulations of voter registration have disenfranchised many qualified electors. Because of our mobile population we need uniformity and understanding between states with state control.

The secretaries of state of Alabama, Arizona, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Hawaii, Idaho, Illinois, Kansas, Louisiana, Maine, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Rhode Island, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, and Wyoming all prefer their current registration system to the proposed Federal post card system. The secretaries of state of Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Nevada, Rhode Island, Tennessee, and Washington felt that at a given cost other alternatives—such as mobile registration—may be better than the post card system. The secretaries of state of Georgia, Utah, and Wisconsin expressed no preference or thought that any of the systems would be acceptable.

A major objection to the post card registration system was that it would not increase voter registration and participation. The secretaries of state of Delaware, Idaho, Nebraska, Montana, North Carolina, Oklahoma, and Washington thought that post card registration would do little or nothing to increase voter participation, although the secretary of state of Hawaii thought that S. 352 would "increase voter registration and voter turnout in States that presently have strict registration requirements and make it inconvenient for their residents to register." On the other hand, the secretary of state of Nebraska, in commenting on the prospects for a National Voter Registration Administration stated:

Looking down the road ten years I do not believe that one hundred thirty five million dollars spent every three years would increase over one or two percent the national percentage of turnout of voters. Even if we got everyone registered in the United States, or nearly everyone, your bill still does not provide any means for "beating the voter over the head and getting him to the polling place." Here in Nebraska I believe we have given a maximum effort for registration and yet only five out of every eight of the registered voters went to the polls.

Other secretaries also thought that their State is presently doing a good job:

Our state has a high percentage of our estimated voting age population registered and this will become even higher with the cut-off date before elections now extended by ten days. We have provisions for registration by mail, appointment of as many deputy registrars as necessary per county and all notaries public may serve as deputy registrars. Federal post card registration would only serve to increase the problems without significantly affecting the number registered. (Montana)

The secretary of state of Washington felt that federally funded post card registration might dry up State and local funds for registration drives:

It is unlikely to expect, however, that state legislatures and county officials would be willing to continue programs of their own to encourage and facilitate registration in the face of an overwhelming federal program such as the one proposed in S. 352.

Secretaries of state such as those from Oklahoma and Idaho worried about dual registration systems and their possible effects on voter participation:

Oklahomans who register to vote under our present system may continue to be registered and eligible to vote simply by casting a vote once during any four-year period. These voters undoubtedly would be confused by receiving a registration application every two years and probably would execute the form, thus resulting in a dual registration. On the other hand, voters not registered in person under Oklahoma law, but registering for federal elections under the provisions of S. 352, would doubtlessly be frustrated to learn that they could vote for President, U.S. Senator and U.S. Representative, but not for Governor, State Representative, State Senator, County Sheriff, Mayor or any other state or local office.

At least one secretary of state thought that post card registration would even be counterproductive:

Out of a possible 351,003 persons of voting age we had registered 293,078 as of November 1, 1972 or 83.49%. Of these 293,078 we had 241,152 cast their ballots on election day or 82.40%. If S. 352 should become law I feel sure that this percentage would decline. (Delaware)

Most secretaries seemed to think that factors other than registration obstacles were to blame for low voter turnout:

We urge you to assist us in putting into proper perspective the real cancer in our electoral processes. The true sickness is apathy—the failure of persons who are registered to exercise their right to vote. We submit that simply registering more people by "lottery" tactics does nothing to improve the problem. Only after we have attained a continuing turnout of 80-90% of our registered voters should we attempt to go out and pull people out of the woodwork to simply fill up space on the registration books. In North Carolina our priority project is to increase voter participation first, then design programs to flush out other prospective voters.

Another important objection to post card registration was the difficulty in administering the system. Several secretaries of state felt that post card registration would be administratively unworkable:

Administratively, the proposed post card registration of voters for federal elections is completely unworkable. States could not properly process these cards in the given time frame prior to the elections and therefore would be unable to produce accurate lists of qualified voters for use at the polls on election day. Duplication would be extremely difficult to properly correct within the state and impossible to ascertain from state to state in such an extremely short time. (Virginia)

I am of the opinion that your bill would be a duplication of effort, would result in dual registration and voting systems, would require additional personnel on the local level, and certainly result in added cost to the taxpayers. (Florida)

At least one secretary of state thought that post card registration would place an excessive burden on his staff and would result in a volume of mail of tidal wave proportions:

During fiscal 1973 . . . 31.27% of our registered voters' records were changed in some manner. To magnify this many changes by the herculean task of checking post card registration for validity, duplication, legibility etc, and return a notification to that group of people who registered by post card would create chaos and it would be impossible to hire enough temporary employees to accomplish this. (Delaware)

Many of the post cards might be illegible and incomplete:

My first concern is whether we could get correct information from the applicants and to follow up quickly enough otherwise. Our deputy registrars are instructed to fill in the applications for the applicants. Even with these trained personnel, we still get a tremendous amount of applications for which the applicants have to be tracked down and the information corrected. (Hawaii)

We have consistently observed, when an applicant is asked to respond with certain information on those applications, that between twenty and twenty-five percent of the applications received are incomplete or inaccurately prepared by the applicant. In those instances, an additional contact, either by mail or phone must be made with the service voter to complete the necessary information. (Washington)

Another problem is that of accidental re-registration:

If registration post cards are distributed to every household, persons already on the registry lists will re-register, thus requiring a crash program of checking thousands of registrations trying to sort out duplications. People don't always follow instructions, sometimes signing their names in full and sometimes using names by which they are usually called or initials. If two identical names turn up from the same address, is it father and son or has the same person registered twice? When county clerks are inundated with thousands of post card registrations 30 days before an election, the problems of preparing valid registry lists are obvious. (Wyoming)

There is also a problem peculiar to rural districts. Leading experts on voter registration have indicated that his problem can occur in many States:

In research I recently ran, if this system should be adopted the R.D. 2 route of Millsboro, Delaware, would cover parts of 7 election districts, 3 representative districts, 3 senatorial districts and 3 councilmanic districts. This would not enable the people who administer elections to assign this registrant to the proper district where he should cast his ballot. This would create quite a problem and would be terribly expensive to contact each person registered by mail in order to assign him to the proper election district. At the present time our mobile registrars and our in-district registrars have maps available and a registrant points out his place of residence on said map thereby enabling the registrars to assign him to the proper district.

Post card registration would also represent a duplication of effort and might force many States to abandon their present registration systems:

The various county clerks and election commissioners in Nebraska now have their own filing systems for registration of voters. These filing systems are based on the available space in the office or the physical ar-



rangements of their folders and file cabinets. The registration forms in Nebraska, while they contain the same information, are printed on various sizes of forms to fit their particular filing system. If the counties were to go to a postcard registration they would all be required to establish new filing systems.

There would also be administrative hassles between the State and local, and Federal Government:

Under local jurisdiction, local officials would know and could easily investigate and find out who resides at a certain address. The questioning of a voter's residence could be resolved immediately with the local investigation. Under federal jurisdiction, a residential inquiry, paper work etc. could take a month or more thus possibly denying or permitting one to vote whose residence remains in question. (Illinois)

A third major objection was the increased opportunities for fraud under a system of post card registration. The secretaries of state of Delaware, Hawaii, Idaho, North Carolina, Oklahoma, Rhode Island, Tennessee, and Wyoming were especially concerned about this possibility:

S. 352 purportedly has built-in safeguards to prevent voter fraud. However, I submit that neither fraud prevention safeguards nor the availability of federal tax monies can, by themselves, insure the sanctity of a post card registration system which totally relies on unverified information. (Idaho)

The bill in question did not have any provisions with definite proposals to control and prevent fraudulent registration, and many problems could be created if this program is enacted into law without any controls specifically integrated within. (Hawaii)

There are several ways in which this bill makes fraud in Federal elections much more likely:

The potential for fraud in voting is abysmal. Voter registration forms would be mailed to every address in Oklahoma prior to elections each biennium. There are no protective devices to prevent fraudulent registrations. The availability of registration forms would make it easy for a single individual to register an innumerable number of times with little chance of detection, simply by making multiple applications to various election boards. Moreover, Section 405 (c) effectively makes a person eligible to vote whether or not he had registered, since no proof of such registration is required to vote. While the measure provides stringent penalties for fraud, there are no means whatsoever to detect fraud.

There is some doubt as to whether or not anyone can be prosecuted under this law:

I question the ability of government to prosecute anyone for fraudulent information which has been supplied on a postcard due to the fact that the signature of the new registrant was not witnessed by either a notary public, employee of a local canvassing board or a member of the general public. (Rhode Island)

S. 352 removes even the most minimal safeguards against fraud:

In our opinion S. 352 eliminated the most vital safeguard of all and that is proof of identification and proof of residence. In order to register in our State a person must present to our registrars the above two (2) proofs. This does not create a hardship on anyone except those persons who are trying to fraudulently register. (Delaware)

It is also impossible to check these registrations to find out if they are genuine:

Proponents of the Senate measure say post card registration can be checked and authenticated by state registration officials, but if it's too much trouble for a person to appear once before a registry official to sign the oath of qualification to get his name on a permanent registry list, how then can anyone sincerely believe that election officials can authenticate thousands of registrations that come to them through the mail. Practically speaking it's impossible. (Wyoming)

A fourth major objection was that post card registration would represent an unwarranted intrusion by the Federal Government into areas reserved to the States and would result in dual registration systems:

I am opposed to S. 352, the McGee bill. It is an unwarranted and completely unnecessary intrusion by the Federal Congress and a Federal agency into an area of state responsibility. The intrusion is not necessary since Ohio and most other states of the Union recognize their responsibility in this area. Ohio's General Assembly shows evidence that it will respond to Ohio's needs by passing legislation which has been proposed to facilitate voter registration.

State governments are not sitting on their hands in this important area, and my conversations with other Secretaries of State in the various states leads me to believe that there is great sentiment for action and improvement on the state level. Can there be a valid reason, therefore, for Federal intrusion into a state's area of responsibility and for a Federal regulation which must be applied only to Federal elections and not to state and local elections? I think not.

I think that government should be kept as close to the people as possible and the local Supervisor of Elections office is the proper place for the registration and elections processes. (Florida)

My view is that the idea of the Federal government getting into the area of mandating registration procedures for states is a mistake in any form. This is a responsibility of the states. The method which S. 352 proposes for registration of voters, in my judgment, represents the worst type of legislation that could be enacted in connection with the registration process. (Rhode Island)

There was a good deal of concern about possible disruptions of the local processes of registration:

If enacted, S. 352 would establish a voter registration program for federal elections. Such a program would, in all probability, force the state to scrap its recently implemented card registration system, and adopt federal registration procedures for all Title 34, Idaho Code, elections. The alternative would be to maintain separate registration lists, special ballots, and special absent ballot voting procedures for federal voting. An unnecessary major revamping of our state election code would ensue.

Several of the secretaries thought that the poor quality of the Postal Service would make implementation of post card registration almost impossible:

Until some action is taken to unravel the confusion in the postal service, I do not favor this type of voter registration. Certainly, the money problem incentive is appealing and needed and the intent of the proposed legislation is admirable; but we have had numerous problems with the postal service especially in mailing absent voter ballots. The confusion that we and the county clerks go through on election day because of the mail situation is unbelievable. (New Mexico)

Concern was also expressed about the high cost of post card registration:

I do not want to seem cynical, but I feel strongly about the following statement: if the one hundred thirty five million dollars were used in some way to lower federal income tax and the burden of tax on the population was reduced I suspect more voters would go to the polls. (Nebraska)

Why set up another huge federal program costing millions which will create alternate problems, confusion and opportunity for fraud? If thousands of faceless signatures are to replace sworn oaths before registry officials, why have registration at all? Why not instead have any person offering to vote on election day sign an affidavit that he is entitled to vote in that jurisdiction? (Wyoming)

There were several miscellaneous concerns and complaints. Several secretaries thought that the States were already doing a good job and that little could be done to increase voter turnout:

Here in the State of Nebraska we have passed laws assisting registration and voters in every way possible. We have stopped just short of imposing criminal sanction for failure to cast a ballot. I am not convinced that our efforts should totally be directed toward more voter registration. For example, here in Nebraska we have approximately eight hundred fifty thousand voters registered. However, our turnout on election day at the polls, including absentee and disabled was slightly over five hundred thousand so you see more than one third of our registered voters did not get to the polls. In fact, nearly half, I do not see much point in getting more voters on the registration rolls when those who are registered did not care to cast a ballot.

Here in Nebraska we have a voter registration deadline of ten days before the election—not thirty. We provide for registration with the absentee and disabled ballot. Our absentee and disabled ballots are ready for distribution thirty-five days before the election. We have provided hundreds of additional places of registration.

In Nebraska during the last week of registration, the various registration officials maintain office hours each evening in addition to the regular hours. We have ruled that the students can register within their home town or college town. We have substantially liberalized the disabled voter situation. For example, the ballots can be removed from the polling place and taken to a wheelchair patient parked outside of the polling place. We provide that any other voter can attest to the disability of a person applying for a disabled ballot. Our law provides for transportation of disabled voters to the polling place. We also have special laws to help the blind and paraplegic voters in that they may be assisted in the voting booth by a member of the immediate family.

Now, the net result of all of this legislation to help voters cast ballots and to register: A lower percentage of turnout of voters at the polls. So you see, all of these state laws that were designed to assist voters and to ease the registration problems had a net result of fewer people going to the polls. Therefore, I am not convinced that we should spend one hundred thirty-five million dollars every three years to help other governmental subdivisions attempt to register more people. In Nebraska we have gone about as far as we can go.

Several secretaries had experienced difficulties with the Federal assistance post card registration system:

We have problems with the post card forms for servicemen and women and dependents, such as incomplete information received too

late to obtain the rest in time to complete registration and receiving forms too late. (Montana)

Some of the secretaries seemed to feel that the local officials concur with their opinion of post card registration:

Most of the election officials throughout the State, to whom I have spoken on this problem, are opposed to the post card registration inasmuch as it may open the practice of fraudulent and duplicate registrations. We all feel that the system works very well in Colorado and are strongly opposed to the method of post card registration.

Issue was taken with some of the arguments proponents of post card registration use to support their case:

We must take specific exception to one statistic repeated several times during the Senate debate on S. 352. The proponents asserted that "9 out of 10 registered Americans voted" (S. 7044), basing this statement on figures from the Freedom to Vote Task Force Report, where the number of votes cast in all fifty states plus the District of Columbia was compared to the number of voter registrations in the forty states plus the District of Columbia which have statewide voter registration. Based on the voter turnout figures cited by Senator Kennedy in the Congressional Record (S. 7030), in the 40 states which have registration, 73% of the voters turned out in the 1972 presidential election. (Washington)

There were several suggestions for alternative strategies. Among them:

With the registration substantially above the national average—and on a permanent registration basis—I would again strongly recommend to the Federal Government and the states the consideration of our deputy registrar system in Oregon, avoiding the limited number of Post Offices and opportunity for fraud on a post card system.

Finally, the secretary of state of Minnesota stated:

Minnesota has instituted a post card registration system. Hopefully, the Congress will study and review ours and similar systems before adopting a like plan nation-wide.

There were several interesting comments from other State and local officials. Local Delaware officials made several insightful remarks about S. 352 and H.R. 8053:

These Bills seem to be based upon good intentions, in that they purport to make it easier for a citizen to register to vote. With that intention we all agree, but we are opposed to their method—"Post card Registration". This system has been suggested several times for Delaware, and it has always been discarded as being too conducive to fraud.

The two most important factors in Voter Registration are 1) proof of identity and 2) proof of residence. Once a voter has satisfied these two simple requirements under Delaware law, said voter is then eligible for registration and then will be registered. It is provided in the Delaware law that the applicant for registration can be challenged on either or both of the grounds mentioned above. This protection is insured, to some degree, by the fact that Delaware law requires that the two registration officers be from different political parties. In addition, on in-district registration days, the political parties may have a person in the registration room act as a challenger. Said challenger may challenge the applicant on either or both of the above mentioned grounds. All of these safeguards will be lost in a "Postcard Registration" system.

The thing that concerns me the most in connection with the proposed legislation, more than the fact that the postcard registration system would promote "tombstone" registrations, multiple registrations by the same individuals, and the mountainous problems of trying to decipher thousands or millions of handwritten postcards, is the fact that another citizen, by a postcard, may effectively disenfranchise me. This could easily be accomplished by another citizen filling out a postcard form which would have the effect of changing my residence, changing my name, changing my party affiliation, or even indicating that I have moved out of the state and wish to be dropped from the voter polls. It is possible that I would become aware of this fact only when I went to the polls to vote. By then, it would be too late. My right to vote and your right to vote, I assume, are precious aspects of liberty and freedom. I do not want someone else taking this right away from me.

The attorney general of the State of Wisconsin had several pertinent comments:

There is little in the way of convincing evidence to justify the conclusion that passage of this particular bill would, in fact, achieve its purported objective, which is an increase in voter participation. For example, in states where no preregistration is required or where voting coupons have been used in the past, voter participation percentages for federal elections do not differ significantly from those of other states.

Since the postcard registration bill does not make the use of postcards mandatory for state and local elections, the bill would lead to the need to maintain dual registration lists at the local level. One list would have to be maintained for postcard registered individuals eligible to vote only in federal elections and the other for those who registered in person and were, therefore, eligible for all elections. Localities would be forced to provide two sets of ballots or voting machines on election day.

Furthermore, the bill raises the likelihood of numerous postcard registrants facing frustration on election day upon discovery that they were ineligible to vote in any but a federal election. The possibility for confusion would seem to be especially likely in cases of voters seeking to record a change of address who might be tempted to use the postcard as a convenient means of registering again.

Finally, the Florida State Association of Supervisors of Elections states:

We are of the opinion that Senate Bill 352 or similar legislation, H.R. 4846 would result in dual registration and voting systems; would require additional voting equipment, additional personnel and office space on the local level and would certainly be a tremendous cost to the taxpayers who are already overburdened with taxes from the national through the local level.

We believe if this bill becomes a law it would encourage the most colossal election fraud in the history of this country. Any person could register anyone else under the provisions of this bill; could register under a different name in every precinct of the county; could produce the registration of people who do not even exist, and there would be no way for the Supervisor of Elections to determine if these registrations were legal or fraudulent.

Registration does not appear to be the cause of the low percentage of voter turnout. For the 1972 primary elections in Florida, 2,982,076 voters were registered and qualified to vote. Only 22 percent of this number voted in the First Primary and 18 percent in the Second Primary. In the November General Elections with a registration

of 3,487,458 voters, only 73 percent went to the polls . . . the lowest percentage since 1948.

We, as Supervisors of Elections, believe a more appropriate step would be an in-depth study to find out why those who are registered do not vote—why the apathy?

## HANOI HILTON FLY-BY

### HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, each new contact with our returned POW's increases my already high esteem for these fine and courageous men. They are indeed men of caliber, cut from the grain of cloth which made this country great. In their hours of isolation and torture, they had to grasp for any straw of hope. It is hard for us to imagine the encouragement they received from the continued presence of U.S. reconnaissance flights over North Vietnam. I would like to share with my House colleagues the following article from the summer 1973 Teledyne Ryan Aeronautical Reporter, in which former POW Navy Comdr. Edward H. Martin relates some of his recollections at the Hanoi Hilton:

#### HANOI HILTON FLY-BY

Shot down and taken captive by the North Vietnamese July 9, 1967, U.S. Navy Commander Edward H. Martin lay on the floor of the New Guy Village interrogation cell, a fresh victim of the "ropes." He'd been "worked over" by the "goon squad," tied in ropes from head to toe, his right arm cracked and left arm paralyzed.

"I was a poor specimen of humanity, lying there on the floor. They wanted me to make a statement against my country, a statement condemning my President and all we were fighting for—something which is morally repulsive to me to start with.

"I refused to make the statement, and the interrogator got very angry.

"I was in no condition to recall any alert prior to that, and I think the date was some days after I arrived. And there was a raid. You could hear the bombs going off—a tremendous amount of anti-aircraft activity. The raid lasted about 15 minutes, then the all clear sounded.

"I heard a single, high-speed aircraft . . . as best I recall, a small engine than would be heard from something like an F-4, A-4 or (fighter-attack aircraft) . . . and it seemed at fairly low altitude."

This recollection, offered by the one-time resident of North Vietnam's infamous "Hanoi Hilton," would be remembered in a talk before a Teledyne Ryan Aeronautical audience as, "both the gloomiest and proudest" experience in his near-six year period of captivity.

"We were absolutely elated" The sound of the "high-speed" aircraft—he would later determine by visual contact—was a drone reconnaissance aircraft of the kind credited with taking some of the aerial photos displayed with this article.

Again, the recollection of other bombing raids later the same year: "Every single day that we had raids—and this was nearly every day—(between July and the end of September 1967), they were preceded or followed by reconnaissance flights. In many cases, I was to learn later, they were pilotless airplanes . . . because I eventually saw them."



Moved to the "Zoo," located about 1000 meters from the Bac Mai airfield, near the Bac Mai hospital—the Navy officer recalled his first sighting of an unmanned reconnaissance vehicle.

"We were able to see—from several vantage points that we had made ourselves... cracks in doors that we enlarged... sometimes the windows would blow open—on numerous occasions F-105s, F-4s, A-4s, various and sundry reconnaissance aircraft—the RA5C, F-4C. And then I was out in the yard one beautiful April morning.

"Without warning, we heard a very high-speed aircraft—in my estimation, somewhere around Mach .9 and about 45 to 60 degrees elevation angle."

Martin recalls that the aircraft appeared to be "jinking" and had sustained hits from anti-aircraft fire. He recalls seeing part of the wing come off, "but the airplane continued on."

Humorously, a wide grin splitting his now-tanned face, he told how a prison guard was "absolutely horrified" at the sight.

"I remember that we were elated, elated to the point that they (the guards) dragged me out to scold me for my 'bad attitude.' This was the first time I had a good view of (these) aircraft. Certainly, it was not the last. From that period—about April—through November 1968, reconnaissance aircraft were evident after all bombing raids."

Martin told how the bombing halt on November 1, 1968, and the desolation that followed, were used by the captors to intensify their propaganda efforts, claiming the North Vietnamese had forced the U.S. to suspend its military activities.

"The faith in our country, in our government and in our military leadership never wavered. In fact, if anything, it increased during the time I was in Hanoi." He attributes the constant overflights of Hanoi by U.S. unmanned reconnaissance vehicles during the bombing halt period as "morale lifting."

"Perhaps not daily, but several times a week, we had aircraft overhead—highspeed, low profile unmanned reconnaissance aircraft. We talked about these aircraft constantly. Some of us had a little knowledge about them. Others had none. We wondered many things... were they being inertially guided?... program guided?... or directed from other ships off the coast?"

"The mere fact that they were there—that anytime anyone was outside and one would come over—that was important."

"We were absolutely elated on the 16th of April (1972) when the bombing was resumed. We showed it to the point that a young LT(jg) who worked for me was taken out of the room and brutally beaten right outside of our door, then hauled over to old Heartbreak Hotel for about a week. He had several cracked ribs and multiple contusions."

"The beatings were primarily for our benefit in hopes that we'd not display an incorrect attitude. But, in my opinion, he was beaten for several reasons."

One of these reasons, according to Martin, was a handmade American flag sewn on the inside of the man's black skivvy shirt. Each night the U.S. captives in his cell would pledge allegiance to a flag that was now turned right-side out. And the captors discovered this clandestine patriotism.

A low-level unmanned reconnaissance vehicle that passed over Wallo Prison in May 1972 introduced a hint of humor that perhaps traced a new attitude of optimism in Martin's POW contingent.

"It was an unmanned vehicle and couldn't have been more than 50 feet off dead center as it swept in overhead."

"We gave our usual cheer—by now, we'd come to know our guards pretty well and know what we could get away with. One in particular, whom we called 'Boris,' watched the overflight in total fascination. We told

him he'd better smile so we'd know what he looked like later on."

Concluding his presentation—offered from unprepared remarks and recollections—Martin noted that in six years as an internee he developed renewed "pride in being American, in our military organizations and background. And, we have pride in the American industrial community—all of those loyal Americans who allowed us to come home with our heads high and with honor, not on our knees as some would have had us."

#### HEALTH CUTS UNREALISTIC, HEW PLANNERS ADMIT

HON. PETER N. KYROS

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. KYROS. Mr. Speaker, I was interested to note in the Washington Post this morning the front-page article concerning the in-house HEW planning memorandum which candidly admits that the most drastic cost-saving proposals put forth by the administration in its 1974 budget are not realistic. High-ranking policymakers in the Department of HEW and in the Office of Management and Budget should take a good look and learn something from this rather realistic appraisal of the realities involved in the world of health. Congress is not about to mortgage the health of the American people, by making Medicare patients pay greater portions of their hospitalization charges or by terminating good, workable programs, such as our community mental health centers system, for example. It is time that the policymakers wake up to this fact, and I commend the Washington Post article to the attention of my colleagues:

HEALTH CUTS UNREALISTIC, HEW PLANNERS ADMIT

(By Stuart Auerbach)

Nixon administration health planners have admitted that the most controversial, cost-saving parts of the 1974 budget—including increases in Medicare cost for the aged and the termination of key programs—"are no longer realistic."

As a result, cost savings of more than \$1.8 billion are not possible, the planners told HEW Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger last week in a preliminary memorandum leading to the development of next year's health budget.

The HEW admissions, released yesterday on the Senate floor by Chairman Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass.) of the Senate Health Subcommittee, are important now because the Senate has not yet passed the HEW budget for this fiscal year, which started July 1.

The House-passed version increased the President's budget by \$333.7 million in a Labor-HEW appropriations bill that added a total of \$1.3 billion. The White House's chief domestic aide, Melvin Laird, has said he will recommend a presidential veto. Mr. Nixon twice vetoed HEW appropriations last year.

In the preliminary planning memo, HEW officials foresee the 1975 health budget, which takes effect next July, as totaling almost \$5 billion—an increase of \$672.6 million over the 1974 request.

The memo sets forth a \$150 million health revenue sharing program for the states to replace current grants for programs to fight alcoholism and narcotics addiction.

It does not say, however, whether programs eliminated from the 1974 budget—community mental health centers, Hill-Burton Hospital construction and regional medical programs—will be included in the 1975 budget. Congress has continued the authorizations for those programs for another year, and will likely appropriate money to fund them. Lead-based paint and rat control programs, costing \$19 million, are slated for elimination.

The Food and Drug Administration, which the memo called "constantly underfunded," will receive an additional \$31.4 million—an increase of 19 per cent. "But even that increase will provide only a fraction of the funds which could profitably be used."

The biggest chunk of the health budget—\$21.6 billion—is allocated for the Medicare and Medicaid programs to provide health care to the aging, the disabled and the poor.

HEW planners estimate in this memo that Medicare payments will double in the next five years—from \$12.4 billion to \$24.5 billion. Medicaid will almost double—from \$5.7 billion to \$9.2 billion.

"Yet in 1972," the memo continued, "Medicare accounted for only 42 per cent of personal health care expenditures for the over-65 population... The aged spent as much out of pocket for personal health services in 1972 as they did before Medicare was enacted (in 1966)."

"The major challenge to the Medicare program during 1975-1979, therefore, will be to control costs while maintaining acceptable levels of coverage."

In the 1974 budget, the Nixon administration attempted to do this by making Medicare patients pay a large share of their hospital bills—adding between \$700 million and \$1 billion to the cost of medical care for the 23 million persons covered by Medicare.

"No legislation has been submitted for cost-sharing under Medicare, and even if submitted (it) is unlikely to be passed," the HEW planners admitted.

"Congress has widely criticized the administration for seeking to reduce program benefits."

To meet the congressional criticisms, the planners recommended to Weinberger that HEW combine the cost-sharing proposal with a liberalization of Medicare to include possible coverage of drugs prescribed by doctors; patients with costly illnesses such as kidney disease, which was included this year, and a reduction in the waiting period needed for the disabled to become eligible for Medicare.

The Medicaid program to provide health care to the poor has jumped 77 per cent since 1970—mainly because more people are being served. In fact, the cost per patient has dropped from \$335 to \$238.

Nevertheless, an estimated \$700 million in cost savings passed by Congress last year have not materialized because HEW failed to issue regulations implementing them, the memo said.

As a result, Medicaid expenditures will exceed the budget by an estimated \$395 million.

The proposed budget for biomedical research foresees an increase of \$104 million even though the total budget for the National Institutes of Health goes down by \$840 million. The decrease, the memo explained, is due to funding the last years of community mental health centers in the 1974 budget. However, the memo points out elsewhere, Congress is "unlikely" to approve that provision.

The President's two favorite programs—heart and cancer—get most of the increase (\$50 million for heart disease, \$25 million for cancer and \$74 million divided among all the other institutes).

Health officials indicated in the memo that they are worried that the heart and cancer programs are receiving too large a share of the total research budget.

Even so, cancer is getting far less than Congress authorized when it approved a national war on the disease. In its 1975 budget request, the National Cancer Institute said it needed at least \$610 million and could spend as much as \$720 million. It would be getting only \$550 million if the President follows recommendations in the preliminary planning memo.

#### PROPOSED WELFARE LEGISLATION

### HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, in the Federal Register of April 20, 1973, the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare published its proposed new regulations for the administration of the public assistance program. Combined with the "quality control" monitoring system and stiff fiscal penalties on States for overpayments but not underpayments, these regulations are an abrupt reversal of HEW policy in this area. Secretary Weinberger has indicated that the regulations are responsive to the comments of State welfare agencies on the quality control sanctions regulations of April 6, and are designed to promote "flexibility" in the determination of eligibility requirements. But a closer look reveals the administration's welfare package to be a deliberate and calculated attempt to make things difficult for all recipients.

Granted, there is a real need for administrative reform and a reduction in the number of errors. But in its attempt to be responsive to State welfare agencies, this set of regulations goes too far in compromising the rights of recipients.

I have introduced a bill, H.R. 9452, to delay the effective date of these regulations until December 1 so that hearings might be held and the impact on the public assistance program adequately reviewed. This bill is similar to the measure adopted for the social services regulations and successfully attached to the Renegotiation Act, and would be consistent with previous congressional action.

The following are particular provisions of the new regulations which appear to be unwarranted:

First. Although stiff fiscal penalties will be imposed on states for overpayment errors beginning within 18 months after the adoption of the new regulations, underpayments are not to be considered as errors. On April 1, 1973, HEW removed terminations and denials of aid from consideration in the quality control monitoring system.

Second. The requirement that applicants be assisted by the agency in providing necessary information for application is deleted—45 CFR section 206.10 (a) (12) (ii).

Third. Current regulations provide that the methods used by States to determine eligibility must be "consistent with the objectives of the programs," must "respect the rights of individuals under Federal, State, and local laws," and must not "result in practices that

violate the individual's privacy or personal dignity, or harass him"—45 CFR Sec. 206.10(a)(10). The proposed regulations would delete all references to violations of privacy or personal dignity, and would delete the prohibition against harassment.

Fourth. The proposed regulations eliminate virtually all current Federal standards and guidelines pertaining to investigative procedures and methods used by States to determine eligibility. More specifically, the proposed regulations would delete a current provision requiring that consent must be obtained before third parties can be consulted regarding an application. And if information furnished by the applicant is not sufficient or raises further questions, the applicant will no longer be entitled, by law, to an opportunity to help resolve those questions before third parties are consulted. The import of the present requirements is that applicants and recipients are to be treated as responsible adults whose cooperation will be useful in making the eligibility determination. These current regulations are to be repealed in their entirety—45 CFR Sec. 206.10(a)(12).

Fifth. Local agencies would be allowed to terminate, reduce, or suspend assistance after a local hearing. Presently, assistance cannot be cut off until after a State hearing since fully a third of all local decisions are reversed. In addition, the regulations would increase from 30 to 90 days the maximum time limit allowable for final administrative action—thereby creating undue hardship for those who have had assistance cut off pending State review.

Sixth. An agency would be allowed to terminate assistance without notice when there has been "indication of fraud and the case has been referred to local law enforcement officials."

In first threatening severe fiscal penalties for overpayment and then responding to the State agencies' request for greater powers, the administration has created a climate in which these regulations might be accepted. And it appears that in the controversy over the social services regulations, this aspect of HEW administrative policy has been largely overlooked. It seems to me that Congress should act to prevent implementation of these regulations.

The extra costs of duplicative investigations, the inevitable abuses of an increasingly unwieldy bureaucracy, and the undue hardship created by needlessly punitive regulations are avoidable. One method would be passage of the bill I have introduced.

#### MULTINATIONAL BUSINESS IN JEOPARDY

### HON. BILL FRENZEL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, recently Mr. W. C. Norris, chairman of the board of Control Data Corp., a multinational

company with headquarters in my district, commented in response to questions asked of him concerning trade bills pending before the Congress by the publication Government Executive. Mr. Norris' responses point out the threat to our country by protectionist groups whose well-intentioned proposals attempt to restrict trade between the United States and its trading partners.

The restrictive measures of the Burke-Hartke bill and similar legislation have special impact in my own district but are applicable throughout the United States. Therefore, I include the Government Executive article's questions and Mr. Norris' responses at this point in the RECORD:

#### MULTINATIONAL BUSINESS IN JEOPARDY: A LOOK AT THE PRINCIPAL ISSUES

*Approximately how many of your employees owe all or a major part of their jobs to your company's investment overseas?*

Nearly one in every three of our 22,000 domestic computer business employees derives his job totally from our operations in other countries. In addition to these approximately 7,000 U.S. employees, we have 8,000 Control Data employees located in other countries. Thus, nearly one-half of our worldwide computer business employees owe their jobs to Control Data's overseas business activities.

*If the U.S. imposed restrictions on imports how would it affect your competitive situation in your overseas markets?*

Import restrictions would adversely affect Control Data's overseas business activities. Imports will be increasing rapidly under our plans to maintain rapid expansion of our business both in the U.S. and overseas. Expansion of imports is required for the following reasons:

(a) Socialist Countries, being short of hard currency, have to offer materials and products in payment for most of the products they buy from Western countries. Therefore, in order to sell to such countries, Control Data must accept their materials and products and then in turn sell them for hard currency in other parts of the world, including the U.S.

(b) A number of components for our computer systems can no longer be manufactured economically in the U.S. Some of these components will be obtained from joint venture manufacturing companies established by Control Data with Socialist and underdeveloped countries.

(c) Our cooperative programs with other governments and overseas companies share the costs to develop and manufacture a wide range of new components, including computers, peripheral equipment, software and semi-conductor memories. These items are needed in Control Data computer systems manufactured in the U.S. and sold in the U.S. or overseas markets.

*What can multinational corporations do that single-country based corporations cannot?*

The multinational corporation can gain much more effective access to many overseas markets. By having people and other resources under direct control in the local area, the multinational can be much more responsive to customers' needs. This is particularly true for complex, high technology products, such as computers, which require a large amount of customer training and assistance.

A willingness to invest in the local economy opens up opportunities for selling other products and services, thus providing diversification to avoid severe fluctuations in profits. Also, a willingness to invest locally will often bring R & D support, which is desperately needed in the highly technological industries developing new products. For instance, Con-



Control Data established a manufacturing plant in Canada. In return Canada has provided research grants of \$25 million to help develop a new computer line. One model will be manufactured in Canada and other models manufactured in the U.S. for sale here and for export.

*Do you think the Hartke-Burke proposal to tax earnings and profits of controlled foreign corporations is a punitive measure?*

Without doubt it is a punitive measure and would be very damaging to our efforts to expand both here and outside the U.S., and will adversely affect our ability to maintain current domestic employment levels.

*What would be its impact on your company?*

The Hartke-Burke proposals to tax undistributed profits of overseas subsidiaries immediately and to disallow offsets for taxes paid to foreign governments will result in an effective tax rate of approximately 75 percent on overseas earnings. This would obviously severely limit Control Data's capability to expand anywhere, including the U.S. The potential impact of Hartke-Burke covers a wide range of other possibilities, depending on which provisions survive legislative consideration. In the extreme—if Hartke-Burke were passed in its entirety—Control Data would suffer a terrific setback both in the U.S. and overseas. The two parts are intimately dependent on each other. Among other actions, we would have to find other sources (higher cost) for many of the components that make up our computer systems. This would make our computer systems less competitive in the U.S. as well as in other parts of the world.

Restrictions on overseas investments would reduce our capability to further develop those markets which would mean a leveling off or decrease in exports to those markets.

Also, our exports would fall off because we would not be able to accept as many imports with which to generate foreign exchange to pay for the exports.

It is very difficult to envision all of the adverse results which would occur, but they are far-reaching, and would net down to a substantial reduction in employment, both in the U.S. and overseas.

*Do the wages, presumably lower, paid your overseas employees tend to pull down the wages you have to pay your U.S. based workers?*

In our administration of wages and salaries there is no interrelationship between wages paid overseas and those paid to U.S.-based employees. Actual wages are set by local labor market conditions, however, we find our non-U.S. wages, when coupled with government imposed benefit programs to be comparable, in many cases to the U.S., particularly for the highly technical people we require. For example, an Applications Analyst in Germany or Sweden receives salary and other forms of compensation comparable to that received by his U.S. counterpart.

*Is your corporation, through its overseas affiliates, a job exporter?*

Control Data is not an exporter of jobs as is apparent in our answer to the first question. Our activities outside the U.S. have actually created jobs in the U.S.; approximately 7,000 U.S. employees owe their jobs directly to overseas business.

*If you are prevented from investing and/or manufacturing abroad, would that necessarily force you to expand U.S. operations?*

We would not be able to expand U.S. operations materially for many years even if there was adequate market. Actually, the computer systems market is growing much faster overseas than it is in the U.S. This will continue to be the case for at least five years so there would not be the market in the U.S. to support expansion. Even if there were a market in the U.S., it would take Control Data at least five years to bring about expansion because of the long lead times (3-5

years) to repair the tremendous disruption of the presently highly-integrated operation between domestic and overseas activities.

*Are you "exporting technology which is helping non-U.S. firms to compete with you"?*

It is necessary for us to share technologies with other countries in order to stay ahead of aggressive development efforts being conducted by other companies, much of which is subsidized by local governments. By entering into cooperative programs with these companies, Control Data is able to get some of the benefit of the R. & D. monies invested by the overseas governments. While the early stages of a cooperative program may constitute a net technology outflow from the U.S., our policy is to insist on a two-way street, so that eventually the cooperative program will return a net technology inflow into Control Data and the U.S.

*Do you invest overseas to avoid paying U.S. taxes? If not, why do you invest overseas?*

We locate Control Data operations in accord with marketing considerations. As it turns out, we do not do significant business in so-called "tax haven" countries because the computer markets are elsewhere, e.g., in Western Europe and Canada where the tax rates are generally comparable to or higher than the U.S. rate of 48 percent.

Our reason for investing overseas is to build a healthy worldwide company by obtaining access to markets overseas that otherwise would remain closed to us. It is this access that is the key to creating U.S. jobs.

*Do you have a systematic program to educate employees, local governments, and the Federal government on how Hartke-Burke could hurt your company and industry generally?*

At the outset it is essential to note that Control Data does not have a distinctly separate international division or subsidiary; the key people in various phases of our enterprise have both U.S. and other country responsibilities. In general, then, we are confident that our management population has a better knowledge of multinational economics than is the case in many other corporations. Nevertheless, for several months now we have been conducting a program to educate all employees on the nature and importance of our international business. We feel it would be irresponsible of us not to inform our employees and stockholders of the ominous threat posed by the proposed Hartke-Burke (and related) legislation.

#### BRANDEIS ON WIRETAPPING

HON. JAMES W. SYMINGTON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. Speaker, recent disclosures and bland defenses of official wiretapping and burglarizing under the authority and control of the highest office in the land reminded me of the response prepared as assistant city counselor to a request for similar authority by the St. Louis chief of police 18 years ago. The law was still in a fairly rudimentary state at the time. But the governing principles had been enunciated the year I was born by Justice Brandeis in his titanic dissenting opinion in *Olmstead v. United States*, 277 U.S. 485. The following paragraphs of that dissent roll with majestic finality to the one and only conclusion that befits the heirs of our constitutional legacy:

As a means of espionage writes of assistance and general warrants are but puny instru-

ments of tyranny and oppression when compared with wire tapping.

It is also immaterial that the intrusion was in aid of law enforcement. Experience should teach us to be most on our guard to protect liberty when the Government's purposes are beneficent. Men born to freedom are naturally alert to repel invasion of their liberty by evil minded rulers. The greatest dangers to liberty lurk in insidious encroachment by men of zeal, well-meaning but without understanding. . . .

Decency, security and liberty alike demand that government officials shall be subjected to the same rules of conduct that are commands to the citizen. In a government of laws, existence of the government will be imperilled if it fails to observe the law scrupulously. Our Government is the potent, the omnipresent teacher. For good or for ill, it teaches the whole people by its example. Crime is contagious. If the Government becomes a lawbreaker, it breeds contempt for law; it invites every man to become a law unto himself; it invites anarchy. To declare that in the administration of the criminal law the end justifies the means—to declare that the Government may commit crimes in order to secure the conviction of a private criminal—would bring terrible retribution. Against that pernicious doctrine this Court should resolutely set its face.

And, Mr. Speaker, I might add, this Congress.

The letter follows:

JULY 11, 1955.

Col. JEREMIAH O'CONNELL,  
Chief of Police,  
Department of Police,  
St. Louis, Mo.

DEAR CHIEF O'CONNELL: Your request of July 5, for an opinion with respect to the legality of "wire tapping" has been referred to me.

The Missouri Legislature has been considering this question since 1953, when two bills were introduced, one to permit the practice with certain safeguards, S.B. 198, 67th General Assembly, 1953, and the other to prohibit it entirely, S.B. 393, 67th General Assembly, 1953.

Action of these Bills not having been completed, a bill was introduced January 4, 1955, somewhat similar to S.B. 198 above cited, and was referred to the Committee on Criminal Jurisprudence, January 5, 1955, but did not emerge prior to adjournment.

From the above-cited indications of legislative interest, and with the currency of "wire tapping" regulations in other states, (citations hereinbelow) there is every reason to believe legislative action to be forthcoming in Missouri in the near future. It may be well to note here that the Missouri Bar Association has endorsed the absolute prohibition of "wire tapping". QJ Mo. Bar 64.

In the meantime, there is no precise indication as to how the Missouri Courts would treat the question if presented. There are no Missouri cases bearing directly on the subject. However, the Missouri Supreme Court has held:

(1) Evidence obtained from information secured through "unreasonable search and seizure (in violation of Art. I, Sec. 15, Mo. Const. 1945) is not admissible against the person whose rights were so violated. *State v. Wilkerson*, 349 Mo. 205, 159 SW 2d, 794.

(2) There is a right of privacy, the violation of which is actionable. *Barber v. Time, Inc.*, 348 Mo. 1199, 159 SW 2d, 291. (In this case the Court, in condemning the invasion of claimant's privacy, quotes per dictum an early apprehension of Justice Brandeis that certain "mechanical devices" might eventually be utilized to invade that right).

It may not then, be unlikely that the Court would invoke either or both of the above decisions to condemn the practice of "wire tapping" in Missouri. Wash. Univ. Law Quar-

terly Review 1954, 348, 16 Mo. Law Review 185.

In this connection, an examination of decisions of other jurisdictions reveals, with some divergence of construction and policy, the practice of "wire tapping" to have been considered in the light of the applicability to it of:

(1) Constitutional provisions relating to search and seizure and self-incrimination. *Olmstead v. U.S.*, 277 US 438, 31 CJS 907, 41 Am. Jur. 946, 8 Wigmore 46, 138 ALR 94, 168 ALR 463, 14 ALR 2d 771, 32 Cornell Law Quarterly Review 514, 33 Cornell Law Quarterly Review 73.

(2) Section 605 of the Federal Communications Act which bars "wire tapping" generally where it affects interstate commerce. *People v. Trieber*, 28 Cal. 2d 657; *Kelley v. State*, 22 Cal. 2d, 169; *Com. v. Chait*, 107 A 2d 214, *U.S. v. Copley*, 185 Fed. 2d 629; *McGuire v. Amrein*, 101 FS 414.

(3) State laws pertaining to the right of privacy and/or eavesdropping. *Rhodes v. Graham*, 238 Ky. 225, 69 LRA 101, 18 Am. Jur. 1.

(4) State Statutes regulating "wire tapping", 813 A Code of Criminal Procedure of New York, Section 13402, Ohio Gen. Code Ann.

(5) Rules of evidence relating to the admissibility of evidence obtained directly or indirectly from an illegal source. *Goldstein v. U.S.*, 316 US 114, *U.S. v. Stephenson*, 121 FS 274, *Irvine v. California*, 347 US 128.

(6) State laws regarding damage to or molestation of telephone wires (Chapter 560.310 Mo. R.S. 1949). *State v. Nordskog*, 76 Wash. 472.

In view of these considerations, the possibility that the Courts of this State would invoke one or more of the above concepts so as to condemn the practice of "wire tapping" in Missouri, and further, in view of the possibility imminent legislative guidance in this field, it would, in the opinion of this office be unwise for "wire tapping" to be undertaken under the authority of the Board of Police Commissioners until such guidance is manifest.

Respectfully submitted.

JAMES W. SYMINGTON,  
Assistant City Counselor.

Approved:

SAMUEL LIBERMAN,  
City Counselor.

#### POSTAL SERVICE

HON. STEWART B. MCKINNEY

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. MCKINNEY. Mr. Speaker, among our most precious liberties is the freedom of the press, or, as it might better be described, the freedom of the people to read and be informed. Indeed, it is the touchstone of our way of government. For it has long been recognized that only an informed and critical public opinion can protect the values of a democratic government. Whether the written transmission of news and opinion is through private correspondence or through the use of magazines and newspapers, the important role which the Postal Service plays is obvious.

This important function has not diminished over the years, for, as our country has grown and become more complex, magazines and newspapers have become increasingly important to an informed citizenry. To those who live in smaller towns and cities, they provide national

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coverage which local newspapers, radio and television may not provide. To all of us, they serve as an excellent balance against the news reporting of radio and television and provide an indepth analysis which the latter media, by necessity, often cannot do.

It is with these thoughts in mind that I must speak out against the failure of this body to consider H.R. 8929 last Monday. This bill, the Educational and Cultural Postal Amendments, while being quite a controversial one, dealt with an issue which greatly affects the dissemination of information in this country.

Mr. Speaker, as it is written, H.R. 8929 was quite an expensive bill. In essence, I thoroughly agreed with those who found it unnecessary to include fourth class materials in the areas which were to receive the subsidies. But, as an original cosponsor of H.R. 4129, I think that these subsidies were quite necessary for second class matter—magazines and newspapers.

Overall, the basic issue which brought about this legislation in the first place stands unresolved. In getting bogged down in a discussion of the financial implications of H.R. 8929, I think this body overlooked the fact that proponents of this measure were also seeking a time extension of an extra 5 years in which to cope with the postal increases. Since this bill was not considered at all, the magazine and newspaper publishers are still forced to meet the Postal Rate Commission deadline of 5 years instead of 10.

I am fully aware of the fact that in creating the U.S. Postal Service in 1970, Congress attached the requirement that it reach a break even point by 1984. It is thus Congress doing that this whole problem came about in the first place. Personally, I think it is ludicrous for us to even consider that the Postal Service should eventually pay for itself. The U.S. Post Office operated in the red since the early 19th century and I think that this should come to be an accepted fact when discussing postal service in 1973.

The dissemination of information is so important to this country that we are eventually going to end up subsidizing the mail service. The question of whether this will be a direct subsidy will have to be resolved. The recent announcement by the Postal Service that the price of a regular 8-cent stamp will rise to 10 cents in January makes one ask the question: When will it reach a saturation point?

Mr. Speaker, I am hopeful that this Congress will have the opportunity to take this topic up in the near future. Perhaps at that time the Members will have the chance to address the issue of the future of the magazine industry. Inaction on our part may well make that future shortlived.

#### PREMIUM PROFITS

HON. DAVID R. OBEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. OBEY. Mr. Speaker, the profits of the oil companies are booming.

Two days ago my colleague from Wis-

consin (Mr. KASTENMEIER) pointed out that Cities Service, Gulf Oil, and Exxon had reported sizable earnings gains for the second quarter of this year. Now five other oil companies have joined their premium profits group.

Today's Wall Street Journal reports that estimated earnings for the Mobil Oil Corp.—which sponsored that recent "open letter" advertisement on the gasoline shortage in all of our hometown newspapers—soared more than 41 percent in the second quarter, while the pretax earnings of Standard Oil Co.—Ohio—jumped 61 percent in the same period. At the same time, the digest of company earnings reports in the Journal shows whopping second-quarter profit increases for the Getty Oil Co. and Murphy Oil Corp.

Also, today's Milwaukee Sentinel reports that the Clark Oil & Refining Corp.'s earnings for the first half of this year are \$13,259,000, or \$1.87 a share, up from \$1,769,000 or 25 cents a share, a year earlier.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to insert here the Wall Street Journal story on the Mobil and Sohio earnings reports, as well as the digest items on all four companies:

**MOBIL OIL ESTIMATES QUARTER'S NET ROSE 41 PERCENT AND OVER 25 PERCENT IN HALF**

Estimated earnings for Mobil Oil Corp. soared more than 41% in the second quarter and slightly over 25% in the first half.

Standard Oil Co. (Ohio) earnings in the second quarter and first half also climbed sharply, but they were ballooned by major royalty payments from Mainland China and from Taiwan.

The increases, of Mobil at least, are in line with earlier reports from some of the other major oil companies which indicated that the oil industry enjoyed a highly profitable second quarter.

In Mobil's case, Rawleigh Warner Jr., chairman, cited world-wide gains in operating volumes, recovery of petroleum product prices in the U.S. and abroad from last year's lower levels and continued improvement in chemical operations.

For the second quarter, Mobil estimated net income at \$184.2 million, or \$1.81 a share, up from \$130.3 million, or \$1.29 a share, a year earlier. Revenue, including excise and state gasoline taxes, rose 14% to \$2.88 billion in the quarter from \$2.52 billion a year earlier.

For the half, Mobil estimated earnings at \$340 million, or \$3.34 a share, up from \$271.8 million, or \$2.68 a share, a year before. Revenue climbed nearly 14% to \$5.68 billion from \$5 billion.

Mr. Warner said Mobil's overseas earnings, as expressed in U.S. dollars, were higher, in part, because of currency revaluations abroad. He said, however, that gains which resulted in the increased first half results were partially offset by added taxes and operating expenses, particularly the higher cost of crude oil.

Mobil's automotive gasoline sales volumes in the U.S. were up 8.6% in the first half, Mr. Warner said. Production of crude oil and natural gas liquids, together with quantities received under long-term arrangements, rose 5.8% to an average 2.5 million barrels daily, Mr. Warner said.

He added that production of natural gas rose 2.7% to 3.7 billion cubic feet a day; refinery operations increased 9.5% to a record 2.4 million barrels a day, and petroleum product sales also were up 4.5% to 2.5 million barrels daily.

Sohio reported a 61% jump in pretax profit from its operations for the second quarter from a weak year-earlier period. A major factor was that royalty income more than



tripled because of transactions with China and Taiwan, resulting in a more than doubling of after-tax income before extraordinary items.

Income before extraordinary items, but including a large payment resulting from the transactions with China and Taiwan, totaled \$27 million, or \$1.48 a share, up from \$12.8 million, or 70 cents a share, a year earlier. After gains on sales of assets and other extraordinary items, net income for the quarter was \$42.3 million, or \$2.32 a share. Extraordinary items in the 1972 period didn't change final net because income was offset by charges and taxes.

First half net before extraordinary items was \$44.5 million, or \$2.43 a share, up from \$24.6 million, or \$1.34 a share, a year earlier. After extraordinary items, net was \$59.8 million, or \$3.27 a share. Again for the half, year-earlier extraordinary income was offset by charges and taxes.

Sales in the quarter climbed about 16% to \$394.9 million from \$341.9 million a year earlier. First half sales rose about 13% to \$774.6 million from \$688.5 million.

Pretax income from operations for the second quarter was \$25.7 million, up from \$16 million a year earlier. For the first half, pretax income from operations surged to \$48.5 million from \$32.2 million. Charles E. Spahr, chairman, said the results are "reassuring, but it should be borne in mind that the first half of 1972 was a particularly poor period."

## GETTY OIL CO. (N)

Quarter June 30	1973	1972
Share earns <sup>1</sup>	\$1.25	\$ .55
Sales.....	406,943,000	381,935,000
Income.....	23,589,000	10,716,000
Special credit <sup>2</sup>	317,000	17,656,000
Net income <sup>3</sup>	23,272,000	28,372,000
6 month share <sup>4</sup>	2.67	1.72
Sales.....	806,966,000	767,161,000
Income.....	50,595,000	33,103,000
Special credit <sup>4</sup>	5,769,000	18,756,000
Net income <sup>4</sup>	56,364,000	51,859,000
Average shares.....	18,669,000	18,708,571

<sup>1</sup> Based on income before special items.

<sup>2</sup> Loss; from reduction in tax-timing benefits overestimated in the first quarter.

<sup>3</sup> Credit; in the 6 month period of 1973, represents gains resulting from sale of marketing subsidiaries. In Europe and from tax-timing benefits; and in the quarter and 6 months of 1972, gains on sale of 2 properties, restatement of amounts of certain currencies revalued in 1971 and tax-timing benefits.

<sup>4</sup> Equal to \$1.23 a share in the quarter and \$2.98 a share in the 6 months of 1973, compared with \$1.49 and \$2.72, respectively, in like 1972 periods.

## MOBIL OIL CORP. (N)

Quarter June 30	1973	1972
Share earns.....	\$1.81	\$1.29
Revenue <sup>1</sup>	2,880,000,000	2,520,000,000
Net income.....	184,280,000	130,300,000
6-month share.....	3.34	2.68
Revenue <sup>1</sup>	5,680,000,000	5,000,000,000
Net income.....	34,000,000	271,800,000

<sup>1</sup> Includes excise and State gasoline taxes.

## MURPHY OIL CORP. (N)

Quarter June 30:	1973	1972
Share earns <sup>1</sup>	\$1.57	\$ .18
Sales.....	114,402,000	87,909,000
Net income.....	9,191,000	1,234,000
6 month share <sup>1</sup>	2.68	.89
Sales.....	222,281,000	182,357,000
Net income.....	15,643,000	5,325,000
Average shares <sup>1</sup>	5,798,336	5,350,251

<sup>1</sup> Based on average common and common equivalent shares.

<sup>2</sup> Reflects a charge to earnings of \$2,500,000 for an addition the company's provision for foreign losses.

## STANDARD OIL CO. OHIO (N)

	Quarter June 30	
	1973	1972
Share earns <sup>1</sup>	\$1.48	\$ .70
Sales.....	394,900,000	341,900,000
Income.....	27,000,000	12,800,000
Special credit <sup>2</sup>	15,300,000	
Net income.....	42,300,000	12,800,000
6 mo share.....	2.43	1.34
Sales.....	774,600,000	688,500,000
Income.....	44,500,000	24,600,000
Special credit <sup>2</sup>	15,300,000	
Net income.....	59,800,000	24,600,000

<sup>1</sup> Fully diluted.

<sup>2</sup> Based on income before special credit.

<sup>3</sup> In 1973, from gains on sale of real estate and interests in an oil producing property and a Uranium property, less losses on sale of properties to American Petrofina Inc., planned withdrawal from certain unprofitable marketing operations and disposal of a plastics operations; in 1972, gains on sale of investment in CanDel Oil Ltd. and partnership liquidation, less losses on planned withdrawal from certain unprofitable marketing operations were offsetting.

<sup>4</sup> Equal to \$2.32 a share in the quarter and \$3.27 a share in the six months.

Note: (N) New York Stock Exchange; (A) American Exchange; (O) Over-the-Counter; (Pa) Pacific; (M) Midwest; (P) PBW; (Na) National; (B) Boston; (D) Detroit; (Y) Toronto; (Mo) Montreal; (F) Foreign.

A "p" or "b" following exchange designation indicates company has only preferred shares, or bonds or debentures in public hands.

## STEEL WIRE ROD SHORTAGE

## HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, steel wire rods are a simple looking item, but this simple looking item is part of a complex controversy. Users, those who turn the rods into fences and clothes hangers, allege there is a shortage of the rods of crisis proportions. The State Department tends to agree with them.

The House Ways and Means Committee is currently working on the Trade Reform Act of 1973 and foreign produced steel wire rods are a major factor in the issue. Those independent wire producers consider wire rods to be a raw material and say they should be exempt from duty as is iron ore.

At this point, Mr. Speaker, I would like to have inserted into the RECORD, a letter by Mr. Clyde A. Long, chairman of the National Fence Manufacturing Co. Mr. Long's letter expresses the thrust of the crisis and will be of great benefit to all of my colleagues:

NATIONAL FENCE  
MANUFACTURING CO., INC.,  
Bladensburg, Md., July 17, 1973.

Mr. ROBERT L. BARTLEY,  
Editorial Page Editor, The Wall Street Journal, New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. BARTLEY: We need some public attention immediately.

The Independent American Wire Producers of U.S.A. (IOWA), those companies who do not have their own steel making facilities and are forced to buy their raw material, carbon steel wire rods, from integrated mills both domestically and abroad are facing a dilemma which is nearing the terminal stage.

Caught in one direction by severe price competition from integrated steel mills, both domestic and abroad, on the finished goods which we produce, we are now facing a global

shortage of our raw materials necessary for us to stay in business, carbon steel wire rods.

Our Association, as well as individual companies, has begged the State Department, Congressmen and Senators for years to allow steel wire rods to trade freely without duty and outside the voluntary quota agreements because of the vertical position of the integrated steel mills throughout the world. To us wire rods are a raw material just as iron ore is to an integrated steel producer.

All we have received are platitudes, promises, implied action, and sympathy; while penetration of wire products continues unabated into the U.S.A. by foreign countries.

Japan and the EEC promised the State Department they would not alter the product mix or geographical distribution of their steel exports to the U.S.A. that existed in prior years during the tenure of the voluntary quota agreement. This was a spurious promise.

Domestic steel producers publicly state on propitious occasions that they had unused capacity and could supply the needs of all of the independent wire producers in the U.S.A. if the need arose. Their statements have also proven to be incorrect thus misleading our State Department and our representatives in government.

Most all independent are operating under limited production capacity and others, particularly in the Southwest and Southeast States, are facing the possibility of shutdown in the next six months. 1974 and the subsequent years up to 1980 indicates no improvement but only more of the problems as those now facing us. Still, few listen; and no one acts on our behalf.

Countries outside the voluntary quota agreement, i.e., Mexico, India, Canada, Korea, etc., are being inundated with wire mills under joint ventures with the Japanese and European mills for the purpose of further exploiting the wire industry of the U.S. Some of these joint ventures are financed by U.S. banks, such as in the Mason Free Trade Zone in Korea.

The U.S. wire industry, a vital need to America in war and peace, faces virtual extinction with the resultant loss of thousands of jobs from Maine to Florida and from New York to California.

Father William Hogan, the renowned Jesuit Priest from Fordham University, who has studied the economics of heavy industries on a global basis for over 25 years, has stated that due to the lack of melting capacity both here and abroad, coupled with the huge demand for steel in the 70's that a severe shortage lasting into 1980's is upon us unless something is done now! Nothing more than molehills are planned when mountains are needed.

The Japan Iron and Steel Institute, the International Iron and Steel Institutes and other knowledgeable persons and associations are convinced that the world steel shortage is not likely to be temporary or a passing phenomena. And further that current expansion projects will only have a temporary impact and will not ease the worldwide imbalance of demand and supply in the long run.

The estimates vary, but not by much. The total world ingot capacity in 1975 will be 815,912,000 metric tons with consumption at 800,000,000 metric tons. At an operating efficiency of 90%, the shortage in 1975 will be 65,272,960 metric tons.

As this demand continues, production of low carbon steel (low priced steel) is being further and further reduced by the integrated mills because of their low profitability. Our raw steel wire rods, falls in this category.

The billions of dollars spent by U.S. integrated mills in the 70's were used to modernize outdated facilities and did not add any capacity to speak of for the marketplace. Their low net returns on sales, added to their

debt ratio positions, put them in a poor perspective for the investment capital needed to begin to increase the capacity of their mills.

In capsule form, we are faced with:

1. A domestic industry incapable of supplying our raw material.

2. An onslaught of our market place with foreign goods to compete with our finished products.

3. A voluntary restraint quota system which discourages the export of our raw steel requirements from abroad.

4. A duty on our raw steel from abroad which is inconsistent with the non-duty status of iron ore used by integrated mills.

5. The entry of "third country" nations with finished wire products carrying little or no duty and with no restriction on the quantities they may export to the U.S. along with tax incentives and government subsidies to encourage such exports.

6. A steel industry in U.S. with profit margins so low over the recent years that it restricts them obtaining the huge capital requirements necessary to correct a shortage of steel required in the immediate future.

7. A wage price board pending a phase IV program likely to retard the steel industries profitability in the years to come.

8. No government agency or anyone else to whom our story can be told so that some positive reactions can occur.

I would hope that an industry as vital to our consumer market and the defense systems of the United States would be recognized as such now. The entire infrastructure of the U.S. is in need of rebuilding and it will require thousands upon thousands of tons of additional steel capacity for areas such as elevated clover-leaves through our cities, outdated bridges, a second rate merchant fleet, urban redevelopment, air and water pollution control equipment, additional housing and many other basic industries.

Perhaps when women's hair pins are not available and wire clothes hangers are not available to keep men's suits neatly hung or when a chain link fence is not available to house their pet dog, our legislators may react to correct a national disaster.

The House Ways and Means Committee is meeting now to consider the World Trade Act of 1973. I would hope that deliberations of these problems are not reduced to meet a prearranged time table and a draft approved which could have deleterious consequences for another ten years. If so, there may likely not be a domestic wire industry around in 1983 for them to consider.

I certainly hope that you would write an article on this subject with the hope that government, business, public leaders can come together for a common interest to preserve this vital segment of our economy.

Very truly yours,

CLYDE A. LONG,  
Chairman of the Board.

## MARILYN KAHALEWAI DEVELOPS BIKE SAFETY CODE FOR HAWAII

HON. SPARK M. MATSUNAGA

OF HAWAII

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. MATSUNAGA. Mr. Speaker, bicycling is one of the fastest growing modes of transportation in the country today, and in these days when economy and the environment mean so much, bicycles have much to offer. Bicycles are economical—they are inexpensive both to buy and especially to operate. Bicycles

are good for the environment. They do not pollute. They require few natural resources to construct, and they require very little precious urban land either for parking or for riding.

Furthermore, bicycles can provide both a means of exercise and a pleasurable way to relax.

Given the tremendous increase in bike usage, bicycle safety becomes more important. Mr. Speaker, because the problem of bicycle safety is growing all over the country, I am pleased at this time to insert into the Record an article which narrates how one woman in my State, Mrs. Marilyn Kahalewai, did a very impressive and successful job of promoting bicycle safety. I trust that other communities will take note of this article so that safety will be associated with the other advantages of bicycle riding.

The article follows:

[From Traffic Safety, July 1973]

### HAPPY BIKING IN HAWAII

(Hawaii has a new bicycle rules-of-the-road booklet, thanks to the efforts of one woman with an idea, talent, and enthusiasm. The woman is Mrs. Marilyn Kahalewai, who wrote a letter to Charlotte Montgomery, a member of the National Safety Council's board of directors, telling her about the project. Mrs. Montgomery passed the letter along to Traffic Safety so that readers could profit from Mrs. Kahalewai's experience. The letter appears below.)

Bicycle safety is a problem in most communities in the United States, and sometimes it just takes one person to actually do something—and that starts the rest. In Honolulu, which in effect means the State of Hawaii, it was I. I am passing the story on to you because I think it may be useful to other communities. Here is the story.

Every so often someone would write to one of the newspapers and ask just what bicycle laws were in effect in this state. Always the answer was the same: "They are contained in the motor vehicle code book, if you can find them and understand them and want to pay the \$3 for the book."

Then we had a biker's Sunday on which one of the major streets was closed and given over to cyclists. The newspaper reports the next day called it quite a success, but also quoted a policeman as saying, "Nobody seemed to know what the laws are."

I learned then that the president of the biker's club was Bob Krauss, one of our most popular newspaper columnists. I am a freelance artist, and I decided that this had gone on long enough. I wrote to Bob Krauss and told him that if his club would get financial backing to pay for printing, I would like to write and illustrate a pamphlet on the rules as a small contribution to the people of this state.

I sent him a sample of the format I wanted to use. First the rule as it is in the book, but simplified where desirable, followed by which means in a more direct, simplified, and entertaining form—and where possible, a cartoon. (I sketched the three kids on one bike as an example.) Bob Krauss was ecstatic; the police were delighted; the state highway commission was relieved; the bike club members were pleased; and I was happy because I got to do it as I wanted to.

Immediately we set up a meeting with the traffic education people in the police department, and they helped me locate the rules. I went home, wrote a rough draft, and we had a second meeting. My first draft was almost the final copy. I was very happy that they did not get stuffy and insist on formal wording, but allowed me to use my sense of humor.

It was I who suggested that it be made to

fit in a No. 10 envelope and that it be free. Because of my knowledge of printing requirements, I designed a 20-page booklet (the number of pages must be divisible by four). First Insurance agreed to pay for it as a public service, and we had 10,000 printed. They were snatched up right away.

I don't know what printing we're on now, but I frequently see announcements in the newspapers that the police are going to hold a bicycle safety clinic and that their cartoon-illustrated booklet will be given away free. The police also distribute the booklet at schools. In addition large numbers of them have been given out by military posts; they are also provided to members of the Biker's Hawaii; and they are available to the public at First Insurance and the public libraries.

### HAND SIGNAL AND TURNS

No person shall turn except from the proper lane, or turn or stop without the proper hand signals. Hand signals shall be given by the left hand in the following manner:

Left turn—Hand and arm extended horizontally.

Right turn—Hand and arm extended upward.

Stop or slow down—Hand and arm extended downward, palm to the rear.

### RIDING ON BICYCLES

a. person riding a bicycle shall not ride other than upon a permanent and regular seat attached thereto.

Which means: You have to ride on the regular seat. (Well, you can stand up to pump up a hill.)

b. No bicycle shall be used to carry more persons at one time than the number for which it is designed and equipped.

Which means: No packing! Unless you have a tandem bike with two seats, handlebars and sets of pedals, don't give rides to your friends. The handlebars, cross bar, banana seat and rear fender are not meant to carry extra persons.

### CLINGING TO MOVING VEHICLES

No person riding upon any bicycle, motorcycle, motor scooter, coaster, roller skates or skateboard, or any toy vehicle shall attach the same or himself to any moving vehicle upon a roadway.

Which means: Hitching a ride on a car or any other moving vehicle is illegal, dangerous, and boy is it dumb!

### BIKEWAYS

a. In the Traffic Code, "bikeways" refers to all bicycle lanes on roadways or separate bicycle paths.

b. Bikeways provided for by pavement markings will be painted green in color.

1. When a solid white and a solid green line are used to designate a bikeway, all other vehicles are prohibited from using the bikeway, except to make way for emergency vehicles.

Which means: Bikeways are for bikes only, except for emergency vehicles, and then bikes as well as cars must pull over to the right and stop.

2. Any other vehicles intending to turn right or left across a bikeway, shall yield right-of-way to bicycles using the bikeway.

Which means: Bikes have the right-of-way over cars and other vehicles crossing the bikeway, but don't push it. They are usually bigger than you are.

3. Where there is no paved sidewalk provided, pedestrians may use the bikeway and shall have right-of-way over bicycles.

Which means: If there is no sidewalk, bike riders have to let pedestrians use the bikeway.

4. Every person operating a bicycle on a roadway or bikeway shall stay as near to the right side as possible, exercising due care when passing a standing vehicle or one proceeding in the same direction.



Which means: Stay on the right. When you have to pass a parked car or something, look out for cars behind you, wait if necessary, and pass with great care.

5. Persons operating a bicycle on a roadway or bikeway shall ride single file.

6. Wherever a bikeway has been provided bicycle riders shall use such paths and not the part of the roadway reserved for motor vehicles.

Which means: Of course we'd rather use the bikeways! All we need are more of them!

## WATERGATE ON MAIN STREET

**HON. LESLIE C. ARENDS**

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, an associate professor of history at Lake Forest College in Illinois, Ronald Grossman, recently conducted a survey of Watergate's impact on the citizens of middle America. His final report in the series appeared in today's edition of the Chicago Tribune. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include Mr. Grossman's article herewith and recommend that my colleagues in the Congress take time to read it.

This particular report was filed from Bloomington, in McLean County, Ill., which I was privileged to represent for many years until the redistricting last year. My home is in the adjacent county of Ford. I know these people. I am one of them.

While the author mentions few names, his analysis I believe is a true appraisal of the basic thinking of the good, rugged Americans who live in this section of Illinois in the Nation's heartland. They possess an ingrained commonsense—an ability to coolly assess and analyze situations. I am convinced they are typical of citizens in many other congressional districts across the country.

Like most of us, they do not like what has happened. But like many of us, too, they can understand the demands and pressures of the Presidency. They are also not a vindictive people. They do not wish to "get Nixon," regardless of the consequences. And as the article concludes, they want to be understanding and forgiving wherever possible. Their concern is for the future of our Nation.

Official Washington has been mesmerized by Watergate for many months now. As we continue to ponder this question, perhaps we need to remember that Washington is not the Nation—and the Nation is not Washington. As the following article reminds us:

This is still the greatest country on the face of the earth—and we should never lose sight of that fact.

The article follows:

WATERGATE ON MAIN STREET

(By Ronald Grossman)

BLOOMINGTON, ILL.—"You know, Washington's an impressive place," a young school teacher, who recently had taken her class for a visit there, told me. "Even with Watergate, it's still a pretty impressive place."

That simple statement, it seems to me, nicely sums up the way many of the people of Main Street feel about their country and

its government. Time and again, as we talked they expressed their concern that somehow we must find a way out of the mess that will make us better for the experience.

In their eyes this is still the greatest country on the face of the earth; and even in the midst of this present scandal, they repeatedly urged me, we should never lose sight of that fact. Indeed, so strong does this feeling seem to be that I found it in some highly unlikely places.

For instance, a fundamentalist preacher said, on the one hand, that he was not at all dismayed by Watergate. It was, he assured me, just another sign that the end of this world is at hand, and that we have entered what the Bible calls the "Latter Days." Yet only a moment afterwards he hastened to add: "But, I guess I'm just like every other American. I've got to hope that this all turns out for the best!"

Above all else, the people of Main Street do not want to see political capital made out of the situation.

In fact, it is the suspicion that something like that might just be taking place which seems to inspire their more cynical moments. One day, for example, I took a little survey down at the Bloomington Post Office. Of the 20 or 30 guys at work on the sorting floor scarcely a single one doubted that the President must have been involved in the affair, in one way or another.

Yet a considerable number of them thought that the Senate Watergate committee's hearings were just a big waste of time and money. At first I was puzzled by that, but then I began to realize what it was they were trying to say. Their fear was that after all the cameras have been put away, and all of the senators have had their opportunity to show off for the voters back home, it will be politics as usual; and no one will go to jail for their misdeeds.

Yet the people of Main Street do not, on the other hand, want the President to be made a scapegoat for the affair. Few of those with whom I talked would like to see him impeached; and only a few more would like him to step down of his own accord. What then do they want of him? That is a curious thing: In a way what the people of McLean County want more than anything else is an apology. An apology?

Yes, just that. And not so much for the Watergate incident itself; nor even for the attempted coverup of the affair. What they really want is for the President to apologize to them for not having trusted them. For not having trusted them in the first place, to return him to office simply thru the force of their votes.

And for not having trusted them, afterwards, by coming right out with a simple and direct statement about what had gone wrong.

The more I talked to the people of Bloomington and McLean County, the more I was struck by how much they are willing to pardon in their President. Whatever may turn out to be the case about Richard Nixon's involvement in the Watergate affair, the citizens of this part of the country seem ready to forgive him, as a human being, for almost anything.

Except for his refusal to level with them about it. I met one man, for example, who they tell me contributed a king's ransom to the President's reelection campaign; and I asked him what he felt was the real problem of Watergate.

"Well," he said "it's like in a family. When something goes wrong, you've just all got to sit down, and holler and scream at each other, and get it over with!"

The President's greatest failing, many of that man's neighbors would agree, has been in not sitting down and talking it over with the American people. That is just what they are saying over at the Sunday School where Mrs. June Kirkton, a young farm wife, sends

her children. "It's just so stupid," she told me. "Why didn't the man just have more trust in the American public?"

Now it would be, of course, an easy thing to make fun of the people of Main Street. Their straightforward adherence to a system of ethics right out of the "Boy Scout Handbook," their unabashed patriotism, their readiness to pardon almost all sins in their President—all these qualities of theirs are rich in the potential for parody. If the cynicism of the Big City's streets has been bred into you, it is easy to mock their naive trust in the nation's leaders.

If a liberal political persuasion has made you long uneasy about Richard Nixon, it is easy to now say: What took these people so long to wake up?

But to do so would be to miss some of the most essential things about them, and, by extension, about the people of all the Main Streets in America. Americans simply are, by nature, slow to anger, quick to forgive, and almost desperate to believe the best about their fellow man. Especially about the one whom they choose to lead them.

There is, for instance, an old black woman in Bloomington who is a relative newcomer to the community. Because she lived most of her life in the Deep South, until she came to Bloomington she had never voted. But a few years ago her daughter brought her North, and last year she finally got a chance to exercise this most fundamental of democratic privileges.

The woman is by now in her seventies and thus not too agile any more. So on election day someone came around with a car and saw to it that she got to the polls. Now in some parts of the country, had this happened, they would have seen to it that the woman had a list of the right candidates in her hand when she stepped into the booth. And in some places I can think of they would have even saved her the effort of making her own ballot.

But they do not do too much of that sort of thing around here. The Republicans do not because they hardly need any more votes than they already get. The Democrats do not because they could drive all over McLean County from one election day to the next, they still are not going to find enough votes to even make a horse race out of it.

No, they drove this old woman to the polls because that is the kind of place it is. When people hear that there is someone who wants to vote, and has never had the chance before, well, then they just see to it that she has a ride.

But on the way over the people who had picked her up just could not resist asking her who she was going to vote for. Because of where and when she had grown up, the old woman never had the chance to go to school. She cannot afford a TV, and had to confess that she really did not know too much about the candidates.

"But," she said to them, "I do know that I want to vote for a good man. For just once in my life I want to vote for a good man." Did they perhaps know, she asked her new friends, of a good man?

Soon now the work of the Senate Watergate committee will be done. And soon also Archibald Cox's grand jury will be handing up its indictments. A number of former high officials of our government are going to be facing some very serious charges. Those indictments, no doubt, will accuse them of things like wiretapping and perjury, obstruction of justice, violating the laws on the proper use of campaign funds.

But their gravest crime will not even be mentioned in the court's documents. For in reality their worst offense was to have so little respect for the simple desire of that old woman—and with her, that of all the other people of Main Street—to vote for a Good Man to be her President.

## BENEFIT OF THE HANDICAPPED

## HON. JOSHUA EILBERG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. EILBERG. Mr. Speaker, for too long we have ignored the fact that handicapped persons have special problems in dealing with such obstacles as revolving doors, stairs, and narrow doorways.

I am happy to announce that the city of Philadelphia's Licenses and Inspections Department will require commercial buildings to install the Nation's most advanced equipment for the benefit of the handicapped.

These new regulations will go into effect in 30 days.

At this time, I enter into the RECORD an article released by the city of Philadelphia on this matter:

## BENEFIT OF THE HANDICAPPED

New regulations requiring special facilities for the handicapped have been completed, and will become part of the Philadelphia building code in 30 days, it was announced today by Joseph A. Verica, Commissioner of Licenses and Inspections.

Verica hailed the new regulations, the result of six months' effort by his department, as the most comprehensive in the nation for the benefit of the physically handicapped.

Among the requirements for all commercial buildings including hotels, motels and apartment houses, industrial plants and institutions are:

At least one entrance with ramp and graded approach, with immediate access to elevators;

Doorways wide enough for a wheel chair, with doors that pull open easily or open automatically and remain open for several seconds;

Toilet facilities with wide stalls and handrails. At least one such toilet for each sex on each floor of multi-storied buildings;

At buildings with parking lots, a number

of spaces that are larger than usual and designated for use by the handicapped;

Lower lights switches and lower water fountains.

Legal notice regarding the new regulations was published today under the Philadelphia Home Rule Charter, Sections 8-407 and 7-400.

## NATO COUNTRIES GRANT RECOGNITION TO NORTH VIETNAM: A DIPLOMATIC DOUBLE STANDARD

## HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, while the hue and cry is heard in Europe to keep U.S. fightingmen there as protection against possible Communist aggression, our NATO allies are busy granting formal diplomatic recognition to the Communist aggressors who were killing U.S. soldiers in Vietnam as recently as a few short months ago—and are still killing our allies.

Britain has already announced recognition of the Communist regime in North Vietnam and West Germany is expected to follow suit. Other NATO allies that have recognized Hanoi include Canada, France, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Luxembourg, Iceland, and Denmark.

The U.S. Government estimates that to maintain the presence of 300,000 American troops in Europe costs the taxpayer some \$1.5 billion a year. This money leaving our treasury seriously worsens the already burdened balance of payment deficit to this country.

Our European allies are concerned about their own safety from possible attack by the heavily armed Warsaw Pact, so it is understandable that they seek to maintain NATO's 44-52 ready military divisions. However, their lack of concern

about Communist aggression and the direct threat it poses to the people of South Vietnam is clearly evidenced by their eagerness to open diplomatic channels, and the trade dealings that inevitably follows, with Communist North Vietnam.

This affinity is also understandable, especially in light of the considerable political influence that the Communist Party has in many NATO countries. Three of our NATO allies, France, Iceland, and Italy recorded a total vote for the Communist Party in excess of 20 percent. In Italy and Iceland, the party commands a 28 and 25 percent voting bloc in their national legislatures, respectively.

While this may not appear to be a large enough majority to control national policy, it should be remembered that the present administration of this country represents a political party with a mere 27 percent of the registered voters.

Interestingly enough, those four NATO countries that have not recognized North Vietnam, that is, Greece, Norway, Portugal, and Turkey, have no elected Communist legislators. In fact, in three of these countries the Communist Party has been outlawed.

I insert a table showing the strength of Communist Parties in NATO countries following my remarks.

It is a diplomatic double standard on the part of most NATO members to demand U.S. protection from communism on one hand, and expand ties with them on the other.

Surely the billions of dollars we have spent to protect the lives and property of Europeans through NATO could have been better spent in this country to directly benefit our people, rather than bolster the economies of countries that engage in diplomatic ties with our enemies in North Vietnam.

I insert the related information to follow at this point:

STRENGTH OF COMMUNIST PARTIES IN NATO COUNTRIES

Country	Estimated membership	Votes cast for Communist Party in last election	Percent of Communist Party vote to total vote	Seats	Percent of seats	Country	Estimated membership	Votes cast for Communist Party in last election	Percent of Communist Party vote to total vote	Seats	Percent of seats
Belgium.....	12,500	162,463	3.1	5	2.4	Italy.....	1,521,000	8,555,477	26.9	4177	28.0
Canada.....	12,000	4,344	.1	0	0	Luxembourg.....	500	402,610	15.5	6	10.7
Denmark.....	5,000	39,344	1.4	0	0	Netherlands.....	10,000	246,328	3.9	6	4.0
France.....	295,000	4,435,357	20.03	34	6.98	Norway.....	2,000-2,500	22,520	1.0	0	0
West Germany.....	>7,000	197,570	.6	0	0	Portugal <sup>2</sup> .....	2,000				
Greece <sup>1</sup> .....	28,000					Turkey.....	3,000				
Iceland.....	1,000-2,000	27,500	26.08	15	25.0	United Kingdom.....	29,000	37,966	.1	0	0

<sup>1</sup> Claimed.

<sup>2</sup> The Communist Party in West Germany is outlawed. These figures are for the front organization for the German Communist Party, Action for Democratic Progress.

<sup>3</sup> The Communist Party has been outlawed.

[From the Washington Star-News, July 7, 1973]

## NORTH VIETNAM RECOGNIZED BY GREAT BRITAIN

LONDON.—Britain has announced formal recognition of the Communist government of North Vietnam and offered early negotiations for the establishment of full diplomatic relations.

If the Hanoi authorities agree, talks on exchanging ambassadors and other aspects of a diplomatic relationship will begin in Peking within the next month or so.

The British action is likely to be followed soon by West Germany, which will mean that

most member nations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization are recognizing the Hanoi regime.

Other NATO countries that have recognized Hanoi include Canada, France, Belgium, Holland, Italy, Luxembourg, Iceland and Denmark.

There is no British recognition of any sort for the Viet Cong or its Provisional Revolutionary Government in South Vietnam.

[From the Washington Star, July 17, 1973]

## NATO TROOP CUTS

The heavy artillery rolled out by the administration to shoot down congressional

moves toward a pullout of American forces from NATO is a measure of the concern over growing sentiment in the Congress and the country in favor of a troop cut. Last week, the House Foreign Affairs Committee heard from Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Rush; Defense Secretary James R. Schlesinger; Admiral Thomas Moorer, chairman of the Joint Chiefs; the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe, Gen. Andrew J. Goodpastor, and others.

The message of all of them was substantially the same: A unilateral American troop withdrawal from NATO of any size would be a disaster that would cripple negotiations

<sup>4</sup> In 1969 5 deputies of the so-called Manifesto Current were expelled from the PCI.

Source: Department of State. World Strength of the Communist Party Organizations, 24th Annual Report, 1972 edition, Washington Bureau of Intelligence and Research.



with the Soviet Union on possible mutual reductions, seriously weaken NATO's array of conventional forces and lead inevitably to an "unraveling" of the Atlantic Alliance.

There is good reason for the administration's concern. The message it is trying to get across is meeting with increased resistance as time goes by. The dangers they point to are being weighed against a growing preoccupation with purely domestic affairs, an unfavorable balance of payments and trade, resentment toward all things military and a general conviction that, in an era of detente, there is no real threat to Western Europe.

In the past, the real threat on troop withdrawals has come from the Senate, where Majority Leader Mike Mansfield's amendment calling for "substantial" reductions in NATO forces has been gaining substantial support. Until now, the more hawkish House has provided insurance against any drastic congressional action. But today, no fewer than 54 congressmen have sponsored resolutions similar to Senator Mansfield's and the momentum is growing.

In our own view, the clamor for troop cuts in Europe is very seriously misguided. If there is a genuine detente in Europe today—and that still remains to be seen—it depends very much upon a stable balance of power which NATO—including the American contribution to it—represents. A unilateral American pullout would seriously upset that balance, both militarily and psychologically, producing instabilities the consequences of which no one can accurately foresee.

#### NONSMOKERS RELIEF ACT IS STILL NEEDED

**HON. C. W. BILL YOUNG**

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, recently the Civil Aeronautics Board amended its regulations so that domestic airlines are now required to provide designated "no smoking" areas aboard their aircraft.

The Board justified this action, which took effect on July 10, 1973, on the grounds that exposure to tobacco smoke is annoying and discomforting to those passengers who do not smoke.

I praised the Board on its announcement when it first appeared, and at that time, I again called to our colleagues' attention my bill, H.R. 1309, which would require all modes of interstate transportation to provide areas for nonsmokers. I might add that this legislation was first introduced on February 22, 1971.

Unfortunately, no action has been taken by the Congress on my bill. Despite reports indicating the damaging effects of smoke in confined areas and the widespread support in favor of this legislation which has continued to arrive in my office, the Congress again allowed administrative agencies to do the job by adopting regulations to protect the rights of nonsmoking Americans.

Nevertheless, the need to protect the rights of nonsmokers cannot be disputed. Even though the Civil Aeronautics Board's order is now in effect and because the Interstate Commerce Commission has ordered separate seating on buses—a proposal which is now held up by court appeals—the Congress should

still exert its authority in this area by approving H.R. 1309 without any further delay.

#### NIXON AND WELFARE FOR THE RICH

**HON. BELLA S. ABZUG**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Ms. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, it was my great pleasure to be asked to address the National Welfare Rights Organization Convention held in Washington last week. NWRO has long been in the forefront of the struggle to insure a decent living to all Americans. But under Mr. Nixon, welfare has been considered degrading, except when it is given to the rich. I would like to insert my remarks given Thursday, July 12 before the NMRO.

#### NIXON AND WELFARE FOR THE RICH

I'm very happy to be here with you tonight, but I suspect that you may have invited the wrong speaker. If you wanted to hear an authority on welfare, you should have invited the nation's foremost welfare recipient, Richard Nixon.

You may have heard comedian David Frye's comment on Watergate that the President took crime off the streets and brought it right into the White House. We might also add that the President is taking welfare away from the poor and giving it to the rich, including himself.

Of course, the President has been speaking to you—indirectly.

Last year, before he went into hiding, he was going around the country lecturing about the glories of hard work for the poor. I will leave it to you to judge whether you or he has more personal experience with working hard, but one of the things Mr. Nixon kept referring to was the dignity of such work as emptying bedpans. Apparently, at one time his mother did that, and he feels that's a good enough job—for women.

For himself, Mr. Nixon has other standards. He also has an uncanny talent for developing friendships with rich people who are so deeply concerned with his welfare that they insist on giving him loans and favors.

From the early days when he launched his political career by using witchhunts, smears, deception and other dirty tactics to win office, Mr. Nixon has had wealthy businessmen looking after his interests, presumably because they had reason to believe he would look after their interests. And so he has.

There was the private slush fund set up for him by California businessmen in his 1952 campaign. There was the prestigious Wall Street firm that quickly gave him a job after he lost the governorship in California, enabling him to get what he has called economic security and what we call wealth.

There were the corporations and businessmen who stuffed up to \$60 million into his reelection campaign. There was his millionaire friend Robert Abplanalp, who gave him money to buy a million and a half dollar estate at San Clemente. And there's his rich pal Bebe Rebozo, who just happened to buy a \$100,000 house in the Washington suburbs which he says he is renting to the President's daughter, thus saving Julie and David from worrying about finding a rent controlled apartment or getting into public housing.

And there was the \$2 million paid for by the American taxpayers for home improvements at Mr. Nixon's property in San Clemente. We're told that these items were needed to protect the President—items like heating

his swimming pool and building a wall around his property.

Some of you may wonder why the President needs an estate in California and an estate in Florida, in addition to the White House and the mountain retreat at Camp David and the Presidential yacht.

You may wonder why a man who wanted so desperately to get into the White House should leave it so often. Well, we found out from the Watergate hearings what the problem is at the House. It has windows, and occasionally the President looks out of a window and he may see a demonstrator or even a whole bunch of demonstrators yelling about peace or welfare rights or high prices.

That upsets Mr. Nixon so he flies off to California or Florida where ordinary people can't see him, and vice versa. And, as you know, when the President goes off, he doesn't go alone. His family goes with him. His aides and lawyers and administrative staff go with him. The secret service and the press go too. And government helicopters and airplanes and \$100 a day hotel accommodations and long-distance communications are all put to use.

Running away from the people is a very expensive Presidential habit—and who pays for it? The people.

For weeks now the American people have been learning the facts about Watergate—and when I say Watergate, I'm not just talking about the break-in at Democratic Party headquarters, but about a host of criminal acts: wiretapping, conspiracy, perjury, obstruction of justice, illegal campaign financing, mail fraud, interference with the electoral process, tax violations, and misuse of government resources.

This week we've seen John Mitchell on the hot seat, and I'm wondering why none of the members of the Ervin committee has questioned this former attorney general about his criminal action two years ago when he had more than 14,000 people arrested here in Washington during May Day demonstrations against the war in Indochina. The scale of those mass dragnet arrests was unprecedented in the history of our Nation.

John Mitchell boasted about them at the time while thousands of citizens, many of them just Washingtonians who were passing by and were not even demonstrating, were dragged off to detention centers and held under miserable conditions without formal charges or any semblance of legality.

I was an eye witness to those events, and I find it interesting that while thousands of these men, women, and even children were being held without food or shelter in an open stadium it was the black community of Washington that turned out to help them and threw food to them over the fences. And it was a couple of black Congressmen who joined me in protesting these arrests, and of course we're all on the official enemies list now.

I recall those mass arrests at this time because they typified the Nixon Administration's contempt for the law and its long record of illegal unconstitutional actions culminating in the Watergate break-in. Watergate was not an isolated incident. It was the ugly soul of this Administration.

We have seen over the years an alarming flow of power to the White House, aided by a Congress that too often abdicated its responsibilities under the Constitution. We are now witnessing the corruption that such unchecked power brings and, most dangerous of all, the use of power to maintain power by unlawful means.

We have to ask ourselves, Power for whom and to do what? Why was it so important to reelect President Nixon that men lied and deceived and broke the law over and over again to keep him in the White House?

The answer is that power under this Administration was and is used to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. Power in this gov-

ernment is used by and for special interests groups, the big corporations, the big agricultural interests, the polluters, the multinational corporations like ITT, and the profiteers.

Let's look at just one instance. In arranging the sale of wheat to the Soviet Union last year, the Nixon Administration used its inside information to cheat the taxpayers out of \$300 million that was used to subsidize the big Midwestern grain dealers. The result was that poor people and ordinary Americans had to pay more for bread and eggs and meat. Under this Administration high profits for the few means intolerably high prices for the many.

The same Watergate mentality that brought us sabotage of our electoral system also brought us the Nixon Watergate budget—an attempt to sabotage efforts to use even a small portion of our country's resources for the needs of millions of Americans.

What does Nixon's Watergate budget propose? \$5 billion more for military expenditures—up to a record amount of \$83.5 billion. More that \$14 billion less for social programs. No more rent subsidies or money for housing. Title I education funds slashed. Neighborhood health centers closed down. Mental health programs abandoned. Basic medical research and health training cut back. Model cities, community action and poverty programs dumped. More money squeezed out of the elderly for Medicare.

And, of course, Mr. Nixon didn't just wait around for Congress to okay his budget cuts. He has started putting his program into effect, trying to destroy OEO, job training programs, housing programs, and social services.

He isn't getting away with—completely. Through a combination of Congressional actions and court action, he is being forced to back down on some of these program cuts. But let us not get over-optimistic. Congress certainly looks good in comparison to the President, but the Republican-Democratic bloc is still operating. Just recently in the House I saw the groups get together to gut the program of legal services for the poor.

You can get legal help, but if the House version passes, the Legal Services Corporation will be supervised completely by Nixon appointees, you won't be able to get a lawyer to help you in an abortion case or if your sons or brothers or husbands are having a dispute with Selective Service or if you're involved in a rent strike or welfare rights community action or any other action that lets you use your strength as a group instead of as weak, separate individuals.

Last year, as you know, Congress put a \$2.5 billion ceiling on social service programs for child care, aid to the elderly, the handicapped, and others in need. That wasn't low enough for the Nixon Administration, and so the HEW Secretary, Caspar Weinberger, came up with a new set of regulations that would have cut spending even more, down to about \$1.7 billions.

We organized a coalition of child care groups, women's groups, welfare and social service groups, and so far we have managed to stop those new regulations from going into effect. We've won a four-month delay from Congress, but remember, we're just trying to hold on to the little that was available for those in need. What we really need is an expansion of social services. What we really need is an expanded system of child care centers, such as I have proposed in my Child Care and Development Act.

Mr. Nixon doesn't approve of child care centers in which children from all walks of life learn together and play together. He only wants child care centers as dumping grounds for the children of welfare mothers so that they can be forced to work out their

welfare checks. They are not even to have the dignity of getting decent jobs at decent pay, or the opportunity to get into educational and training programs that will give them some hope of emerging from desperate poverty into an adequate standard of living.

In talking about Mr. Nixon's political and social and economic Watergate schemes, we should keep in mind that women are the hidden heroines of Watergate. Why? Because aside from a couple of women who were used as patsies by their husbands or bosses, women were simply not involved in Watergate.

In a recent speech, Caroline Wilkins, the vice chair person of the Democratic National Committee said that more women should get into politics and capitalize on the fact that only men have been implicated so far in the Watergate scandal. Because of Watergate, she said, the credibility of all incumbents will be questioned and it will take women candidates to restore public confidence in the democratic system.

Ms. Wilkins also pointed out that the biggest waste of energy in America today is women's energy. Unemployment among women workers, she said, has risen more than 40 percent under this Republican administration. The gap between male and female pay for comparable work has widened. And, she also said, six million more people, 85 percent of them women and dependent children, have been forced onto welfare.

I think that it is an important message for you. I know at this convention you have been discussing ways to increase your strength and to reach out to all poor people, not just those on welfare. I hope that you will continue to work with us in the women's movement to advance our common goals. I urge you, too, to get into politics, not only as lobbyists but as candidates for political office.

I know you understand the significance of Watergate and that you will join with others in fighting for a society in which this abuse of power will no longer be allowed. It is too early to know what will be the final fate of the Nixon Administration and the man who leads it. Some of us have been urging that the House of Representatives fulfill its constitutional responsibility by starting an inquiry to decide whether there are grounds for impeaching the President and charging him with "high crimes and misdemeanors." I have urged such a course, and will continue to do so.

I do not know whether Mr. Nixon will be impeached and brought to trial. I do know that he has said he is willing to accept the responsibility for the misdeeds of some of his associates. He has said so, but he has yet to demonstrate it. I have an interim suggestion. I propose that Mr. Nixon do penance for Watergate by trying to support his family on a modest income of \$6,500 a year an income that millions of Americans have yet to reach. I think he'd learn a lot, and who knows, he might stop being afraid to look out of the window at the people because then he would be one of them.

#### PUERTO RICO

#### HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, today we celebrate the 21st anniversary of Puerto Rico's attainment of Commonwealth status within the United States. This 21-year period has been filled with re-

markable progress and prosperity for this small Latin American country.

In an otherwise stormy era in Latin America, Puerto Rico has managed to avoid the bloodshed and governmental turbulence which has affected so many of her sister countries in this area of the world. It is only through responsible and effective leadership that Puerto Rico has been commonly referred to as the "workshop of democracy" in Latin America.

Let us also on this day pay tribute to the thousands of Puerto Ricans who have contributed so much to the welfare of the United States. In all fields of the society, the impact of the Puerto Rican community has been steadily emerging since 1952.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to join with the rest of my colleagues in observing this significant event, and wishing to the citizens of Puerto Rico, and the Puerto Ricans living as citizens of the United States continued good fortune in the years to come.

I wish also on this day to pay special tribute to my distinguished colleague from Puerto Rico, Mr. BENITEZ, and congratulate him on his excellent representation of his constituents.

#### GUATEMALA, 1973

#### HON. BENJAMIN S. ROSENTHAL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. ROSENTHAL. Mr. Speaker, the Latin American Studies Association, in December 1971, expressed its concern over the political situation in Guatemala by establishing an ad hoc committee on Guatemala which it directed to report fully on the violence, terror and repression in the country and on American support, if any, for these activities. The ad hoc committee submitted a report in May 1973, extracts of which are reprinted below.

The United States bears a special responsibility for events today in Guatemala because, in the middle of the cold war, we supported an invasion against the legal Government of the country. We judged that Government, undoubtedly with accuracy, as opposed to American business interests in Guatemala. It was also a Government marked, in our 1954 judgment with distinctive, deepening, and dangerous leftist tendencies.

Twenty years of guerrilla revolution and counterrevolution have followed. Today the country is in a relatively quiescent period but no one believes that the deep social problems of the country have been solved. The United States has maintained a continued, and often, dubious involvement in Guatemala since 1954 but too often we have appeared to support a primacy of property rights over human and social values.

The LASA Committee report describes a tragedy of inter-American relations. It also recounts an era of terror and counterterror which has weakened a tragically weak country even further.

I would hope that the lessons of Guatemala, which are similar if not yet



as extreme as those of Vietnam, will direct our country's attention in constructive ways to the true problems of Latin America which concern social justice and how the United States can make a contribution to its achievement.

I include the following:

EXTRACTS OF AD HOC COMMITTEE ON  
GUATEMALA

The charge of the Ad-Hoc Committee on Guatemala was to carry out the investigation described in the resolution, "On Terror in Guatemala," passed at the December, 1971, business meeting of LASA. The text of the resolution is as follows:

"Whereas the state of semi-official and official rightist terror in Guatemala has reached unprecedented proportions; and

"Whereas the brunt of this terror has fallen heavily on university professors and students; and

"Whereas, moreover, the Arana regime has implicitly and explicitly threatened the autonomy of the national university of San Carlos; and

"Whereas this continual violation of human rights in Guatemala has been condemned before the O.A.S.; and

"Whereas it is impossible to ignore the complicity of the U.S. in this repression, through its support of the Arana regime, and most particularly through its police and military assistance programs;

"Therefore, be it resolved that, as the principal organization of U.S. academics concerned with Latin America, LASA condemns this situation in Guatemala;

"And that LASA hereby instructs its Government Relations Committee to further investigate this situation and to keep its members informed;

"And that LASA calls for a full investigation of this situation, through public hearings by the relevant U.S. Senate and House Committees. These hearings should be open, should include nongovernment witnesses, and should place special emphasis on the role of the U.S. in Guatemala since 1954;

"And that LASA calls for a cut-off of all U.S. military aid and police assistance to Guatemala."

THE SITUATION IN 1971

There is no doubt that 1971 was Guatemala's worst year in recent history, in terms of semi-official and official rightist terror. According to the Guatemalan daily newspaper, *El Grafico*, during 1971, under the government of Col. Carlos Arana Osorio, there were 959 political assassinations, 171 kidnappings, and 194 "disappearances." (A "disappearance" in Guatemala is generally equivalent to a death; most of those who disappear are found dead, weeks or months later, their bodies often bearing marks of torture.) Articles in U.S. newspapers estimated that a total of 2000 had been assassinated from November, 1970, to May, 1971, including 500 during May alone. The above are conservative figures, since they cover only those cases reported in the newspapers.

It is no less clear that most of the incidents of political violence were committed by the Right. According to the *Annual of Power and Conflict, 1971*, published by London's Institute for the Study of Conflict, which generally emphasizes Communist political violence,

"By the end of March (January-March, 1971), political killings totalled over 700, but many more people were believed to have disappeared without trace. Most of the killings have been attributed to officially supported right-wing terrorist organizations, *Ojo por Ojo* ("An Eye for an Eye") and *Mano Blanca* ("White Hand").

The predominance of rightist terror was also confirmed by *Le Monde Weekly*: "Foreign diplomats in Guatemala City believe that for every political assassination by left-

wing revolutionaries, fifteen murders are committed by right-wing fanatics." In addition to operating freely, with no visible attempt by the government to control them, these rightist groups are generally known to have their base in the official military and police forces. The only major action undertaken by the leftist guerrillas during 1971 was the August kidnapping of Robert Alejos, a large landowner and banker, a close associate of ex-President Ydigoras (1958-1963), and a key figure in planning the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba; Alejos was released unharmed, five months later.

The context for this situation of rightist violence was a year-long state of siege imposed by the Arana government, suspending all constitutional guarantees and prohibiting all political activities. (As chief of the 1966-1968 counterinsurgency campaign in Izabal and Zacapa provinces, Arana had gained an international reputation for his brutal tactics for enforcing "law and order.") In general, the victims of this violence—although it was committed in the name of "counterinsurgency" against revolutionary guerrillas—were moderate leaders of the political opposition, progressive intellectuals, students, professionals, and even a few businessmen as well as uncounted numbers of peasants and workers.

A prime target during this period was the National University of San Carlos. One indication that much of the terror was directed against university professors and students is that *Ojo por Ojo* is acknowledged to be "mainly active in the University of San Carlos." A number of students and student leaders were openly assassinated or "disappeared," never to be seen again. In late 1970 and 1971, prominent professors Julio Camey Herrera, Adolfo Mijangos, and Juan Manuel Cordero Quezada were assassinated outright. (Many of the victims were progressives who had participated in the pre-1954 governments of Arévalo and Arbenz—see chronology.) In addition to these killings, numerous university students and professors, and even the University treasurer, were arrested and held in prison for days or weeks. Other University officials were kidnapped by rightist groups, and the Rector of the University of San Carlos received threats on his life from *Ojo por Ojo*.

In addition to these acts directed against professors and students, the University itself has been threatened. On November 27, 1971, in a clear violation of the University's traditional autonomy, the University of San Carlos campus was occupied by the army, using 800 soldiers, several tanks, helicopters, armored cars, and other military equipment. The objective of this raid was to search for "subversive" literature and arms; but a room-by-room search revealed nothing. Then, following a January, 1971, statement by the University governing council, protesting the state of siege and the violence, the government continued its attack on the University by proposing that it submit its budget to the executive branch of the government for approval, rather than to the University's own governing council. If carried out, this measure would have completely ended university autonomy.

When the 12,000 students of the University of San Carlos went on general strike in October, 1971, to protest the violence against students and professors and to demand an end to the state of siege, the government responded with a warning that it would forbid any public demonstrations at the University, and a hint of military intervention and termination of the University's autonomy. The continual threat to the University of San Carlos led the prestigious CSUCA (the governing council of the five Central American national universities), in its monthly publication, *Jornada*, to publish two supplements documenting the situation: "No Muere la Intelligencia: la Situación Univer-

sitaria de Guatemala," in February, 1971, and "Guatemala: la Universidad Amenazada," in October, 1971.

THE ROLE OF THE UNITED STATES

This situation is of special concern to North Americans because of the role of the United States. Although U.S. involvement in Guatemala dates back to the mid-19th century, it assumed major proportions at the turn of the century, coinciding with the generally expansionist U.S. foreign policy under Presidents McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt. More recently, U.S. involvement in Guatemala became more direct and increased dramatically in 1954, after the U.S.-engineered overthrow of the Arbenz government; it has remained on a high level to the present (see chronology).

U.S. complicity in the semi-official and official rightist terror of 1971 took several forms. Most important was U.S. military and police assistance. The full extent of U.S. expenditures on training and equipping the Guatemalan military and police is impossible to determine without access to classified information. Even according to conservative official figures, the U.S. spent \$4.2 million in public safety assistance from the late 1950's through 1971, and an average of \$1.5 million (but up to \$3 million) a year in military assistance, not counting arms sales. The fact that these figures hide the full amount of U.S. assistance came out in a House Foreign Affairs Committee hearing, in response to a question about military assistance to Guatemala:

"In the past Guatemala has received \$17 million since 1950 in grant aid from the United States . . . In supporting assistance Guatemala has received \$34 million since 1950, and is scheduled for \$59,000 for fiscal year 1971."

In fiscal year 1970, Guatemala received \$1,129,000 in public safety funds, the highest of any Latin American country. In fiscal year 1971, Guatemala received the third highest amount, and in fiscal year 1972, the second highest. A new police academy was constructed in 1970-72 with \$410,000 of AID funds; an additional \$378,000 a year approximately has gone for police vehicles and equipment. AID-donated paddy wagons have been used to patrol the streets constantly, providing a psychological deterrent to crime and to all political activity. U.S. advisers train Guatemalan soldiers and police, and provide them with arms, communications equipment, etc. The ratio of U.S. military advisers to local army forces has been higher for Guatemala than for any other Latin American country.

U.S. officials have consistently denied any direct role in "pacifying" Guatemala. Nevertheless, according to one 1971 *Washington Post* report,

"Twenty-five U.S. military men and seven former U.S. policemen, carrying sidearms, and accompanied by Guatemalan bodyguards, are known to live and work in Guatemala. Most of these men are Vietnam veterans. The number of other Americans who may be involved in covert work with the local military is not known. . . . Military mission members assist the Guatemalan air force in flying and maintaining its 45 airplanes, and advise the army on administration, intelligence, logistics, operations, and its civic action program."

A Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff study of 1971 reported that U.S. public safety advisers were accompanying Guatemalan police on anti-hippie patrols. These reports follow those of several years ago, regarding the active role of U.S. Green Berets in the Izabal-Zacapa counterinsurgency campaign (see chronology). Although U.S. officials insist that their programs are designed to "modernize" and "professionalize" the police and military, nevertheless, the U.S. has not withheld its assistance from

Guatemalan security forces which are known to serve as a base of operations for the rightist terrorist groups. Some allege and claim to have documentation that "the U.S. military advisory team in Guatemala urged the formation of these (rightist) groups." In evaluating U.S. aid programs to Guatemala, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee study concluded:

"The argument in favor of the public safety program in Guatemala is that if we don't teach the cops to be good, who will? The argument against is that after 14 years, on all evidence, the teaching hasn't been absorbed. Furthermore, the U.S. is politically identified with police terrorism. Related to all this is the fact that the Guatemalan police operate without any effective political or judicial restraints, and how they use the equipment and techniques which are given them through the public safety program is quite beyond U.S. control. . . . On balance, it seems that AID public safety has cost the United States more in political terms than it has gained in improved Guatemalan police efficiency. . . . As is the case with AID public safety, the military assistance program carries a political price. It may be questioned whether we're getting our money's worth."

#### THE SITUATION IN 1972

In summing up the situation in Guatemala in 1972, one of the members of this Ad Hoc Committee, who visited the country three times in 1972, wrote:

"I am convinced that the situation in Guatemala, despite the placid exterior, is a dark one. The Arana government has employed a variety of tactics to get rid of its opposition. The year 1971 was by all accounts the bloodiest in Guatemala's recent history. . . . The year 1972 was in comparison a much more peaceful year; yet the government effort to get rid of opponents continued with much of the effort in the hands of rightist terrorists, and much of it kept out of public consumption by a government that is increasingly skittish about press coverage and public opinion."

The continuation of rightist political violence was confirmed by other sources. According to documents sent to the prestigious London-based organization, Amnesty International (which defends political prisoners throughout the world, including those in Communist countries), there were at least 70 reported disappearances in 1972. Amnesty deplored the "continued and uncontrolled violation of the most fundamental human rights" in Guatemala.

The most notable examples of the continuing violence include the following:

In June 1972, the ultra conservative vice president of the Congress, Oliverio Castaneda, was assassinated. Despite hasty government attributions of the action to leftist guerrillas, it is widely believed that it was committed by official forces, in a dispute within the Right. Subsequently, in July, four other leaders of the rightist party, Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional (MLN), were killed again, according to many, as part of the power struggle within the Right.

On June 26, 1972, Jose Merida Mendoza, leader of a large union of bus drivers in Guatemala City, disappeared. At the times, Merida was leading a union protest against the bus company. Merida was only one of the many labor and peasant leaders who have been harassed, arrested, disappeared, or killed outright.

Most dramatic was the "disappearance" in September, 1972, of eight top leaders and associates of the PGT, the Guatemalan Communist Party. The families of the eight claim that they were arrested by police; witnesses noted the license numbers of the official police vehicles involved in the arrest. The government claimed to have no knowledge of what happened to the eight. This denial was called into question two months later, when an official police detective, kid-

napped, acknowledged his role and that of other police in the arrest and imprisonment of the PGT leaders; subsequently the same detective said that the victims had been arrested, tortured, and thrown into the Pacific Ocean. Since the eight have not been found or heard from since September, it is generally assumed that they were killed. Nearly all observers within Guatemala and internationally, including Amnesty International, hold the government responsible.

The violence continued into 1973, with a new wave of kidnappings of peasants and other actions attributed to rightist para-military organizations, especially in the countryside. The newest of these organizations is called "Buitre Justiciero"—"the Justice-giving Falcon".

#### CONCLUSION

To put this situation in perspective, we conclude with a few words about the general political situation in Guatemala, specifically, the institutionalization of the repression. One measure of the degree to which political violence and repression has become a system or way of life is that during the nine years from 1963 through 1971 (108 months), Guatemala spent 48 months, or nearly half, under state of siege. A state of siege has always meant the abrogation of constitutional guarantees and political rights, the prohibition of regular political activity even by legal parties, and strict censorship of the press and radio. Verbal and written protests against this situation have been silenced; in October, 1971, for example, the Episcopal Bishop in Guatemala, a U.S. citizen, Rt. Rev. William Frey, was expelled from the country, after signing a statement that deplored the violence and called for an end to the state of siege. The 1970-71 state of siege carried with it a strict curfew for the first three months, under which some curfew violators were shot in the streets and thousands more arrested.

In early 1972, shortly after the state of siege was lifted, the government proposed another means of institutionalizing the repression: the so-called "Ley de Peligrosidad Social," or "Law of Social Dangerousness." The Law would have given the government total license in preventive detention of the unemployed, lazy or rebellious, of homosexuals, prostitutes, the mentally ill, or anyone "acting disrespectfully"; these "social dangerous" persons would be imprisoned in rehabilitation camps or confined in other ways. The Law, which represented a legalization of *de facto* government practices, was finally defeated in Congress, because it had aroused almost universal opposition throughout the country. Nevertheless, the government was subsequently designing a substitute measure, which would accomplish the same objectives.

In short, it should be clear that the situation in Guatemala in 1971 was not a temporary aberration or excess in a generally democratic system. Rather, it was part of a system of official terror and repression, which has existed in Guatemala since 1954, and which has been intensified in recent years—a system which, in the words of one analyst, aims to "liquidate the political party structure that has developed since 1944." For tactical reasons (e.g., the Presidential election in 1974), the government may attempt to reduce the level of official violence in 1973. If this happens—and it is not yet clear whether or not it will,—this temporary and tactical reduction should not be mistaken for an end to the violence. That violence will end only when its root causes are faced and Guatemala's huge social and economic problems are resolved.

#### CHRONOLOGY (BACKGROUND)

In order properly to be understood, the phenomenon of official rightist terror in Guatemala, with U.S. complicity, must be placed in historical perspective. For this reason, we are including a brief and sketchy chronology of events since 1931.

1931-1944: Dictatorship of Gen. Jorge Ubico—absolute tyranny: no civil liberties, labor unions prohibited—Indians, constituting two third of the total population, subject to forced labor on the roads, and to military conscription—high illiteracy and no rural schools—national economy based on coffee and bananas—large coffee plantations in the hands of a few wealthy Guatemalans and Germans—economic, social, and political influence of the United Fruit Co., through its banana operations, its control of the International Railways of Central America and Puerto Barrios, and support from the U.S. Embassy—German coffee plantations had been confiscated by Ubico, under pressure from U.S.—military use of Guatemala by U.S. during World War II.

1944-1954: Guatemalan Revolution: Ubico forced to resign in June, 1944, in response to middle-class frustrations at the lack of political freedom and economic opportunity—Ubico's fall triggered by impending victory of the Allies in World War II, and the fall of Dictator Maximiliano Hernandez Martinez in neighboring El Salvador—provisional president Gen. Federico Ponce ousted on October 20, 1944, by coalition of students, professionals, workers, and young army officers—free election won by Juan Jose Arevalo (1945-51), with 85% of the votes—widespread democratic reforms: "universal" suffrage for all men and all literate women, right to organize political parties, labor legislation, school and hospital construction, campaign against illiteracy, regulation of foreign investments—27 aborted military coups—hostility of U.S. toward reforms, especially those affecting United Fruit Co.—U.S. Ambassador Richard C. Patterson declared *persona non grata* for meddling in Guatemala's internal affairs—moderate presidential candidate, Francisco Arana, assassinated in 1948—election of Col. Jacobo Arbenz in 1950 (1951-54)—agrarian reform measure in 1952, leading to expropriation of part of United Fruit Co. holdings—construction of Atlantic highway and port of Santo Tomas, to compete with the railroad and port controlled by United Fruit Co.—growing influence of Communists—increasing hostility of the U.S. during period of McCarthyism and Cold War—relations between Guatemala and U.S. further deteriorate, with U.S. laying groundwork for future actions against Arbenz government.

1954-1973: Counterrevolution: (1) Carlos Castillo Armas (1954-1957): led CIA-sponsored invasion from Honduras, orchestrated by U.S. Ambassador John Peurifoy—Arbenz and high military officers, discouraged by CIA bombing of Guatemala City, refused to distribute arms to supporters to oppose the invasion—fall of Arbenz government—under new Castillo Armas government, most revolutionary reforms nullified—expropriated lands returned to United Fruit Co. and other former owners—pre-1971 privileges restored to Catholic Church—suspension of civil liberties, declamation of labor movement, and severe persecution of political opponents of new regime—foreign private investment encouraged and welcomed—\$80 million of U.S. economic aid and military assistance between 1954 and 1959, in order to make Guatemala a Latin American anti-communist showcase—Castillo Armas assassinated in July, 1957, by one of his personal guards.

(2) Miguel Ydigoras Fuentes (1958-1963): relative easing of political repression—economy suffered from declining world price of coffee, unstable political conditions, and corruption in government—increased private U.S. investment—beginnings of "industrialization" and Central American Common Market—*finca* of close presidential adviser, Roberto Alejos, used by CIA as training camp for Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba—November 13, 1960, abortive military revolt by dissatisfied younger officers, including Luis Tur-



clos Lima and Marco Antonio Yon Sosa, who by 1962 became radicalized leaders of rural guerrilla movement—beginnings of U.S.-sponsored civic action program, designed to teach Guatemalan military how to "win the hearts and minds of the people" by providing services while combatting subversion; this program, similar to U.S. programs in Vietnam, was the first of its kind in Latin America Ydigoras deposed by U.S.-instigated military coup, in order to prevent the 1963 election of Juan José Arévalo, who was clearly the leading candidate (*Miami Herald*, December 24, 1966).

(3) Enrique Peralta Azurdia (1963-1966): relatively moderate, somewhat anti-U.S. military junta which took power after overthrowing Ydigoras—increase in rural guerrilla activity: Fuerzas Armadas Rebeldes (FAR), led by Luis Augusto Turcios Lima and César Montes, and Movimiento 13 de Noviembre (MR-13), led by Marco Antonio Yon Sosa—revolutionary movement weakened by recurring differences among FAR, MR-13, and PGT (Communist Party)—Turcios Lima killed in automobile crash in 1966—consolidation of changes in economy (new agricultural exports, more "industry") and of Central American Common Market.

(4) Julio César Méndez Montenegro (1966-1970): increase in foreign investment (86% of it U.S. investment), which doubled between 1959 and 1969, largely due to Central American Common Market—under this government, intended as a "model" Alliance for Progress government, Guatemala lending agencies—internationally respected economist, Alberto Fuentes Möhr, Finance Minister, proposed higher taxes and was ousted in March, 1968, due to pressure from the Right and large property-owners—in order to remain in office, Méndez Montenegro was forced to abandon all plans for reform and to give the Army a free hand in combatting the guerrilla forces—in October, 1966, Col. Carlos Arana Osorio, commander of Zacapa military district, launched a counterinsurgency campaign, with support of: 1) U.S. Green Berets, as well as sophisticated U.S. equipment and arms similar to those used in Vietnam; and 2) vigilante groups (right-wing), financed by large property-owners and composed largely of off-duty army and police forces—estimates of those killed from 1966 to 1968 range from 3,000 to 8,000 (others cite 7,000, from 1966 to 1970): students, professors, labor leaders, journalists, and several thousand peasants among the victims—the two-year intensive counterinsurgency campaign coincided with escalation in Vietnam and employed some of the same counterinsurgency techniques—from 1968 on, urban guerrilla activities provoked massive retaliation by army and police and by right-wing terrorist groups such as *Mano Blanca* and *Ojo por Ojo*—kidnapping by rightist groups of Archbishop Casariego, accused of having leftist sympathies, in 1968—kidnapping of Foreign Minister Alberto Fuentes Möhr by FAR and release in March, 1970—U.S. Ambassador Mehn (September, 1968) and German Ambassador Von Sprei (April, 1970) billed by revolutionary guerrillas.

5) Col. Carlos Arana Osorio (1970- ): elected on platform of pacification and no new taxes economic growth, but no improvement in income distribution five-year rural development plan adopted, but no agrarian reform; increased export of coffee, cotton, sugar, and beef—February, 1971, contract with EXMIBAL, subsidiary of International Nickel Co.: \$250 million investment planned, doubling all previous U.S. investment crisis in Central American Common Market, caused by withdrawal of Honduras in 1970 (following "soccer war" between Honduras and El Salvador in July, 1969)—between January, 1970, and June, 1971, 12-15 kidnappings netted FAR and MR-13 \$1 million. Yon Sosa killed at Mexican border in May, 1970—state of siege from November, 1970, to November,

1971, and generalized situation of rightist terror and repression (see above) continued high level of U.S. economic and military aid to Arana government.

## SOLAR ENERGY

### HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the shortage of gasoline is only one aspect of the total energy crisis that is rapidly coming upon us. One of the solutions to a portion of this crisis is the harnessing of solar energy. Only a few years ago this would have been but a dream. A recent editorial in the Washington Post summarizes well both the energy crisis and the importance of solar energy. I commend the reading of this editorial to my colleagues.

[From the Washington Post, July 18, 1973]

#### SOLAR ENERGY

U.S. scientists, according to report by Claire Sterling which was published on this page the other day, told a recent UNESCO conference in Paris that harnessing sunshine to reduce man's dependence on scarce and polluting fuels is no longer a matter of wishful thinking of solar energy enthusiasts. Ten years from now, representatives of a NASA-National Foundation panel reported, one out of every 10 new homes built in this country could be heated and cooled by solar rays. In less than 15 years, sun rays could produce commercial electric power. In 20 years a satellite could be in synchronous orbit beaming power down to earth by microwave. In 50 years, solar energy could supply at least 20 per cent of all the United States' energy needs. And there is no limit to where technology might advance from there if you consider the abundance of solar radiation: it is so plentiful that the energy arriving on 0.5 per cent of the land area of the United States is more than the total energy needs of this country projected for the year 2000.

Harnessing this energy, however, will require "an effort comparable in spirit and commitment to the one we put into the space program in the 1960s," according to former Rep. George P. Miller (D-Calif.), past chairman of the House Science and Astronautics Committee. So far, we have only made a hesitant beginning. The federal government, to be sure, has now at last recognized the potentials of solar energy and organized the NASA-National Science Foundation task force to explore it. Congress has appropriated \$12 million for the purpose in the current fiscal year, an amount most experts consider totally insufficient. It is less than two per cent of the total amount of government research and development funds spent on conventional energy resources such as converting coal into gas and nuclear engineering.

What is needed, according to the NSF-NASA panel, is a federal investment of \$3 billion in solar research and development over the next 15 years. And what is needed, most of all, as Mr. Miller has said, is a federal commitment that must be 1) focused, 2) integrated, 3) intense and 4) continuing. In other words, laboratory research grants and small scale experimentation are not sufficient to launch the "sun age." Before solar energy becomes a substantial source of clean energy, industrial ingenuity and productive know-how must be mobilized to produce the hardware and services necessary to make the conversion devices economical.

Most companies look for short term projects for new enterprises that promise a return on their investment in two or three years. Long range projects present great risk and investment capital is scarce unless there is confidence that the government is really serious about it and ready to provide the direction and incentives. A firm assertion of a national priority for solar energy "R and D" is also needed to engender the public confidence essential to assure industry of public acceptance and a market.

There is little time to lose. Nuclear generating plants are as yet producing less than one per cent of our total energy needs and public apprehension about them seems to be mounting. Planning and construction of additional nuclear plants is years behind schedule. Uranium is in short supply. Liquid metal fast breeder reactors will not make a significant contribution for at least a decade. Fusion reactors seem even further off. Experts say that the first demonstration fusion reactor will probably not be built before the year 2000. Energy consumption and energy cost, meanwhile, keep increasing rapidly. In 1970, school districts across the nation, for instance, spent an average of \$26.70 per pupil per year for energy. The projections of the U.S. Interior Department, which may be conservative, indicate a tripling of energy cost by 1985 and a quadrupling by 1992. In the year 2000, then, we can expect to pay \$106.80 per pupil per year.

Compared to such cost, the \$3 billion required to advance solar energy energetically is a bargain. It would be folly to wait for a real scare to produce the crash program that clearly has become necessary.

## FORD TURNS TO THE JAPANESE

### HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, the Associated Press reported the other day, July 14, that Ford Motor has contracted with Japan's Honda Motor Co. to receive technical information on a new engine developed by that firm which will cut air pollution.

This news disturbs me despite the explanation by Ford officials that the Japanese design might afford them the best chance of meeting future Federal emission standards. We can welcome this hopeful prediction. But can we accept with comfort the fact that Japan and its engineers are making it possible?

What has happened to our own automotive engineering? Since shortly after the motoring age began, American engineers and tinkers have led the way in this field. Virtually every breakthrough of any engineering importance has come through U.S. efforts. But now, prodded by Federal decrees on emission controls, Ford is turning to Japan and, in doing so, admitting a grave laxity here.

This, of course, brings up the question of whether our environmental people with their "crash" program thinking have set targets too high and for too quick attainment for American engineering to keep pace. This is the conclusion to be drawn from Ford President Lee A. Iacocca's statement to the Associated Press that none of his company's designs has been developed so far to the place where it could meet the coming Federal

standards on a mass-production basis. He inferred that his engineers have not had sufficient time to accomplish this.

All thinking Americans, I am sure that these include the auto people, know the urgent need to reduce the carbon monoxides and hydrocarbons now being released into the air we breathe by growing numbers of cars and trucks on our streets and highways. Nevertheless, it seems to me, in view of Ford's contract with Honda, that we ought to have a reappraisal of the whole environmental matter now to determine whether, in pressing hard for rapid solutions, we might be getting ahead of ourselves for our own over-all national good.

There must be a point, certainly, where the genius of Americans can solve this American problem without having our manufacturers forced to turn elsewhere for help at additional cost to themselves and to the auto buyer here. This point could be somewhere along the path toward an eventual total solution and beyond the point where the danger and damage to the environment are serious. In other words, we should try at this time, and in light of what has been learned so far, to get the environmental cleanup goals in equitable balance with what actually is urgent and what really is possible technically and with what truly is the American interest in the long run.

#### WELFARE REFORM IN WEST VIRGINIA

#### HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, welfare reform has been the subject of much debate before this body in recent years. During these debates I have repeatedly expressed my belief that welfare administration is properly a function of State governments and not the Federal Government. It is apparent that Federal involvement in such an area inevitably leads to inefficiency and unresponsiveness.

Gov. Arch Moore of West Virginia, who long served with distinction in this body, is an example of what imaginative leadership can accomplish in such a field as welfare reform. During his tenure as governor, program effectiveness has increased while program cost has decreased. This is an all too infrequent example of progress in government administration and Governor Moore deserves a hearty commendation for his efforts.

Mr. Speaker, Governor Moore outlined West Virginia's welfare system in *Signature* magazine recently and I ask that his comments be inserted at this time.

The comments follow:

#### WELFARE REFORM AND THE APPALACHIAN MYTH

(By Arch A. Moore, Jr.)

The notion that West Virginia—of all places—can serve as a model for solving America's welfare mess may seem far-fetched. Some of the nation's taxpayers may still cling to an image of my state as

"poverty-stricken," or perhaps as "the epitome of Appalachian welfare cultures." This label was hung on us by the national press back when they were covering John F. Kennedy during the 1960 West Virginia primary—and it has been a difficult one to shake off.

In fairness it might have been an accurate assessment of conditions in 1960; because West Virginia, like most of Appalachia, had more than its share of unemployment, bad roads and poor housing.

Yesterday's fair assessment has become today's myth. People who still hang on to that Appalachian myth may be amazed to know that West Virginia leads the nation in welfare reform—by standards that the Federal government applies. We ended our 1972 fiscal year with a \$10-million surplus in the welfare account; much of the welfare reform now pending before Congress is based on programs pioneered and tested in West Virginia during the past four years. For the first time in decades, more West Virginians are returning to the state than are leaving it.

America's major cities reel under the burden of supporting the jobless and the indigent; welfare reform is heatedly discussed across the nation. At a time when one out of seven New Yorkers is on welfare, the ratio in West Virginia is one out of 13. I believe that this country—particularly the major cities—would do well to profit from our experience. We don't pretend to have all the answers—our population is less than two million while our most burdened cities have populations four to six times larger. But keep in mind that in urban areas a case-worker can handle many more clients in a compact area; our field people often have to drive for an hour to help one client.

To untangle our own welfare mess, we were determined to apply sound, fundamental management principles that would both streamline the old bureaucracy and encourage innovative thinking. In 1969 I appointed a Management Task Force of volunteer businessmen to modernize the state government.

Within months they came up with a master plan that has saved the West Virginia taxpayer some \$50 million by streamlining various state agencies. Our Department of Welfare was completely reorganized and is being operated on the same cost-effectiveness basis as any profitable large corporation.

What we've done is in direct opposition to most large urban centers; we've avoided constructing an ever-growing bureaucratic Frankenstein that not only breaks down but makes welfare applicants feel like second-class citizens. Instead, we've decentralized and simplified procedures to move people through welfare (and onto the payrolls) as rapidly as possible.

We combined 64 separate welfare and food stamp offices into 27 regional offices linked to our computer center in the state capitol. In one sweep, we eliminated a complete middle echelon of administrators—saving \$3 million.

Our welfare applicants receive checks within 72 hours; it used to take six weeks. More important, a male head-of-household in West Virginia can now expect to be gainfully employed four months after he first applies for assistance; under the old method, the average wait was a year (we've led the nation in this vital statistic for 22 of the past 23 months).

Computers and a new organization chart are not a panacea. We've shifted personnel, sent administrators into the field to get a feel of the real tragedy of economic deprivation; where some of our field men have wanted to become involved in policy and administration, we've given them the chance. We've asked for fresh ideas and we've used them—in contrast to most rigid welfare departments in big cities where policy changes must come down from the top.

There is, of course, another vital aspect: We have had to create new jobs at a record

rate. This is really the bedrock for our reform program. Only when you can offer real opportunities to the jobless can you say that people who simply won't work will not be supported by welfare—and make it stick. We've done it: a \$1.5-billion highway construction program has opened our state to half the major U.S. markets (all within a 500-mile radius) and thereby attracted hundreds of new companies and 10,000 new jobs.

It seems to boil down to sound management principles, applied with compassion. That may seem simple, but West Virginia is the only state with a welfare account surplus. We've increased our welfare benefits by 32 percent and reduced people on welfare by 20 percent. We must be doing something right.

#### 1913—THE YEAR OF GREAT FIRE IN HARLAN, KY.

#### HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, it is my great pleasure to share with my colleagues in the House a story of the great fire which occurred in Harlan, Ky., in 1913. This account, written by Mabel Collins, appeared in the Harlan Kentucky Daily Enterprise for Sunday, June 10, 1973.

I feel that this article serves as an excellent example of how disaster will strike in even the most tranquil of settings. The courage and compassion shown in the face of adversity can still be found deep within the fiber of these mountain people. In an emergency, their traditional self-reliance gives way to a concern for the common good.

#### 1913 WAS YEAR OF HARLAN'S MOST DESTRUCTIVE FIRE

(By Mabel Collins)

Harlan County's pioneer citizens suffered the bitter with the sweet. Many of them will remember perhaps the most destructive fire 60 years ago that wiped out 11 businesses and residences on Central Street.

The first alarm came when everyone who owned a gun blasted away at 1 a.m. giving the signal of the fire. In a few seconds the whole population was at the scene.

The bucket brigade was the only tools the townspeople had to combat the blaze. The few pumps were almost pumped dry. Like the great Chicago fire which started from a lamp or lantern, the Harlan fire did likewise.

It all began in the upstairs part of the Will Noe Store which was on the corner where the Margie Grand Theatre is today. Mattie Smith's Store, behind the Noe building, went up in flames and the bank building beside the Noe store was destroyed.

Flames shot out the upstairs windows and across the street to the W. Z. Gregory Hardware and Furniture Store. The two story frame building and the bakery building next door were destroyed.

Behind the buildings the residences of Will Blanton and Minerva Nolan were burned to the ground. Blanton was a shoe cobbler. Across the street on the corner opposite the Gregory building was the Hardware Store and hotel operated by Marion and Samuel Howard.

Blankets were soaked with water and placed on nearby buildings. The Jim Forester house at the corner of Third and Central was saved by wet blankets on the roof and sides.

Mattie Smith's Store was one of the favorite gathering places for the young people.



She was one of the first to bring stalks of bananas to Harlan. They were extra treats for the children.

In the hardware store, Mr. Gregory kept his dynamite caps locked in the safe. They were handled only by him. Before the fire gained headway some of the merchandise was carried out on the street.

When it became very hot the heat blew the safe open and shot off the caps. About \$500 was also blown out of the safe and some thieves hid it in the wall of the old Masonic building. It was later found.

There was no insurance on any of the buildings, mainly because of the lack of water and fire fighting equipment. Mr. Gregory rebuilt a small music store on the corner of Main and Clover Streets. He sold phonographs and some string instruments.

In 1915 it was destroyed by fire. The small building was heated by a coal stove and some packing materials caught fire in the back room and the building went up in flames.

Virgil Eversole, who was nearby when the fire started, ran in and brought out a banjo. That was all that was salvaged.

The big Central Street fire happened the day Verna Noe Landrum came home from Williamsburg where she had graduated from college. Her mother, Margie Noe, had a big strawberry patch between their home and the store. She watched the water carriers trample it to the ground as they attempted to save the store.

Verna was worried about their home burning and her piano which was the first one in Harlan. Her father bought it in Hagan, Va., and brought it here on a "jolt wagon."

They also owned the first folding bed and people came from everywhere to see it fold up and down. Most of them were afraid of it.

The store had a big wide porch and the wagons coming in from Hagan drove up and emptied the merchandise on the porch, she said. "The porch floor had wide cracks in it," she said. Verna and her playmate, Lila Gregory, crawled under the porch and picked up pennies that would roll through the cracks.

One side of the store was for groceries and the other for dry goods. "Stick candy was the only kind of sweets we had until the wagons brought in some Hershey bars," Verna said. We thought that was the greatest thing, she added.

Sometimes men came to town and stayed all day. There were no restaurants so they would open up a can of peaches and eat from the can or get a "hunk of cheese and crackers from the barrel."

Verna, and her brother Guy's father was a stern but very kind man. He believed in "everybody working." He loved children and gave them a stick of candy when they came to the store.

"If a customer bought a pair of shoes, he always threw in a pair of gray socks," she said. The wooden benches on the porch served as a gathering place for whittlers and anyone who came to town.

One end of the porch was usually filled with watermelons. Alex Cloud would sit and fiddle while singing "Chicken Crowin' in Sour Wood Mountain."

The old jail was behind the court house. Sometime Verna ran errands for the inmates who "poked their money through the bars." They bought banjo strings and tobacco from the Noe Store and Verna made a few extra pennies.

On one side of the Noe Store the derby hats were stacked to the ceiling. One day a man came to buy a hat and Mr. Noe showed him one hat after another and nothing pleased him. His patience was getting a little thin. "Let me see the one away up on top," he said.

"There's one up there alright but its going to stay up there," Noe said and turned away.

## RARICK REPORTS TO HIS PEOPLE: THE GREAT RUSSIAN GRAIN SWINDLE

### HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, American farmers, consumers, and taxpayers were all shortchanged and are now paying higher prices for their food because of bureaucratic bumbling by the Department of Agriculture. These are some of the conclusions drawn in a recently released report by the Government Accounting Office.

A full year after the historic announcement of massive sales of U.S. grain, wheat, corn, and other feed grains, to the Soviet Union the American taxpayer now has a detailed report on how that trade swindle took place. The Government Accounting Office, the financial watchdog of the Federal Government, recently released an 84-page report on the Russian-United States wheat deal, detailing how much the transaction cost the American people and why. The official study was requested by Congress to give the taxpayer the facts behind the deal that cost him millions of dollars.

The largest profits in wheat trading went to the large multinational grain combines, who control upward to 90 percent of the world's grain produce, and to the Russians who made purchases at low subsidized prices.

The GAO study indicates that the failure to act on intelligence information resulted in unnecessary payments of more than \$300 million in subsidies to U.S. exporters who sold the wheat to the Russians and others. As early as February last year, the Agriculture attaché in Moscow reported that—

The Soviet wheat crop would be adversely affected by freeze damage.

Our two major competitors in the world wheat market—Canada and Australia—were pulling out of the export market as early as March. Agriculture officials early in the year recognized that the United States was the only major supplier of grain the Soviets could turn to.

The officials also knew that Russian leaders had made commitments to their people to increase the protein in their diets, and that they badly needed U.S. grain to meet that commitment. Yet the Agriculture Department decided against increasing the export target price. The GAO says that crucial decision was based not on detailed analysis of the situation, but on the intuitive judgments made by a few Department officials.

The U.S. grain exporters negotiated their sales to Russia at fixed prices below the \$1.63 to \$1.65 per bushel target price. Large quantities of grain were sold to the Soviets at these low prices, with the assurance that the Department of Agriculture would pay the difference between the negotiated price and the market price with taxpayer-financed subsidies.

An original export goal of 650 million bushels with a subsidy of \$67 million mushroomed to 1.1 billion bushels in export and over \$300 million in subsidy, when the Russians realized what a wonderful deal they were getting.

Many of the big grain dealers registered their sales late in order to cash in on increased Government subsidies. As a result, in three cases, the big exporters pocketed a handsome profit more than \$200,000 greater than the gross price of the entire sale. The taxpayers, through bureaucratic ineptitude, paid the exporter-middlemen 25 cents per bushel, when the reasonable profit goal in grain exports is in the range 1½ to 2 cents per bushel.

The GAO believes that the sales would have been made without the taxpayer's money being used to pay for them, or at least without such a heavy subsidy, because we had the only wheat the Russians could buy.

So the Russians got the protein they had promised their people, while the taxpayers paid for it. The grain wheeler-dealers cashed in on a handsome profit, also paid for by the U.S. taxpayer. And several Agriculture Department officials involved in the deal retired early to accept executive positions with grain companies.

In the official report to Congress, the GAO said it found no apparent corruption in the deal. But additional investigations are being conducted to determine whether five of the large U.S. exporters involved in the sales to Russia made excessive profits. A sixth company, reported to be the Dreyfus Corp. of New York, has thus far refused to cooperate in this review.

We are all too familiar with the results of the wheat deal on the American food market. The price of wheat rose nearly 50 percent in the first 2 months after the deal, and nearly doubled by this past May. Since livestock and poultry depend on feed grain for their food, the increase in the price of wheat caused a direct proportional increase in the cost of meat and poultry to the American consumer. Higher prices for bread and flour-based products, as well as increased costs of eggs, milk, and other animal byproducts are being experienced now as a result of fumbling by the USDA last year. The American consumer is paying dearly for bureaucratic ineptness.

The Agriculture Department claims some benefits as a result of the sales to Russia. They claim that farmers are receiving higher prices for their crops. This is true. But farmers lost on their crops that were sold to the Soviets. Farmers generally were not provided with the timely information from the Department that the sales were pending, so they marketed their crops in the same manner they had for years. Some even sold before their normal time because of the projected market conditions. As a result, the big dealers, the middlemen, the exporters realized the big profit, while the people who had produced

the crops got no more than they normally get.

But there are other costly consequences of the deal. Shipping the grain from U.S. ports to Russian ports set the taxpayers back a bundle. The Russians are currently paying a fixed rate of \$10.34 a ton for shipment of the commodities on U.S.-flag vessels. This price is well below the current transportation rate paid by other countries.

The U.S. Government paid an additional \$11 a ton to bring that price up to the actual costs. The huge grain purchases alone had the effect of driving the world shipping prices up. The volume is considered to be the biggest logistic movement of all time. It has also succeeded in clogging our shipping ports with vessels bound for the Soviet Union.

It was only after an outraged public applied heat to the Washington bureaucrats that the subsidy was reduced last month. This month the Russians will have to increase the amount of shipping charges they are now paying in order to get their bargain-basement grain to Soviet ports. The taxpayers are still picking up some of the tab, but it has been reduced. Since much of the grain purchased last year has already been booked for passage on ships at the current rate, the impact of the recent decision will be slight.

The Russian wheat deal was one of the largest and most complex short-term commercial transactions in history. It was truly historic. The Soviets were allowed to corner one-quarter of the 1972 U.S. wheat crop while operating in almost total secrecy. If the Agriculture Department had not assured exporters that the Government would subsidize the difference between lower prices charged the Russians and higher domestic prices, the exporters would have had to charge the foreigners more. And they would have gotten more for their products. If the Department had used the information they had available about the world production and demand, and allowed prices to rise, we could have reduced subsidies and increased the balance-of-payments benefits. Instead of a trade arrangement that would benefit the American farmer, consumer, and taxpayer, we ended up with the "Great American Grain Robbery."

If a recent vote in Congress is any indication, the taxpayers can expect this kind of subsidized trade to continue. An amendment to the general farm bill to prevent government financing of private wheat and grain deals with the Soviets and Red China was soundly defeated. It would have prevented trade bumbling that cost \$3 million in export subsidies and another \$750 million in low-interest loans at rates below those available to Americans. I voted against giving the Russians and Red Chinese groceries on credit, paid for by the American taxpayer-consumer. The defeat of the amendment proved that many Congressmen have not learned from our expensive trading mistake last year.

Trade is trade, and gifts are obviously gifts. Our gifts of tax-financed grain and transportation, and the resulting

higher prices paid for food in this country have been estimated to have cost the taxpayers a total of some \$3.2 billion. That is too much generosity at American expense. Our national leaders are bending over backwards to provide food for the Russian tables at prices lower than those paid by the American housewife. And it does not make good economic sense.

In light of the millions of dollars the Department of Agriculture spent to subsidize the grain deal with Russia, it is almost unbelievable that the Secretary of Agriculture has announced his public opposition to the general farm bill. We are expected to believe that subsidies to American farmers are too expensive and that Mr. Butz does not believe in subsidies.

#### ENERGY CRISIS

### HON. FRANK M. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, in recent weeks there have been more words written about the energy crisis than there have been barrels of oil produced or kilowatts of electricity generated. If, indeed, there is an energy crisis, it is because all the rhetoric is producing more heat than light.

I find myself totally out of patience with those who insist that no refineries be built, no powerplants, even if they are completed, should operate and then they return to their air-conditioned, electrically-heated homes in a gas-eating automobile from the hearings where they have testified.

I have talked to a number of people in my district and they are also completely out of patience with the so-called environmentalists. I describe them as "so-called environmentalists" because an accurate definition of an environmentalist is one who takes the entire environment into consideration.

A man sitting in his overheated living room unemployed because the EPA regulations shut down the factory in which he worked is hardly living in what I call a comfortable environment. The customer who cannot use his electric range or air-conditioning because wild-eyed small minorities insist that nuclear powerplants are not safe, despite all the operating experience and evidence to the contrary, is not living in a comfortable environment.

We all want clean air and water, but essentially what good are they to the man and his family who are living on unemployment because of irrational, disconnected, unrealistic EPA regulations?

Let us take for a moment the emission control devices required on automobiles. "Put them on," the EPA says. And when the auto manufacturer does as required he reduces the miles per gallon of the vehicle from 12 or 15 to 8. Great. Now we have cleaner air and add immeasurably to the gasoline shortage. What sort of madness is this?

It used to be said that what this country needs is a good 5-cent cigar. What we need now is a sensible approach to energy across the board. We cannot rationally consider just bureaucratic regulations that will add to the cost of the automobile, raise the price of gasoline and shut off the lights of the Nation. What we need is a reasonable balance between air, water and fuel and the needs, desires and practicality of the workingman. Ecology is a marvelous word but it has a closely related counterpart word in the English language called economics.

It is my belief that any bill presented to the Rules Committee of this House should come out of that committee, if it related to environmental improvement with a cost to the Federal Government, a cost to the consumer, a cost of number of jobs and unit cost for clearing each cubic inch of air or water. In effect, an air pollution emission device on an automobile can cost the Federal Government millions in regulation costs, cost the consumer \$300 more for his car, cost thousands of jobs in the auto industry while retooling goes on and produces a negligible improvement in the air in Beaver Falls, Pa.

Enough is enough. At this stage I am more concerned with air pollution than air pollution. By this I mean my own ear pollution listening to those who are devoting full time protecting the bald eagle, the wayward wren, the minnows around powerplants and cannot think for a moment about the people in my district who must work for a living in these plants to feed and educate their children. The energy crisis is here to stay—permanently—unless we come to our senses and relate practically to pollution and ecology to economics.

#### MURDER BY HANDGUN: A CASE FOR GUN CONTROL—NO. 8

### HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, each year, handguns kill an ever increasing number of policemen in the performance of their duty. According to figures from the Federal Bureau of Investigation, 604 policemen were killed by guns—466 of those by handguns—from 1961 to 1970.

Today's victim of a handgun murder was Patrolman John W. Ruggiero, of Fall River, Mass. Ruggiero did not have his gun raised. He was in his cruiser making a license plate check on a car that was driving at night without lights when he was shot four times in the face and killed instantly by a .38-caliber revolver.

A passenger in the car was charged with the murder. He had apparently known Ruggiero when the officer was an undercover agent in the vice squad for the Fall River police.

Ruggiero, 27 years old and the father of two children, was described by his superiors as an "exceptional" police officer. He had been attending law enforcement classes four nights a week at Bris-



tol Community College at the time of his death.

Law enforcement officials have recognized the need to control the sale and possession of handguns, and have become outspoken on the issue.

Peter J. Pitchess, sheriff of Los Angeles County, said before a House Committee on the Judiciary last year:

I have done much soul searching on the issue of gun control. No longer can we afford the luxury of endorsing what has lately become a dangerous and untimely position—the fallacy that the safety of our populace is dependent upon an inalienable and largely indiscriminate right to bear arms.

It is time we heeded those words.

The article on the death of Patrolman Ruggiero which appeared in the July 24 Boston Globe follows:

FALL RIVER POLICEMAN SLAIN; TWO MEN  
ARRESTED

(By David S. Richwine)

A 27-year-old Fall River police officer was shot to death early yesterday morning as he sat in his cruiser making a routine license plate check on a car. Two men were arrested a short time later and charged with murder.

Patrolman John W. Ruggiero of 57 Eastern av., a Navy Vietnam veteran and father of two children, was killed instantly when police said he was shot in the face four times—apparently by someone he knew from his previous work as an undercover agent in the vice squad for the Fall River police.

Arraigned in Fall River District Court and charged with murder were Daniel K. Ferreira, 26, of 230 Flint st., and Joseph Silva, 34, of 552 Buffington st., both of Fall River.

Police said Ferreira was grieving from the death of his wife, Patricia, and his brother, Harold, in an automobile accident June 17 in Rehoboth.

Ferreira was ordered held without bail in New Bedford jail. Silva was ordered to Barnstable County House of Correction, after he told the judge he feared "ill will" from persons he did not disclose. Both pleaded innocent to the charges. Preliminary hearings will be held next Monday for Ferreira and Tuesday for Silva, court officials said.

Foot patrolman Robert Fortin, who witnessed the shooting, said Ruggiero was driving on Boutwell street about 3:30 a.m. when he stopped a vehicle driving without lights and asked headquarters for a license check by two-way radio.

Capt. James D. Crosson said that the passenger in the stopped car, alleged to be Ferreira, stepped out and walked over to the police cruiser and fired a handgun at close range several times. Police say that Ferreira then ran back to the car and the pair sped away.

Patrolman Fortin emptied his revolver at the car, hitting it several times, but he failed to stop the vehicle.

Ferreira was arrested more than a mile from the scene near Silva's house on Buffington street. The alleged murder weapon, a .38 caliber revolver and the bullet-riddled car were also found nearby, police said. Silva was arrested a short time afterward.

Fall River's acting police chief, Ralph S. Crudele, said Ruggiero had previously served in the vice and intelligence squad as an undercover agent. He said the slain patrolman was "an excellent police officer."

Capt. Charles Gregory, head of the police uniformed division, said Ruggiero was "an exceptional police officer who had received several commendations for his fine police work."

He had been attending law enforcement classes four nights a week at Bristol Community College.

Ruggiero lived at 57 Eastern av., Fall River, with his wife, Vivianne (Fortier), a son, John P., and a daughter, Suzanne D.

He was a Vietnam war veteran, serving in the Navy. He joined the police force in May, 1971, and was a member of the Fall River Police Relief Assn., Massachusetts Police Assn., International Brotherhood of Police Officers, and Immaculate Conception Church. He was also a ham radio operator.

Besides his wife and children, he leaves his parents, Mr. and Mrs. Anthony R. Ruggiero of Fall River; three sisters and a brother.

A military funeral will be held at 9 a.m. Thursday from Immaculate Conception Church. Burial will be in St. Patrick's Cemetery, Fall River.

## THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

### HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, Sunday, July 22 marked the beginning of the 63d annual convention of the National Urban League being held here in Washington, D.C.

At a time when our national administration is retreating from the war on poverty and when a general purposelessness and apathy is exhibited by too many Americans, it is encouraging to note that the Urban League and its executive director, Vernon Jordan, are still moving forward with skill and determination in the fight for black civil rights and economic progress.

A large part of the present success of the organization is attributable to its director, Vernon Jordan. Following in the footsteps left by the late, great Whitney Young, Jr., Jordan has done extraordinary work. A recent Washington Post column by William Raspberry entitled, "Optimism in the Urban League" sheds some light on Jordan's role in the League and in the civil rights movement. I submit the column for the attention of all CONGRESSIONAL RECORD readers:

#### OPTIMISM IN THE URBAN LEAGUE

(By William Raspberry)

There are several reasons why Vernon Jordan hasn't played tennis with John Ehrlichman recently. The one that matters is Ehrlichman no longer is in position to influence what happens to black people.

As executive director of the National Urban League, which is holding its 63rd annual conference here this week, Jordan's style is to rub shoulders, hob-nob and otherwise "deal with those who make policy and those who influence policymakers." Or, as he recently told *Jet* magazine, "I have learned that many, many things are accomplished on tennis courts, in restaurants and other such places. It's not important where you plead your case."

He knows that his hob-nobbing gets him some raised eyebrows from black people (as it did for his predecessor, the late Whitney Young). But also (as with Young) it gets results. One example: At a time when black Americans are complaining about the drying up of federal funds for social programs, the Urban League has \$22 million (out of its total special projects budget of \$28 million) in federal grants.

Nor, according to Jordan, has it been at the cost of compromising Urban League principles.

But it isn't just the federal bankrolling that sets the Urban League apart from other civil rights groups. There is among the League's leadership an optimism about the organization's role that is almost startling

by contrast to the NAACP and, especially, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, whose director, Ralph Abernathy, recently resigned.

Jordan spoke of that optimism at a pre-conference press breakfast Friday morning. The 1960s, he said, were devoted to getting the rules changed, to getting rid of Jim Crow laws and "colored" water fountains. And while the Urban League was a part of that era, it was never in the limelight.

"But the '70s are the period of implementation," Jordan said, "and there is no better time for the Urban League. You look at the civil rights movement at this particular moment, and we have the greatest talent for delivering the promises of the '60s."

"In terms of local leadership, in terms of credibility across the board, in terms of resources financial and otherwise, we're in better shape than any other agency."

As Jordan would acknowledge, that isn't because the Urban League is smarter than other groups (although it clearly has avoided some of the more obvious tactical errors) but because of the nature of the struggle.

The legal battle, at which the NAACP excelled, is no longer stage center. The demonstrations and sit-ins and freedom rides, which were the tactic of CORE and SNCC and SCLC, are passe.

"We're not talking now about integrating lunch counters," Jordan says. "We're talking about things that were not even considered civil rights issues in the '60s: things like the delivery of comprehensive medical services, welfare reform, revenue sharing."

These are issues suited to the make-up of the Urban League (with its 3,000 professionally trained staffers) and to the style of Vernon Jordan, who knows he lacks the "charisma" to set people marching and singing and clapping hands. Jordan relies on subtler talents: his chameleon-like switch from shrewd lawyer to country boy from Georgia and back again as the situation requires; his willingness to pass up a chance to act "black" if acting "white" will get him what he wants; his penchant for candor.

He will risk unpopularity among black collegians by declaring black-studies to be "a lot of crap." He'll offend black-pride zealots by acknowledging, "to the extent that blacks have achieved in this country, we've not done it by ourselves." And he'll denigrate some of the things he has worked hard for by allowing that "except for the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the 1960s civil rights legislation helped only the middle-class blacks."

And whites. "That's the thing we've got to remember," he says. "The administration's budget cuts, its concept of revenue sharing are based on the notion that the programs of the 1960s were black programs. Maybe, so, but the vast majority of the beneficiaries of those programs are whites. It's tactically useful for us to remind white people of that fact."

I join with my colleagues in welcoming the members of the National Urban League to Washington, D.C., and wishing them much success at their conference.

## SOME ADDITIONAL THOUGHTS ABOUT OUR FORMER POW'S

### HON. GEORGE E. BROWN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. BROWN of California. Mr. Speaker, on several previous occasions I have taken the floor to comment and enter matter in the RECORD about those Americans who were held captive in South-

east Asia during the last several years by the people against whom we have been waging an undeclared war. On one such occasion, in February of this year, I entered in the RECORD some material by Dr. Bernard Sklar, a sociologist and assistant professor in the school of education of the University of Southern California.

Recently I came across an article in the June 1 issue of *Commonweal* magazine, also by Dr. Sklar, which contains some very interesting thoughts which he has developed since the return of our POW's. I would like to share some excerpts from that article with you, Mr. Speaker, and with our colleagues today. The excerpts, from the article entitled "America and the POW's," read as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM AMERICA AND THE POW'S—  
TORN BETWEEN TWO EMOTIONS

(By Bernard Sklar)

The return of America's Prisoners of War from Indochina has brought a number of surprises—their relative good health, their tendency to celebrate the old virtues; to salute the flag, praise their commander-in-chief, etc.—but perhaps the most interesting of all is the way in which the nation as a whole responded to their ordeal. No matter what point of view one takes, there can be no question that the patriots, the zealots of Honor and Courage and Country have carried the day; and chief among those in the vanguard have been the members of the popular press. Beginning with the first official contact of American POW's with their American liaison teams, there has been a steady stream of heart-warming and human-interest stories, first about how proud and dignified and brave they were and then, at the first opportunity, how much they suffered in the way of "torture" and other cruelties in the hands of the enemy.

All of this had, to say the least, a kind of classical Kabuki quality. It is as if we were witnessing an ancient morality play with the characters all cast in unmistakable shades of black and white, their faces painted and their clothes appropriately arranged to reflect unmitigated good and evil. But that obviously is not the case. This was a disastrous war. It cost us over 50,000 lives and Vietnamese, North and South, over one and a half million if one counts the civilian population. It has devastated (and continues to devastate) a number of Southeast Asian countries and left a series of deep scars in our own land. And what is perhaps the cruellest joke of all—it has accomplished nothing. As one of the POW's has said:

"I don't think we won the war at all. . . . They asked for complete, total withdrawal of U.S. forces, a complete halt of air activity over Vietnam, the stopping of support of South Vietnam and for elections. Christ Almighty, in looking at the peace terms and everything, that's exactly what they got."

What then can we make of this most recent spectacle and what does it tell us of the future?

As in all complex sociopolitical affairs there are several levels of analysis that are appropriate to any understanding of this matter. From one point of view, it can be seen that the critics of the war have actually been more successful than they ever dreamed. They have won two victories. The first is that it is inconceivable that the U.S. will again allow itself to be drawn into the kind of adventure that led to the debacle in the first place. The American people and particularly the Congress, in spite of its many and apparent weaknesses, will not stand by and watch the President intrude our presence in some foreign land for any ostensible Communist-containing, democracy-protecting purpose however benign its original intention. We have learned, at too great a cost,

to what this can lead. I am well aware that this *affaire d'honneur*, this incredibly egocentric war to sustain a nation's pride, is not over and that much remains to be done to stay our murderous weapons and prevent them from further destroying Laos and Cambodia. Nevertheless, and regardless of how long these death throes of our passion for making failure disappear by further failure last, there cannot in my mind be another war of this kind for the U.S. in the foreseeable future. Clandestine encouragement or even support of such operations by foreign forces, yes; but the sovereign use of uniformed troops and their supporting aircraft and ships, never. We have had it as the policeman of the world.

In this respect the nation has truly matured and from one point of view the entire antiwar movement is a living testament to the development of a people from a race of dependent, sheep-like and dutiful servitors of the sovereign will to a questioning, skeptical and truly democratic nation in which the people's will and the people's voice is heard. Needless to say, that voice is still weak and efforts are being made to suppress its freest expression (witness the current struggle over a journalist's right to protect his sources of information). Nevertheless, it would strain the imagination to believe that we could ever go back to a time like those prior to World War I or II, or as recently as the early 1950s, when the American people could be aroused to armed vengeance by the traditional slogans of "my country right or wrong" or for that matter, such silly ideas as a "war to end all wars."

The second victory for the antiwar movement is the fact that the nation's leaders have come to accept the realities of the current engagement—or at least not to suggest, as they have so strongly in the past, its irrealties. There is virtually no talk about the original ideals that motivated this war: the idea that we were in Indochina to protect the people there from the encroachments of Communism. In fact, many of the highest leaders of our country have been heard referring to the engagement as a civil war, something that the liberals had to scream at them only a short time ago.

At another level this may all seem quite hollow, for it is clear that we continue to bomb an innocent people in Laos and Cambodia, the Pentagon continues to enjoy one of the largest budgets of all time, and the President seems to be carrying the day in obscuring the true outcome of the war in Vietnam and our role in the destruction and debasement of that nation. Rallies against South Vietnam's Thieu were feeble during his recent tour of the country and it seems as if anyone raised his head to suggest, as Jane Fonda did, that the POW's were far from candid about their own situations and the war, they were mowed down in a barrage of vilification and slander. In many respects this should not surprise us. Our war has ended in Vietnam and a large number of people, probably a majority of Americans, feel that the President did it—got us out of Vietnam, however imperfectly, and thus "ended the war." The subtlety of thinking that would be required for a true assessment of the capitulation that was involved in that process and the role that was played by the antiwar minority in bringing such an end to pass is something that the public is not ready to undertake. Just before the release of the first POW's in February I suggested in these pages [Jan. 5] that there would never be a better time to conduct such a debate. I also pointed out the propaganda potential for the Administration in the returning POW's and warned that they would be used to that end, which, of course, they were. But it would not have been possible for that to occur if there had not been active com-

plicity in that respect on the part of an important segment of the press, a vast sector of the public and most of the POW's themselves.

Anyone who has followed the press coverage on the POW's in recent days must be impressed with the number of stories and the by-lines of those who have extolled the virtues of our men, their ingenuity in finding ways to communicate with each other, their courage in the face of often obscurely defined, as well as real, punishments, their endless imagination at devising ways to amuse and even educate themselves and the pains they took to remain steadfast to their nation and its principles. The wire services and the staffs of all the major papers seemed to explode with the output of what one can only surmise was the suppressed creativity of a number of journalists who had for so long wanted to say something good about this nation and its people. Even some better known journalists like Keyes Beech of the *Chicago Daily News* got into the act for it really was hard to resist.

And so it was for a great number of Americans. There had been such a long winter of ill tales of our servicemen, of our country and its government, its motives and objectives; so much black painted upon a canvas that many people felt was gold and green and blue that something like an explosion was bound to occur. It is to the credit of traditional journalism that newspapermen understood, as I think many liberals failed to understand and exploit this opportunity. What it implies is that and that alone. It was a moment for nostalgia; to celebrate old and worn-out sentiments and ideals. It was as if someone had put on a Civil War pageant or World War I parade. Except for the clashing, incongruously modern backdrop of jet age aircraft and sophisticated telecommunications systems which permitted us to share this experience instantaneously and intimately, what one saw was America at its bravest and best. "Don't tell us what we are," the press seemed to be saying, "let us remind you of what we were."

In many ways one can share that feeling. Regardless of one's position in regard to the war, it is clear that American fighting men retain a salty nature and a kind of pluck reminiscent of Bill Mauldin's World War II cartoon characters, Willy and Joe, that one can quite appreciate. Unfortunately, we cannot separate this aspect of their character from what they did in Vietnam and elsewhere. Our innocence ended with the first reports of saturation bombing and destruction of a simple pastoral people in the face of a modern Juggernaut—America; on the rampage in Southeast Asia, escalating its revenge in tonnage of bombs and meaninglessness of devastation in geometric ratio to its frustration and anger at its self and its failure to achieve even one of its reconstituted purposes, civilian or military, in that hapless country. For America, insofar as this POW episode is concerned, is torn between two emotions, one born out of a past that many people wish to preserve but which obviously does not function for the world we live in and one the child of the terrible present. The former an emotion of simpler times, when men faced each other with guns and tanks rather than ultrasonic detectors and high-altitude bombing; the other a feeling that grows out of the realization that there are no heroes or devils in the world, only problems and men that are caught up in them.

Unfortunately it takes time for men to disgorge their old sentiments and take on the new, more useful ones that they need to adapt to their environment. Judging from everything we know from history, it is also among the more difficult things that human beings are asked to do; but do it we must or, again as history demonstrates, suffer devastation, decline or even extinction. In the



twilight zone that separates one era from the next, there may be a moment when those men holding on to the ancient ideals make their last plea for dignity and respect and those representing the present and the future look on sullenly and with disdain. A stranger could very well have pity on them both, for there is much that is sad in the closing of the old world and the making of the new.

#### CAPT. EDDIE RICKENBACKER

### HON. WM. JENNINGS BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker was a great pioneer in the American tradition. He rivaled our Founding Fathers in promoting new ideas and concepts. Like them, he was a man of courage and indomitable will. He braved the unknown in the same fearless way that the early pioneers explored and conquered a wilderness land despite all the dangers and hardships.

Eddie Rickenbacker exemplified the American dream. Born in humble circumstances and without formal higher education, he nevertheless became one of the best-educated men of our time in aerodynamics, navigation, meteorology, and space.

Captain Rickenbacker was completely dedicated to the American system of private enterprise. He believed that human rights and property rights were one and inseparable, and he was convinced that if we lost one we would lose the other. He believed in rugged individualism and in the worth and dignity of the individual.

Through Eddie Rickenbacker's dynamic leadership Eastern Airlines became one of the truly great transportation systems in modern world history. He was in the airline business to perform a superior public service and also to make a profit in order to expand and improve that service. Eastern today employs over 35,000 men and women with an unsurpassed esprit de corps and dedication to serving the public.

Eddie Rickenbacker was a firm believer in God as the Creator and Ruler of the Universe. He believed in the destiny of the United States as a nation under God, and he felt that our Nation would prosper and grow as long as it remained a nation under God.

Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker was a patriot serving our country with heroic distinction in time of war. He became in World War I one of the world's greatest aces, destroying in aerial combat 26 enemy planes. He was a man of peace who believed that peace could only be achieved through maintaining our military strength and improving our science and technology. I only wish that America had heeded his warnings about air power in the 1920's and 1930's. Had we listened and acted, perhaps we could have avoided the world's most destructive and tragic world war.

During that war, Eddie Rickenbacker again served his country with superior dedication and incredible courage, calling upon his extensive knowledge of tech-

nology to aid our Nation. As an adviser to the President, he undertook with great skill special missions for the White House.

The United States is a greater nation today and the cause of freedom is more secure around the world because of the life and services of Capt. Eddie Rickenbacker, one of the most uncommon men of our century.

To Mrs. Rickenbacker, to his sons and the entire Rickenbacker family we extend our sympathy and our deepest respect to the memory of an outstanding American who made such invaluable contributions to the causes of freedom, national defense, and individual dignity.

#### REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON

### HON. ELIZABETH HOLTZMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Ms. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, as Members of the House of Representatives we have been called upon to consider some very significant issues during these last 6 months. This week I am sending out my second newsletter to my constituents to report on these issues, on legislation I have introduced, and on federally related local issues in which I have been involved. I am also asking my constituents to complete a questionnaire on their views about Watergate.

At this time I would like to insert the full text of my newsletter:

LIZ HOLTZMAN—REPORTS FROM WASHINGTON

DEAR CONSTITUENT: There is much to report since my first newsletter. It has been particularly gratifying to me that so many of you really care about what is happening in Washington. Hundreds of you have telephoned, visited my District Office or written to let me know how you feel about matters before the Congress or problems in the District. This has been an exciting and fruitful four months, and I would like to report some of the most important news to you.

SPEEDING FEDERAL CRIME FIGHTING FUNDS TO NEW YORK CITY

The rising crime rate affects everyone in our District in a direct and personal way. For this reason I feel very strongly that the Federal Government must play a more effective role in helping police combat crime.

Last month, as a member of the Judiciary Committee, I introduced the "Crime Control Revenue Sharing Act of 1973" (H.R. 8021) to replace the existing Federal crime-fighting program. My bill concentrated federal funds in high crime areas like New York City and cut the red tape which has kept money from reaching cities quickly. For example, by the middle of 1972 New York State spent only 15% of the funds available for fiscal 1972 and 56% of the funds for fiscal 1971.

It was gratifying to me that the House and Senate adopted several of my reforms.

In the past it has taken as much as one year to get funds from Washington to New York City. Now under my plan states must approve city requests within 60 days. Washington must approve grants within 90 days. States will also be encouraged to seek improvements throughout the criminal justice system including court reform and better arrest procedures.

I believe these improvements will make the federal crime-fighting program more effective. For example, we will be able to

look for ways to cut police paperwork so that police can spend more on-duty time patrolling the streets.

The House authorized \$1 billion for this program. If spent wisely, this money can begin to make a difference in our fight against crime.

#### TAKING PRESIDENT TO COURT TO END CAMBODIA BOMBING

Few issues have evoked a stronger response from our community than the President's bombing of Cambodia.

Because I was so disturbed by the President's actions, which as a lawyer I believe to be unconstitutional, I filed suit in Brooklyn Federal Court to end the bombing. Three Air Force officers who had been flying missions over Cambodia joined the suit. This was the first anti-Cambodia bombing suit filed in the U.S.

On June 13, in a landmark decision, Federal Judge Orin Judd upheld my right to challenge the President's bombing operations. I am very proud that because of my action and the Court's decision, never again will a President be able to begin a war without having to answer to the courts and the Congress.

In my suit I argued that under the Constitution, Congress alone can declare war and raise armies. We have not declared war in Cambodia. In fact, Congress has repeatedly and specifically expressed its opposition to the bombing.

It is disheartening to report that on June 29, Congress passed a law to cut off funds for the Cambodia bombing after August 15. Although this vote would appear to be a victory for those of us opposed to the President's actions, I voted to end the bombing immediately. I believe there is no justification for continuing this war which wastes \$4 million a day and places more American servicemen in danger.

I have continued with my lawsuit because I still believe the President's bombing is unconstitutional since a majority of Congress has clearly called for its immediate end.

#### ENDING ILLEGAL CIA ACTIVITIES

All of us are troubled by reports of CIA involvement in domestic law enforcement. For this reason, I am pleased to report that the House and Senate adopted my amendment barring certain domestic CIA activities. This was the first congressional action since the revelations concerning CIA involvement in the Watergate affair.

Such CIA action threatens our personal rights and the integrity of the CIA itself. In New York, for example, it was disturbing to learn that CIA employees have been training New York police on surveillance techniques and foreign intelligence analysis. My amendments puts an end to such activity.

#### SCHOOL MILK PROGRAM

A few weeks ago a mother told me that her child who goes to P.S. 92 was unable to buy milk in school and therefore went without milk all day.

My District Office found that the Federal government provides a subsidy which entitles all elementary school children, except those who participate in the free breakfast or lunch programs, to buy milk for 25 cents a week.

In the case of P.S. 92, I contacted Community Superintendent Charles Schonhaut who promised to make milk available to children who wish to buy it.

#### PROHIBITING A PRIVATE AIRFIELD AT FLOYD BENNETT FIELD

Many of my constituents have shared with me their opposition to building a civilian airport at Floyd Bennett Field. This airport would bring noise and air pollution and would be hazardous to air traffic and the surrounding area.

I am very pleased to report that on the floor of the House I was assured that no federal funds could be spent to develop such an airport.

You may also be interested to know that Congress has just appropriated \$6.2 million for the operation of Gateway National Park, and that planning is already under way too for this park at the Floyd Bennett Field site—without an airport.

#### MORE POLICE FOR SHEEPSHEAD BAY

My office received a number of complaints about inadequate police coverage in the vicinity of P.S. 286, Sheilbank Junior High School, and Sheepshead Bay High School. Working with the Parents Association of P.S. 286, I contacted Police Commissioner Cawley. Shortly thereafter the police assigned a special patrol car during school hours.

#### A NEW FIRE ENGINE FOR FLATBUSH

Until last May, Ladder Company 157 on Rogers Avenue had been operating with a 15-year-old hook-and-ladder. This fire engine broke down frequently and posed an unacceptable danger to the men of the Company and to Flatbush residents.

I joined with community groups to ask Fire Commissioner Robert Lowery to replace the engine. I am happy to report that Ladder Company 157 now has a new fire engine, which I had the privilege to inspect at the South Midwood Residents Association Block Party.

#### MAJOR VOTES IN CONGRESS

- Increase Social Security benefits by 5.66%—Yes.
- Roll back prices—Yes.
- End seniority system for choosing committee chairmen—Yes.
- Open all committee meetings to the public—Yes.
- Increase services to older Americans—Yes.
- Immediate end to Cambodia bombing—Yes.
- Rollback rents and stabilize rents under federal controls—Yes.
- Allow use of Highway Trust Fund for Mass Transit—Yes.
- Require full funding of school child nutrition program—Yes.
- Expand Federal Crime-Fighting Program—Yes.
- Appropriate \$475,000 for House Internal Security Committee—No.
- Extend hospital construction and other health programs—Yes.
- Increase and expand the coverage of minimum wage—Yes.

#### QUESTIONNAIRE ON WATERGATE

The Watergate revelations are of profound concern to me. The Constitution gives the power to begin impeachment proceedings to the House alone. For this reason, as your Congresswoman, I would welcome your views on President Nixon and the Watergate break-in.

[Answers provided for yes, no, undecided]

1. Do you feel that President Nixon—
  - a. Had prior knowledge of the Watergate break-in?
  - b. Participated in the Watergate cover-up?
2. Do you feel that President Nixon should be impeached—
  - a. If investigation reveals he had prior knowledge of the Watergate break-in?
  - b. If investigation reveals he participated in the Watergate cover-up?
  - c. Because of the alleged illegal spying, wiretapping and other activities of his staff?
3. Do you think President Nixon should resign?
4. Do you think that the Media is paying too much attention to the Watergate investigations?

I hope that you will continue to write to me about issues of concern to you and that you will get in touch with my office if we can be of help. I wish you and your family an enjoyable summer and look forward to

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reporting to you again in the early fall. Sincerely,

ELIZABETH HOLTZMAN,  
Member of Congress.

#### TRAINING DOGS FOR POLICE WORK

### HON. TIM LEE CARTER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, law enforcement has undergone a number of changes in recent years. Police academies are graduating increasing numbers of cadets, each well trained in the science of police work. These rookies have contributed greatly to the efficiency of local police departments through their great knowledge of sophisticated crime detection techniques.

I offer for the consideration of my colleagues in the House an article which recently appeared in the Adair County, Ky. News. This report deals with the method of "dog running" taught by Adair County Deputy Sheriff W. O. "Candy" Mann. While I feel Deputy Mann should be commended for his interest in scientific endeavors, I hesitate to endorse his method, since I once had a patient who lost an ear practicing Professor Mann's tactics. The article follows:

"CANDY" MANN DESCRIBES "DOG RUNNING"  
(By Fred Lawrence)

Your're selling Girl Scout cookies door to door. You walk into a yard that looks about the same as any other. Then, suddenly, a three foot high, 100 pound German Shepherd that's all fangs and claws comes streaking around the corner with an I'm-going-to-have-you-for-dinner look in his eyes.

What do you do? Die of heart failure on the spot? Drops your cookies and run the mile in world record time? Or do you get down on all fours and charge the dog head on?

Well, if you're Adair County Deputy Sheriff Wilbur Orville "Candy" Mann, you meet the dog on all fours. And for him, anyway, this method always results in the dog turning tail and running away.

This method of defending ones self from dogs requires no technique, said "Candy" Mann, "The nerve to do it is the main thing."

"Candy" Mann described his method of "dog running," as he called it, by saying, "The only way I do it is, if I start toward a house and a dog starts toward me, never run. If you run you will always get bit. You let the dog get pretty close and take off your hat, then get down on all fours and start growling and waving the hat."

Every dog has run away so far, he said. He added, "I leave them under the house growling at me." That's why, he said, "they send me to serve papers when there is a mean dog at the house."

"Candy" Mann said he is currently training Sheriff Joe England to chase dogs and that England has run a couple. He said that Deputy Sheriff Bill Ballou was afraid to take the training because Ballou is afraid of dogs and snakes.

Any other police or law enforcement agent can receive training in dog running from "Candy" Mann. He will even go to a University or police academy and give instruction and advice on dog running.

The method of dog running "Candy" Mann uses was not an original idea of his. He said he had heard about it for a while before he tried it. "I did it the first time years ago in Dayton, Ohio, on a bet," he said. It

worked and he has been doing it ever since. He said he had no idea how many dogs he had run during his 7½ years as a deputy sheriff, but "I've never been bitten."

Also, he said he does not know why the method works, but it works on any kind of dog, he said. "I've run any kind of dog there is in Adair County," he said.

"Not being afraid of the dog is the main thing," he said. "If you run or even think of running, you'll get bitten. You've got to just keep going toward them."

But, Candy Mann said, "you feel kind of funny doing it." No doubt, though, most people would rather feel funny, then feel a dog's fangs in their leg.

So, the next time you are out selling Girl Scout cookies and you come to a house that looks about the same as any other, but has a big vicious dog that wants you for his lunch, you needn't have heart failure or try to set a world record for the mile. Just get down on all fours and charge the dog head on growling as mean as you can.

And if that doesn't work, start carrying a shot gun!

#### ENVIRONMENTAL BLACKMAIL

### HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Ms. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, I wish to draw to the attention of my colleagues an article published in Steel Labor, the newspaper of the United Steelworkers of America. The American steel industry has been cited as the Nation's worst polluter, and often strict controls of this pollution pose the prospect of layoffs. Many times this possibility is exaggerated by the individual company, leading workers to believe that clean air or water necessarily means unemployment. Fortunately, steelworkers have withstood this empty threat. They have become increasingly aware of the quality of air and water and adamant in the enforcement of stricter pollution laws. The following article "Steelworkers Say 'No' to Environmental Blackmail," deals specifically with this situation: how the American steel industry lags far behind in controlling air and water pollution; how unions campaign to minimize or prevent the predicted job loss; how the workers themselves organize and actively participate in pollution control.

The article follows:

STEELWORKERS SAY "NO" TO ENVIRONMENTAL BLACKMAIL

MARIETTA: CLEAN AIR—AND JOBS

"What has taken place in Marietta is a lesson that all America should learn and not forget. Today, Marietta has cleaner air. Union Carbide has greatly reduced its air pollution. And not a single job was lost because of the air pollution control program!"

That's the essence of a recent feature article in "Focus," a publication of the Ohio AFL-CIO. It's a story of attempted "environmental blackmail" and what happened when workers stood firmly against the threat.

Some 1,400 workers at Union Carbide's plastics and ferroalloys plant, on the banks of the Ohio River in Marietta, Ohio, are represented by USWA Local 14976, whose president is Dale Hendershot, and Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers Local 9-639. Both locals were deeply involved in the controversy which arose in January, 1971, when the federal Environmental Protection Agency ordered the



company to clean up the air pollution from the power plant supplying energy for its huge ferroalloy furnaces.

Sulfur dioxide pollution, the government said, must be reduced by 40 per cent by Oct. 20 of that year and by 70 per cent no later than April of 1972. Deadlines of September, 1971, and March, 1973 were established to cut fly ash pollution by 25 per cent and 50 per cent.

"One of the most significant developments . . . in the last half decade has been the increased awareness and concern of working people about the quality of air and water," states the "Focus" article, adding, however, that it is when anti-pollution laws are implemented that "the squeeze" begins to be applied.

On Jan. 11, 1971, Union Carbide declared the deadlines were unrealistic. If the government insisted they be met, the company said, some operations would have to be shut down, laying off 625 workers. "Shock waves of the announcement," said "Focus," began in Marietta and traveled east and west to both coasts.

Ralph Nader called the company statement "unnecessary, unjustified, and unconscionable." Congressmen attacked it as "economic and environmental blackmail." Sen. Edmund Muskie ordered a Senate investigation. Just as importantly, in spite of some feeling that perhaps the company was right . . . maybe the standards were too rigid, the unions held firm.

"One union president in the plant," according to "Focus," said several approaches were made asking him to appeal to governmental agencies for an extension of the deadlines. "We called a meeting of the members and laid it on the line for them," said the local president. "He had a vote that night and it was overwhelmingly in support of the local union to keep insisting the company accept its responsibility to clean up the air, layoffs or not."

"It's been over two years since that controversy surfaced," the article said, noting that no job layoffs occurred. Instead, the company reports that it spent more than \$15 million on air pollution control equipment in recent years. It also began buying more low-sulfur coal for its power plant generators. Company charts show that fly ash emissions have been reduced more than 90 per cent since 1970 and that sulfur dioxide discharges are down almost 40 per cent.

Although the company is still spending large amounts of money for a continuing pollution control program, the plant manager said that the Marietta facility is once again operating at a profit. The crisis "brought about an increased awareness in this plant by both management and workers. And this increased awareness has resulted in more efficient operations here," he said, calling the current job outlook "at its highest level."

"Now," concludes the "Focus" article, "other polluters along the Ohio River—and throughout Ohio and the nation—should get down to a serious approach towards ending pollution. Then we'll all be able to breathe a little easier!"

The American steel industry "lags far behind what is legally required and technologically feasible" in controlling air and water pollution from its mills, the environmental impact of which ranges from "negligible to devastating," concludes a recent study by the Council on Economic Priorities, a New York-based group which describes itself as "a non-profit organization dedicated to analyzing the performance of U.S. corporations." The study found that "steel has only begun to make a dent on its environmental problems."

The 521-page report, released on May 21, covers 47 major plants of seven of the nation's largest steelmakers—U.S. Steel, Bethlehem, Republic National, Jones & Laughlin, Armco, and Inland. This mill-by-

mill analysis, the report stated, "indicates that there is no steel mill operated by a major steel producer which will be closed in the next few years solely because pollution control costs have rendered it unprofitable."

It did find, however, that the lifespans of a few marginal plants might be shortened by the necessity of meeting pollution standards. Listed were an Armco plant in Hamilton, Ohio, a Republic mill in Youngstown, Ohio, and U.S. Steel properties in Youngstown, in Provo, Utah, and in Duluth, Minn.—some of which already have been partially phased out.

The Council, which found vast differences in the degree of pollution control at the 47 properties surveyed, noted that anti-pollution lawsuits or enforcement actions by government agencies are pending against 40 of them.

#### STEEL INDUSTRY, AIR, WATER POLLUTION "NEGLECTED TO DEVASTATING" IN IMPACT

National Steel Corporation was cited as the worst polluter of the air; Republic, as the worst water polluter. At the same time, U.S. Steel, was described as "far and away the largest gross air polluter" and its Gary (Ind.) Works as the worst air polluting mill in the study, spewing out 22,000 pounds of emissions an hour, which are responsible for 40 per cent of the city's soot and dust pollution. U.S. Steel, of course, is the country's largest steel producer.

Compared on more than a score of specific pollutants, the seven companies were rated as follows in terms of particulate emissions per ton of steel produced: Armco, 4.2 lbs.; Bethlehem, 6.6 lbs.; Inland, 6.7 lbs.; Republic, 8.2 lbs.; J&L, 8.9 lbs.; U.S. Steel, 10.8 lbs.; and National, 21.9 lbs.

Much of Armco's capacity, making extensive use of electric furnaces, is either new or recently rehabilitated. Its small Sand Springs, Okla., plant, which emits a total of 25 pounds of soot an hour—less than one per cent of the area's pollution—was cited as an example of cleanup possibilities. The company also was praised for extensive water recycling at some plants, although it was criticized for such things as oil discharges at others.

Besides U.S. Steel's Gary Works, the CEP study lists National Steel's Weirton (W. Va.) Works and U.S. Steel's plants in Birmingham, Ala., and Clairton, Pa., among the "most air-polluting mills." The Clairton Works was called "the second largest sulfur dioxide polluter in the study," topped only by National. "No major steel producer emerged with an overall good record in water pollution control," the research group stated, noting that Republic's "distinctly poor water pollution record" resulted largely from its "abysmal water pollution controls" at four mills in northeastern Ohio—in Canton, Massillon, Warren, and Youngstown.

Also listed among the worst water-polluting plants were those of Bethlehem Steel at Johnstown, Pa., and J&L at Aliquippa, Pa. The report found Bethlehem's Sparrows Point, Md. plant "a very heavy polluter, the worst in the study for arsenic (324 pounds a day) and cyanide (5,469 pounds a day)." The poisons have killed fish a mile out into Chesapeake Bay, the report notes. The CEP found that 11 plants, on the other hand, including seven of U.S. Steel's, discharge water free of suspended solids than the water taken in.

While spokesmen for the industry admitted that the CEP report was impressive in its comprehensiveness, they complained that some of the data was outdated and not reflective of recent or pending pollution control improvements. The Council, which began its study in February, 1972, noted that steel was the only one of several industries studied which refused to cooperate in providing information. After being turned down by all the companies in its original request for data, the CEP turned to statistics from various government agencies and other published studies in compiling its report.

Accepting as accurate the estimate of the federal government's Council on Environmental Quality that pollution control measures still needed will cost the industry about \$2.8 billion, the CEP study stated that the companies could meet the cost of compliance with price increases of about 1.1 per cent per year over a five-year period—an amount, it said, which would boost the cost of a large car by only about \$5.

On May 10, U.S. Steel set off a round of price increases in the industry with its announcement of boosts averaging 4.8 per cent on sheet and strip products, which account for some 40 per cent of the industry's shipments. Slated to go into effect in mid-June, the price hikes were cancelled in the wake of the new Nixon 60-day price freeze, announced just prior to that time.

The industry, which estimates that it spent \$201.8 million on environmental control in 1972, criticized as being too low the CEP estimate of price hikes needed to cover future pollution control costs. One steelmaker said its own estimate would be about double that of the Council. The CEP study did concede that the industry "might have cause to worry about its financial position" in the light of its low profitability in recent years. Last year, however, was a much better year than 1971 for steel. A USWA Research Department compilation of net profits for 23 major producers showed a gain of 37.4 per cent—from \$521.1 million in 1971 to \$715.9 million in 1972.

While President John P. Roche of the American Iron and Steel Institute has stated that the industry "is moving as rapidly as possible to meet its environmental quality goals, despite the enormous financial burden that the task imposes," lengthy legal battles brought by government agencies and other groups often seem to have been necessary to produce company action.

The city of Gary, for example, has long pressed for pollution control by U.S. Steel, which has claimed a lack of technology necessary to meet certain government deadlines. Over a year ago, a Superior Court judge sternly rebuked the company and, on April 18, 1973, the Environmental Protection Agency issued the Gary Works and the Universal Atlas Cement Division a notice of violation, citing "21 different sources emitting over 70,000 tons per year of particulate matter." The company also was recently charged by an Allegheny County judge with dragging its feet in cleaning up the Clairton Coke Works, failing to live up to a consent order it had agreed to almost a year ago.

The CEP study, which says that "commercially available technology could eliminate better than 90 per cent of the air and water pollution" coming from steel mills, notes that the industry also faces several major solid waste problems, including those associated with slag dumping and the disposal of taconite tailings. The industry has made only "token" efforts to encourage the recycling of the metals it produces, it adds.

#### JAMESTOWN: UNION TO SORT FACT, FICTION IN MOST RECENT JOB SCARE

JOHNSTOWN, Pa.—Bethlehem Steel Corp.'s announced plans to replace its existing primary steelmaking facilities here with a new electric furnace shop, which project a gradual reduction in employment from 11,800 to 7,100 workers, will be thoroughly investigated by a Steering Committee of USWA local union presidents, under the direction of District 15 Director Joseph Odorich. Liaison with the Congress, state legislature, and key government agencies also will be established early in the union's campaign to minimize or prevent job loss.

Similar scares have been occurring at the Johnstown Works, according to some unionists, "for as long as any of us can remember." The union sees the need, therefore, of delving deeply into the facts of the situation before taking action, so as to be able to deal most effectively with the problem.

The June 13 Bethlehem announcement, released to the news media prior to a meeting of local management with USWA local union officials and staffers, call for the electric furnace shop to be operational by 1977, with 4,700 jobs a. the plant being phased out between the latter part of 1974 and that time. The company projects an eventual decline of over 56 per cent in ingot capacity at the Johnstown facility, with the gradual phase out of three blast furnaces, eight open hearths, three coke batteries, one two-strand sinter plant, the plate mills, some of the bar facilities, and a portion of the rod operation.

While Bethlehem said that the timing of an intensive study of the Johnstown plant and the decision to close down certain operations were determined by pollution control requirements, it declared that "the study would have been undertaken in any event and the general conclusions, except for the timing, would have been similar because of other considerations."

"Even if Bethlehem equipped all existing plant production facilities with pollution control devices capable of meeting existing and proposed environmental standards," the company said, "there still would be problems of market opportunities, transportation, higher product quality requirements, and age, location and physical layout of the plant which would affect its future character."

The bulk of the Johnstown workers, at five divisions of the Bethlehem plant, are represented by USWA Locals 2635, 2632, 2644, 2633, and 2634. Locals 2734 and 3176 represent workers operating and servicing Bethlehem railroads, and the company's Coal Mines Accounting Department Office is under contract with USWA Local 7400. Johnstown operations of the Standard Slag Co., whose employees are members of USWA Local 4280, also could be affected by a large-scale cutback at Bethlehem, believes Subdistrict Director Andrew Koban.

The Steering Committee of local union representatives will attempt to sort out fact from fiction in the controversy, as a basis for appropriate action. Some workers see the company statement as a ploy to try to stimulate increased production, reported Mr. Koban, while others believe Bethlehem's present problems are due to its failure to update equipment over the years. Already, a few state officials have called for further delay in implementation of air quality standards, although Bethlehem earlier was given a two-year extension and despite company cost estimates which indicate that pollution control was not the overriding factor in its decision.

Praising the "excellent reputation of the area's work force," Bethlehem has pledged cooperation with the community in finding substitute job opportunities and "has instructed its industrial development personnel to seek out companies which might be persuaded to establish manufacturing facilities here."

In probing the current situation, the USWA committee undoubtedly will maintain a healthy skepticism. However, pledged to work with those parties and in those directions offering workers the best prospects for brightening a seemingly bleak picture, it will act on its most accurate reading of the facts in the case.

#### HOUSING NEEDN'T DESTROY ENVIRONMENT

HON. EDWIN B. FORSYTHE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. FORSYTHE. Mr. Speaker, like many Americans I am becoming increas-

ingly concerned about the so-called urban sprawl, the turning of farmland and woodlands into concrete pastures, the devastation of natural resources, the mad congestion, the pollution.

As Americans become more affluent they seek more room for themselves, they want better houses, they want peace and quiet, they want safety and tranquillity.

They move outside the city, engage in a daily rat race of commuting, live on small unshaded lots with little or no privacy from their next door neighbors.

They can themselves into saying they are happy; that they have found the answer; that their investment was a wise one.

Much of this could be avoided if developers made an effort to preserve woodlands, wildlife, trees; if subdivisions were planned with more than the profit margin in mind.

In my district in New Jersey, a new community is sprouting in the south Jersey pinelands where it will be more convenient to walk or ride a bike to the store, or the doctor's office, than to drive. There will be lakes, wild flowers, birds, outdoor recreation. A biologist marks wild plants and they are saved from the bulldozer's path, moved to another location where they will be enjoyed.

Every home and apartment building will touch the community's "environmental commons," and more than 650 acres of the 2,500 acres involved will be open ground, to preserve the natural resources and basic geology of the virgin land.

The new community, to be known as Kings Grant is already under construction. I have visited there, and I have been impressed with the care being taken to prevent the rape of this beautiful area simply for profit.

King's Grant takes its name from the fact that King James II of England made the grants to insure English settlement almost 300 years ago and ownership of the tracts have come down directly over the years.

Bill Seltzer, president of the firm which is creating King's Grant, should be commended for the imagination, thought and care that is going into this new community.

#### THE SUPREME COURT

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, July 25, 1973

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, I insert my July 25, 1973, Washington Report entitled "The Supreme Court," in the RECORD, as follows:

#### THE SUPREME COURT

Not all the important news from Washington comes from the President or the Congress. Indeed, several recent and landmark decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court have more impact on our daily lives than many Presidential and Congressional actions.

In the history of the Nation only 100 men have sat on the Supreme Court, but these Justices, as these decisions remind us, influence the pattern of our lives in important ways. Presidents are aware that appointments to the Supreme Court are among their most important actions.

With controversial decisions, the Supreme Court in this recent term moved generally, but not invariably, toward a more conservative posture. The often divided Court set a course of "judicial conservatism," supported consistently by President Nixon's four appointees to the Court (Burger, Blackmun, Powell, and Rehnquist) who voted together on 70 percent of the cases heard. Justices Marshall, Douglas and Brennan, who also voted together 70 percent of the time, but often as dissenters, were the "liberal activists" of the Court. The swing Justices (Potter and White) in the center voted most of the time with the Nixon appointees.

The Court was reading the election returns, but, as with the abortion decision, it could be unpredictably independent. The Court often struck a theme of national unity, as in its insistence on one rule of law for both North and South in school desegregation, but its obscenity decision was a triumph for states' rights. A vast ideological gap between Justice Douglas on the left and Justice Rehnquist on the right splits the Court.

#### OBSCENITY

By a 5-4 decision the Supreme Court rewrote the definition of obscenity. Previously, material could be obscene only if: 1) its dominant theme considered as a whole appealed to prurient interests; 2) it was patently offensive because it went beyond community standards, which were national, not local or state standards; and 3) was utterly without redeeming social value. By the new ruling, the definition of obscenity covers any work "which appeals to the prurient interest in sex, which portrays sexual conduct in a patently offensive way, and which, taken as a whole, does not have serious literary, artistic, political, or scientific value." No longer must a work be "utterly without redeeming social value."

Juries applying this law will base their decisions on what is offensive by the local community viewpoint, a move which is likely to promote widely differing decisions in different parts of the country. The decision, which will almost certainly produce much new litigation, will permit states to restrict pornography to a greater degree.

#### ABORTION

The Court struck down anti-abortion laws in 46 states by ruling, 7-2, that a woman may have her pregnancy medically terminated without restriction during the first 13 weeks and under state health regulations for the next 16 weeks. Only during the final 10 weeks, when the fetus is judged capable of surviving if born, may state laws prohibit abortion.

The Justices rejected the view that the fetus becomes a person upon conception and thereafter enjoys "the right to live," and held instead that a pregnant woman has a constitutional right of privacy that extends to the termination of a pregnancy.

#### PRIVATE SCHOOLS

The Court by a 6-3 decision struck down state laws designed to provide direct and indirect financial assistance to private and parochial schools. The Court invalidated tax credits and reimbursements of a share of the tuition for parents and direct maintenance payments to private and parochial schools. The Court, in holding that such laws violated the constitutional barriers between church and state, reversed a 25-year trend which has allowed limited assistance like bus service and secular textbooks for parochial students. The result of this decision is to preclude the furnishing of any significant amount of government assistance to parochial schools.

In other important decisions, the Supreme Court upheld better school systems for richer communities, decided a number of cases which reflect a pattern in favor of stricter law enforcement, and strongly protected the environment.