

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

September 26, 1973

Clark amendment No. 519, dealing with funds for aircraft carrier, on which there is a 4-hour limitation.

Following the disposition of the Clark amendment, the Senate will take up the Humphrey amendment, which has to do with an overall cut, on which there is a time limitation of 2 hours.

Mr. President, that is about as far as I can state the program into Friday.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. May the Chair inquire as to whether or not there is any time limitation on the pay proposal?

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Yes. I am glad the Chair called that oversight to my attention.

There is a time limitation on Senate Resolution 171. Under the law there is a time limitation of not to exceed 2 hours on that resolution. No motion to recommit would be in order. No motion to amend would be in order and no motion to reconsider following a vote on the resolution would be in order. So, at the most, it would be 2 hours. A motion to reduce that time would not be debatable, and such a motion would be in order and the time could thereby be reduced.

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I yield.

Mr. TOWER. I think the time on the Clark amendment for funding for aircraft carriers could be reduced. I would have to confer with the Senator from Iowa, but we will probably not require 4 hours.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. I thank the Senator. I hope that will be the case, and I think it certainly is possible.

I would hope, also, that time on some of the amendments on tomorrow could

be reduced. The leadership on both sides will do our best to have that done.

which was sent to the Senate on September 20, 1973.

CONFIRMATIONS

Executive nominations confirmed by the Senate September 26, 1973:

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

William W. Blunt, Jr., of the District of Columbia, to be an Assistant Secretary of Commerce.

UNITED NATIONS

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

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

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

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

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Kingdon Gould, Jr., of Maryland, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

William R. Kintner, of Pennsylvania, to be Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the United States of America to Thailand.

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

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

U.S. SOVEREIGNTY IN THE PANAMA CANAL ZONE

U.S. CONTROL OF PANAMA CANAL IMPORTANT TO NATIONAL SECURITY

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. HARRY F. BYRD, JR. Mr. President, the September 5 edition of the Jackson, Miss., Clarion-Ledger included an excellent editorial concerning the issue of U.S. sovereignty in the Panama Canal Zone.

It is my feeling that there can be no compromise of the basic principle of sovereignty. The editorial sets forth a number of important reasons for maintaining control by the United States in the Canal Zone.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the editorial, "U.S. Control of Panama Canal Important to National Security," be included in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

Recent Washington reports indicate that the administration may be willing to go along with demands that the United States surrender control of the Panama Canal. The United Nations favors this, in support of the Republic of Panama.

Some weeks ago our U.S. Ambassador to the U.N., John Scali, told a meeting of the Security Council that our own State Department supports the Panamanian government's demands for an end to the 1903 treaty by which we were granted the Panama Canal Zone in perpetuity.

Fortunately, however, a majority in Congress has taken a dim view of such a giveaway contrary to our national interest. Past efforts to appease Panama have been defeated but now, in 1973, the same political blackmail is being attempted again—this time aided and abetted by the U.N.

There can be no compromise on the basic issue: Will we voluntarily forfeit sovereignty over the Canal—sovereignty recognized as part of international law for 70 years?

Senator Harry F. Byrd, Virginia Democrat, has spotlighted some basic aspects of this controversy in a recent Senate address worth repeating here and now:

The United States, by treaty in 1903, obtained the right to hold in perpetuity the

Panama Canal. As part of this treaty we paid Panama an initial sum of \$10 million; we indemnified neighboring Colombia to the tune of \$25 million and agreed to pay Panama a substantial rent which figure has been increased several times.

Total cost to the United States for 647 square miles of the Canal Zone far exceeds that of many other territorial acquisitions including the Louisiana Purchase—that vast area stretching from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Gulf of Mexico to Canada—and such notable additions as Alaska and Florida. Congress and the American public was told in 1967 that there would be a series of anti-American riots in Panama unless we did not give Panama what it wanted. We are being told the same thing now, but it is vitally important that we maintain a position of strength in Latin America—and the pivotal point in our defense arrangement is the Panama Canal and the Canal Zone.

New treaties negotiated within the UN framework as proposed would compromise American interests and weaken our defense posture in the Western Hemisphere. Could anyone seriously contend that Panama with a population of only 1,500,000—about a million less than Mississippi's population—could defend the Canal Zone by itself? Could the uninterrupted movement of commercial

or military ships be guaranteed under any Panamanian regime of the moment?

What assurance is there against some Castro-type government grabbing control of Panama? That tiny Republic has been notoriously susceptible to political upheaval, with 44 Presidents having come and gone in 70 years. It was just a few years ago that the President of Panama was assassinated; his First Vice President then assumed office but was soon removed for having been involved in the assassination. The Second Vice President then took over, and he was thrown out the next year.

The Administration should ignore new threats by Panamanian politicians—some Communist-affiliated—just as it should ignore hypocritical howling from the United Nations Congress, backed by public opinion, should resist any change in our present treaty, if such change could have an effect of giving up permanent U.S. control of the Panama Canal.

POSTAL SERVICE LIVES UP TO NAME

HON. WILLIAM A. STEIGER

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. STEIGER of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Postal Service has come in for much criticism, some justified, some not. Postmaster General Klassen's announcement of proposed new rate boosts will, in all likelihood, cause further clamor over the caliber of the job being done by the Postal Service.

But his intention of increasing the efficiency of mail delivery must be cheered by all of us. For all its faults, the Postal Service has done a better job than it has been given credit for. If it improves that performance, it should do very well indeed.

A recent editorial in the Plymouth, Wis., Review, by editor-publisher Robert S. Johanson, outlined well the kind of job the Postal Service has done for the Nation. The editorial follows:

POSTAL SERVICE LIVES UP TO NAME IN SERVING US AND OUR READERS

(By Robert S. Johanson)

Poking fun at the US postoffice has long been a national pastime, and in years gone by The Review has printed its share of good-natured cracks at the system.

But I, for one, want to amend that theme. The post office does an excellent job, by and large, and the service they give us is exceedingly good.

The people are friendly and cooperative, and the rates are fair, despite price increases.

Without the mail service, we'd be hard-pressed to deliver thousands of Reviews each week throughout the county, along country lanes, in villages and at every cross-roads.

Yes, we could use newspaper carrier boys in places such as Plymouth and Sheboygan Falls. But I shudder to think of the headaches of distribution to all the rural spots in the county.

Of course, we mail copies to readers all over the US, too, and the mail is the only

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way they can keep in touch with their home town.

But it's the local and county service that we appreciate the most.

So, to put it on the record, we'd like to note that the postal service is a real service to us—and to you, the reader, and we felt we should say so clearly.

Getting your paper ready for mailing involves quite a few steps.

First, as soon as our first press run is off the press (usually this is the sports section), we begin to address the papers.

Other sections (such as society and general news) follow and are "stuffed" into the section bearing your address.

The reason we do this is that we print sections of eight pages at a time, our press capacity, and we address the first section printed so we can meet deadlines promptly.

Thus our sports section in today's paper, for example, was printed late Wednesday morning, and we immediately began addressing it. We have an address plate for each subscriber but it takes several hours to complete the job of addressing even when we use three machines to do it.

(Copies for sale on newsstands, of course, are put together with the main news section on the outside, and delivered or mailed in bundles to stores.)

Next, we print the section entitled Something for the Girls. This came off the press shortly after noon today. Finally, the main news section, which you are now reading, goes to press in the middle of Wednesday afternoon.

As the papers are addressed, they are assembled in piles by mail route, city zip code, etc.

Papers for delivery in the city of Plymouth are arranged in the precise order which the mailman follows on his route. This eliminates the necessity of his having to sort them all over again.

Papers for rural delivery or for other villages and cities are bundled, labeled and put into mailbags containing a slip bearing the destination.

Thus we have bags for Cascade, Waldo, Elkhart Lake, etc., as well as California, Florida, and cities in Wisconsin that are outside Sheboygan County.

Meanwhile, all of us are inserting the different sections together into complete papers. All of us join in. That's why we close the office about 3 p.m. Wednesdays, turn out the office lights and all assemble in the press room—to take part in the final push.

By 4-5 p.m., we're done and the papers have all been sent on their way—via the postal service—to you.

We repeat the same process Saturday morning for the Monday issue.

Each week I "mark up" a paper for the post office records showing how many inches of advertising and news was in the issue. This is used in calculating mail rates.

Each month, I make out another report showing how many pounds of papers we mailed and to what destinations.

These reports are all double checked at the PO and our rates figured.

Surely, once in a while a postman may miss a Review reader, and once in a while we send a bag of papers to the wrong town (by putting the wrong label on the outside of the bag).

But it seems that the service is very good 99% or more of the time.

For which we, and our readers, I am sure, thank the folks at the postal service. You do a good job!

RESTORATION OF FISCAL RESPONSIBILITY

HON. HERMAN E. TALMADGE

OF GEORGIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. TALMADGE. Mr. President, I have received a number of letters from 9th- and 10th-grade students at Westwood High School in Atlanta, Ga., that were written as part of their study in economics. The letters were sent to me by their teacher, Miss Gail Byrd, who is certainly to be commended for her good work in the classroom.

In their letters, these students express deep concern about the need to restore fiscal responsibility in the operation of our Government. In my judgment, they reflect feelings of an overwhelming majority of the American people who are tired of seeing inflation rob working people of their earnings, the elderly of their savings, and consumers of their buying power.

As a matter of fact, I am receiving a large number of communications daily expressing deep concern about the present deplorable state of the American economy. I was particularly impressed by these letters from young people because they deal with a problem of vital importance to all our people.

I bring these letters to the attention of the Senate and ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

WESTWOOD HIGH SCHOOL,

Atlanta, Ga., September 20, 1973.

Senator HERMAN TALMADGE,

U.S. Senate,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: These letters are from 9th and 10th grade students. I'm very proud of them for what they've learned in economics so far this quarter. Their interest in "action" is avid and they wanted to write you to relay their feelings.

Most of them refer to the wheat deal which we discussed in class. My information comes from U.S. News & World Report, the Atlanta papers, and other current economic periodicals and books. I try to present an unbiased viewpoint from both sides of the issues.

We all feel that our current inflationary period must be quenched. The students, although not "big spenders", do hear about prices from parents and believe it or not, they are sincerely concerned.

Enclosed is a test I used. My students understand each of the concepts listed at the bottom. Perhaps you're interested in trying out the test for yourself! I answered a few to get you started. Then you may better understand the point of their letters.

This—economics—is something they are just beginning to learn about and I'd like them to become responsible and concerned citizens. After all, "consumer is King" in the U.S. and that's what each person is—regardless of age.

They are most anxious to get a reply. It's sad but most of them feel their letters are read and answered by a computer of sorts—one that prints a standard form letter reply.

I hope you won't disappoint them and will be able to reply. Perhaps you might be out our way and drop in. I'm sure they would all faint! We would also be most delighted.

Thank you for your services to Georgia. I have visited your offices in Washington. Your secretary was most gracious. You must compliment her.

Sincerely,

GAIL BYRD.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1973.

Senator HERMAN TALMADGE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I thank you very much for doing your best for the people of Georgia.

My name is Wanda Lee and I am a student of Westwood High School. Our Business Economics class has been discussing the situation that the United States is in. As a student, not yet in the world, I am greatly concerned about the economical state. Inflation and prices are getting out of hand. It makes me wonder what they will be like in my future. I would like very much to know how you feel, and what you suggest for the citizens of Georgia. I'm not really sure if the people in Washington realize how bad its gotten.

They really ain't affected by the wage freeze much. It's the smaller, less important people that get hurt. I'm quite aware that it's not your fault personally, but it seems to me that their could be something that our Senators could do.

Thank you for taking your time to listen to me.

Sincerely,

WANDA LEE.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1973.

Senator HERMAN TALMADGE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR TALMADGE: I thank you for your help for all of the citizens in Georgia.

I'm a student at Westwood High School and I'm taking a business course that concerns you in many ways.

Such as, I think that you should try to bring prices of food down. People are having a hard time buying the food now. Also what about this business about exporting wheat to Russia. I think that Nixon made a mistake. Can you give me any information on this wheat? Why did he do this? This is one reason why we have a wheat shortage.

Thank you for taking your time to read this letter.

Sincerely,

DONNA FORSYTH.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1973.

Senator HERMAN TALMADGE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR TALMADGE: First of all, I would like to "thank you" for the work you have done for me and the citizens of Georgia.

I am a high school student in the Atlanta area and am studying economics in a business class. We have talked about some of the economics in this country that are making the consumer go broke. Now I would like to discuss some of these problems with you.

Prices aren't getting any lower and wages aren't getting any higher! One or the other must go up or down. I think that the price freezes are a good idea for the time they are in effect. It would be nice for the prices to go down so we wouldn't have to have any price freezes.

Another thing is what President Nixon did with our wheat. I think that he should not have sent so much of it to Russia. If he wants to remain President he better do what is right for our country first. Now there is a great chance of a bread shortage. Bread happens to

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be one of the most important food groups which we need to survive.

Sincerely,

MELISSA YARBROUGH.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1973.

DEAR MR. TALMADGE: I would like to thank you for the work you have done for the citizens of Georgia. We are fortunate to have you as our representative.

I am a student of high school, attending a business class and learning about economics in the world today. I have some opinions that I would like to share with you.

The cost of meat is going up everywhere, and I understand it to be because of the middlemen. I don't see where it is fair for the farmers. They are not getting as much profit, or making as much money as should be. I, as a citizen of Georgia, would like to see something done about this.

Sincerely yours,

Miss PAM PACE.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1973.

Senator HERMAN TALMADGE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR TALMADGE: I want to thank you for all the many things you have done for the citizens of Georgia.

I'm 14 and taking economics. I'm concerned about high prices and taxes that are so common today. I can curb inflation by only purchasing goods "on sale". But I can't do much about taxes. If this condition persists, we may experience a depression.

What are you doing in this regard?

Again thank you for all the good things you've done for us so far, keep up the good work.

Sincerely,

DONNA WESTBROOKS.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1973.

Senator HERMAN TALMADGE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SIR: I thank you for your help to Georgia's citizens. I appreciate with a strong feeling how hard you work and try to make this state a pleasant and nice place to live.

I am a student of Westwood High Fulton County school. I am taking a business course which is expressing economics and economic values strongly.

Some comments I want for you to hear from me, as a student are:

Personally, I think the wheat that was exported to Russia is one of the things the President made a careless mistake on.

Another situation the prices of food, clothing, luxuries, and etc., are going up so high that only the rich can afford it!

As a student I don't do much grocery buying but to look at the prices scares me and makes me feel harsh toward the government.

Sincerely,

DONNA FOSTER.

SEPTEMBER 14, 1973.

Senator HERMAN TALMADGE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR TALMADGE: Thank you so much for the help you have given to the people living in Georgia. We appreciate your working for us.

I am a citizen from Atlanta. I attend Westwood High School and I am taking a business course there. We are studying about the rising prices and other economic conditions of today. What do you think of the inflation? It affects all of the citizens of Georgia very much. Incomes aren't very high. If someone demands something very much then, there will become an inflation. People like certain kinds of food and if the demand

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is greater than the supply there will be a rise in prices. I wish there were something that could be done about the inflation. People are suffering.

Sincerely yours,

BECKY THAMES.

SEPTEMBER 4, 1973.

Senator HERMAN TALMADGE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I would like to thank you for the job you are doing as a Congressman. I know that you are an experienced man, so I am sure you are doing a good job to represent the people of Georgia.

I am a student in an economics class from Westwood High in Atlanta, Georgia. As a native of Georgia I would like to know about my state as much as possible.

In our economics class, we have been studying about the nations economic situation.

I would like to ask you what is your opinion about the fact that most of our wheat supply was exported to Russia and we haven't received any money yet? Is this fair to the people? Yet we are going to have a shortage in our own country this year because our wheat crops weren't good and we don't have any surplus to fall back on. If you have an opinion on this subject, I would like to hear it. I would like you to be perfectly candid in your answer to this problem.

Thank-you for your kindness, and for being a good Congressman for the state of Georgia.

Sincerely,

WANDA MORROW.

SEPTEMBER 17, 1973.

Senator HERMAN TALMADGE,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR: I am an 11th grade student at Westwood High School. I would like to thank you for all your help in representing us in Washington.

What do you think of all the high rises in prices? I think its awful for people to have to pay such high prices for meat. The prices all over are going up. It looks as if there is a large demand for something then there should be a large supply. I hope that very soon all these high prices will start coming down, especially the prices of meat.

Sincerely yours,

PAM CLEVELAND.

WE BACK THE PRESIDENT

HON. EDWARD YOUNG

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. YOUNG of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, over 100 of my colleagues and I went to the White House last week, where we were all impressed with the President's determination to carry on with the great work he has begun for this country.

The Marion Star has been a strong and consistent voice in support of the President. It echoes the sentiments of the vast majority of the people I listened to during the recess:

WE BACK THE PRESIDENT

Having been born prior to World War II, our entire life has been affected by wars and rumors of war. We have never known a time when there was a feeling of permanent peace. In this country or anywhere else in the world.

Millions have been the sermons, books, articles and philosophies dedicated to the principle of peace. But the wars went on and on.

Never in the history of the world have we witnessed more demonstrations, speeches and writings for peace than within the past four or five years. The war in Vietnam was the strangest of all wars and it divided Americans from corner to corner.

Prior to this there was the Iron Curtain, Cold War and the Russian promise that communists would bury all Americans. In the midst of all of this, there was a revolution going on within our government and society. A social revolution that affected every American in the land.

At a time when the standard of living for all Americans was the highest known in the history of man, war seemed to be the No. 1 concern of everyone—young and old. In the interest of peace we were marching, demonstrating, destroying public and private property, taking over colleges and universities, bombing, killing, etc. Radical individuals and groups were cavoring with the enemy in an effort to force our President to admit defeat in Vietnam and bring the forces home without assurance of protection for the rights and welfare of our prisoners of war.

Yes, throughout our entire life we thought the highest purpose of life was peace for the world.

President Nixon was voted into office by the majority people of this country. His promise during the campaign and after his inauguration was to "end the war and bring our fighting men—and prisoners—home safely."

This he has done.

But he had to do it while fighting the enemy abroad and the enemy at home.

In addition to ending the war in Vietnam and doing something everyone wanted to do, he has brought the communists of Russia and Red China to the conference tables and through signed treaties, prospects for worldwide peace and goodwill are brighter now than at any time during our history. Before President Nixon took office, whoever would have thought that in 1973 an American president would be visiting Russia or Red China, or that their leaders would be visiting us? It was all vastly beyond the most optimistic imagination. But it is true. These are facts. It has happened!

You would think every American would be on his knees in prayers of thanksgiving. Everything in this country is more wonderful than it has ever been before. Not perfect, mind you, but probably as perfect as it will ever be. We have peace and we have prosperity.

One of our domestic problems is inflation. And it is a serious problem. But who isn't living better now than ever before? In spite of inflation we've never had it so good. But President Nixon is doing his utmost to give the people relief in this regard without imposing drastic war-time controls that, certainly, most do not want.

Then there is the bombing in Cambodia. At this moment we are at the same stage and in a similar situation as just before the Paris peace treaty with Hanoi when the Jane Fondas were aiding and abetting the enemy and doing everything possible to stop the bombing of North Vietnam which proved to be the catalyst that brought an honorable peace to American and assured the safe return of every prisoner of war to his native soil. Three presidents and both houses of the U.S. Congress has been wrong in this conflict. But President Nixon had the plan and did the job.

Now, just when he is about to put the final link in the chain of victory and peace for all of Indo China, the Jane Fondas are at it again. Every Bill coming before the President for his signature now has a rider that forces the cessation of bombing in Cambodia.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

This, and Watergate, is the reward America presents to President Nixon for his record.

So far there has not been a solid, unchallenged or proven bit of evidence that President Nixon had anything to do with Watergate or its coverup. All the evidence against him has been through the Senate hearings and this by people who admitted their guilt, who have already admitted under oath that they lied, some admitting they either accepted money or "stole" money that they knew to be tainted. Now that they were caught with the goods they are changing their loyalty, their color and their stories to protect their own necks and get sympathy and leniency from those who are pressing the hearing.

To us, it is and has been obvious as hell that certain members of both houses of Congress, and the leftist news media, have designed their strategy and their reporting to embarrass President Nixon and the republican party with less concern for correcting political practices that have gone on, no doubt since the first Continental Congress.

We say press the hearings and punish the criminals. But from our point of view the crooks are wearing the white hats and the innocent are being persecuted by inuendo and privileged testimony.

As of this writing we're back of our President 100 percent. He has done the things we wanted done. And Watergate is insignificant compared to any one of the great accomplishments he has brought to the people.

SHENANDOAH NATIONAL PARK

HON. HARRY F. BYRD, JR.

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. HARRY F. BYRD, JR. Mr. President, the Senate recently passed S. 988, a bill to set aside approximately 80,000 acres within the Shenandoah National Park as a wilderness area.

As sponsor of this legislation, I was gratified at the action of the Senate, and I hope that the legislation soon will become law.

On September 20, the Page News & Courier, published in Luray, Va., included an excellent editorial concerning wilderness area in the Shenandoah National Park. The editorial sets forth some of the most important reasons for preserving wilderness areas in this period of rapid expansion of the population.

John Waybright is editor of the Page News & Courier.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of the editorial, "Wilderness Regained," be included in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

WILDERNESS REGAINED

In the August "Reader's Digest," writer-naturalist Darwin Lambert, who resides in Page County near the Shenandoah National Park, is featured in an article condensed from one he originally wrote for "National Wildlife."

The article, entitled "We Can Have Wilderness Wherever We Choose," asserts that, contrary to the "conventional wisdom," once wilderness is destroyed it is not gone forever—all we have to do is let nature recreate it for us.

Mr. Lambert recounts how, in 1935 when Shenandoah National Park was being

planned, a hike along the Blue Ridge revealed the abuses of the landscape which left less than one per cent of the primeval forest unblighted.

"Today, when I retrace that hike of 38 years ago, the man-inflicted wounds are healed," Mr. Lambert says.

The writer advocates—as did Franklin D. Roosevelt in dedicating the Park in 1936—"other Shenandoahs."

"Nature is ready and willing. The crucial problem is ourselves—our social-economic-political decisions," the author of "The Earth-Man Story" declares.

We agree with Mr. Lambert that "new wilderness re-created from the primeval essence of earth can be as valid, as precious, as the old."

Witness our beautiful Shenandoah National Park—the result of the foresight and dedication of men like Darwin Lambert who foresaw the dangers of man encroaching against nature long before ecology became the urgent and popular cause it is today.

KING VERSUS RIGGS: GRACE UNDER PRESSURE

SPEECH OF

Hon. Yvonne Brathwaite Burke
OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 25, 1973

Mrs. BURKE of California. Mr. Speaker, the article which follows, entitled "King Versus Riggs: Grace Under Pressure," the Washington Post, September 22, 1973, articulates the real meaning of the recent tennis match between Bobby Riggs and Billie Jean King. The match was not so much a "Battle of the Sexes" as it was a match of athletic skill and competitiveness, and an attempt to bring attention to the sport of tennis and the role of women in it:

KING VERSUS RIGGS: GRACE UNDER PRESSURE

All those who care about the quality of sport and the values of gutsy competitiveness are naturally elated with Billie Jean King's trouncing of Bobby Riggs. Despite the stunts and chintz of the pre-match publicity—how apt to have the climax in a bizarre Texas field house—what we saw was essentially a test of skill between an intensely dedicated athlete and a buck-minded blabbermouth. A strong case can be made that King had already brought women's tennis a long way toward equality with men's tennis, without the aid of her match with Riggs. She has a shrewd and tenacious business sense, as a Wall Street Journal story recently documented. In addition, she deserves the kind of respect Riggs doesn't; King's struggles go far beyond her own enrichment, to benefiting not only the current players on the women's tour but those to come in future years. On the other side of the court, the vision of Riggs—the author, fittingly, of "Tennis Is My Racket"—went no further than his own wallet.

This mixed singles match then was not so much a battle of the sexes. If that's what anybody wants, let Forest Hills and Wimbledon have only one championship division, open to all male and female comers. It was a battle of talent, decided on the court, not behind the microphone where Riggs' noisy tongue gives him the edge. In calling for a rematch, Riggs deserves to be ignored by King.

About the only person in the whole carnival who came off with real class was Billie Jean King. ABC television, whose Wide World

of Sports is a credit to the industry, must have sent the B team to Houston. It was hard—and often impossible—to tell visually if baseline shots were in or out, the referee could not be heard, and Howard Cosell—however much his supercharged mouth was perfectly matched to Riggs'—offered a tempo of chatty commentary better suited to his beloved "sport" of prizefighting than tennis. But never mind Mr. Cosell—or the said spectacle of a once-respectable tennis champion making a bad sexist joke out of the game that gave him fame. What mattered was Billie Jean King outplaying and out-psyching Bobby Riggs. For all the accompanying showbiz buffoonery we cannot remember a more thoroughly satisfactory tennis match.

SOCIAL SECURITY INCREASE

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, the harmful effects of inflation have been felt in one form or another by all age groups. But older Americans struggling on limited, fixed incomes have been harder hit than anyone else.

For most of our senior citizens, social security is the economic mainstay. However, social security benefits still fall below the poverty level for millions of people.

The 5.9-percent increase in benefits which is scheduled to go into effect in June 1974, is too little and too late. Prices are rising now, and last month's recordbreaking increase in the wholesale price index provides an ominous warning that further increases are yet to come.

To ask the elderly to wait until July of next year before they receive even minor relief is asking too much of those who have contributed their working lives to this Nation's economy.

To provide a more adequate increase on a more timely basis, I have joined with several of my colleagues in sponsoring a bill in the House of Representatives to increase benefits by 7 percent in January 1974. The simple purpose of the bill is to allow over 20 million Americans over age 65, including over 350,000 in Iowa, to survive the enormous increases in the cost of their basic necessities.

There may be some who will say that moving forward the date of a social security increase will be inflationary. But in my view it is time to stop balancing the Federal budget on the backs of the aging.

Instead of blaming inflation on necessary benefits paid to the elderly, we should trim back unnecessary spending. The administration proposed a fiscal year 1974 budget that would increase overall spending by some \$19 billion. Yet they would have us believe there is no room in that budget for this social security increase.

I believe that one priority that is clearly within a responsible budget is the effort to meet the needs of retired Americans. We cannot allow the disgraceful neglect of our senior citizens to continue.

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MILITARY PAY LAGS BEHIND CIVILIAN PAY IN MANY CASES

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, an article appeared recently in the Washington Post indicating that "GI Earnings Rated Above Civilian Pay." This article was said to be based upon a Library of Congress study released by Congressman ASPIN. I asked the Department of Defense military compensation section to send me a memorandum on this matter and it is printed hereunder:

MILITARY PAY LAGS BEHIND CIVILIAN PAY IN MANY CASES

Mr. Aspin's press release is a combination of apples and oranges plus the usual and common misunderstanding of the military pay system.

The release states the average military member has a regular compensation of \$9,097 a year. This would be true if everyone received the two allowances which are included in the definition of regular compensation. In fact, only 47% of the service members receive the allowance for quarters and only 53% receive the allowance for subsistence. Hence, only one-half the members have the opportunity to receive regular compensation of the magnitude suggested in the press release.

For example, a sergeant with a regular compensation of \$9,063, close to the quoted average, may only take home \$6,437, or only 71% of his credited regular compensation.

Since the Department of Defense has not received the Library of Congress "study" which Mr. Aspin quotes, it is difficult to comment on its statistics.

The civilian statistics used in the press release are not comparable with 1971 data from the Family and Individual Income Statistics Branch of the Bureau of Census. These statistics show that two years ago the average full time, year-round male workers earned \$9,399. It is hard to believe that their wages have not increased during the past two years as indicated by the press release average of \$9,404.

The average civilian worker can be assumed to have a 40-hour week, but in the case of the military member his work week is often far in excess of 40 hours. For instance, the average work week of a sailor on a ship underway is in excess of 70 hours. Military personnel do not receive one cent in extra pay or benefits for overtime work performed.

The press release shows that career military members have benefits and bonuses which are 32.6% of their compensation, while the civilian benefits expressed were only 12.4%. Chamber of Commerce statistics for 1971 show that employee benefits in large companies averaged 30.8 percent of payroll and were rising rapidly. Military benefits closely approximate these statistics, and are much lower than benefits received by civilian employees in many industries. For example, benefits for auto workers are reported as 55% of wages (*Business Week*, Sep. 8, '73, p. 92).

We think that press releases like Mr. Aspin's tend to confuse and mislead the public. This is particularly sad at this time when public confidence in the federal government and its operations needs to be improved rather than further aggravated.

For instance, it might be pointed out that only since Congressional action of 1971 have military wages been competitive with civilian wages, and that the military treats and pays all its members equally regardless of national

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origin, religion, color or sex. Perhaps the best thing that could come out of Mr. Aspin's release is that it might cause people to beat a path to the doors of our recruiting offices and alleviate our manpower difficulties.

NEGOTIATING WITH THE SOVIETS

HON. JOHN M. ASHBROOK

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. ASHBROOK. Mr. Speaker, recently I have been sharing with my colleagues foreign views on negotiating with the Soviets. Many in this country do not realize that a large number of Europeans are quite skeptical of the goals of the Soviet Union. Too often Americans are led to believe that respected officials and experts in other countries have accepted the promises of the Soviet Union at face value and that the West should seek no fundamental concessions from the Soviets. But this is not true. Many in Europe and Asia are urging the United States to be realistic when dealing with the Soviets and not be misled by any false understanding of détente.

The well-known British publication, the *Economist*, has published an interesting article discussing recent events in the Soviet Union. I commend this article to your attention.

The article follows:

BEHIND THE FACADES

Europe's negotiators at Geneva should try to bring it home to Mr. Brezhnev that a true détente depends on the ending of Russia's isolation.

Gregory Potemkin, who got to be a prince and a field-marshall by way of Catherine the Great's bed, is best remembered in Russia not because of Eisenstein's film about the battleship named for him, but because of the fake Potemkin villages which he built along the route of Catherine's journey through his southern fiefs in order to disguise their wretched state. In Mr. Brezhnev's Russia the tradition of erecting deceptive facades is not merely maintained but elaborated. At one end of the spectrum, great care is taken to conceal from the people the blunt fact that a grave food shortage is now being averted only by massive imports of American grain. At the more sophisticated end, a facade that Potemkin would have admired has just been run up in the shape of an outburst of "spontaneous popular indignation" over Professor Andrei Sakharov's criticism of the present Soviet regime's deliberate and manifest suppression of elementary human rights.

It is a pitiful sight to see such eminent figures as the composers Shostakovich and Khatchaturian herded into line among the organised mud-slingers; but it is much more revealing to see *Pravda* and *Izvestia* solemnly printing angry denunciations of the professor purportedly written by "ordinary workers". For the Soviet press has not condescended to tell its readers what he said. We are being asked to believe that the masses of the people have been convulsed with wrath on hearing words which, according to the only sources of information available to them, were never spoken.

There could hardly be a clearer example of the kind of suppression of truth and fabrication of untruth that Professor Sakharov had in mind when he argued that true international understanding and relaxation could not be achieved unless a democratised Russia gave its citizens free access to information and freedom to travel. Nor could there be

a clearer illustration of what the pan-European conference that was formally opened in Helsinki in July, and is to be properly started in Geneva on September 18th, is really about.

The way the Soviet authorities are handling their campaign against Sakharov, Solzhenitsyn and their other critics, and in particular the way they rigged last week's trial of Pyotr Yakir and Victor Krasin, reveals that they are now aiming to smash the few links that still exist between independent-minded Russians and the outside world. In the cruel Yakir-Krasin charade, it was claimed that there was no movement for human rights in Russia; it had all been imagined by the western press and fostered by Russian exiles, west European right-wing groups and other sinister bodies, which used tourists and correspondents to penetrate Russian and circulate slanderous inventions.

What this added up to was a fresh warning to Soviet citizens to beware of foreigners. Such warnings are regularly given. Russia's few foreign residents are inured to having to live in heavily guarded (and, of course, bugged) ghetto residences; any Russian who seeks contact with them comes under KGB surveillance, and only the bravest will dare to maintain any prolonged contact that is not approved by the authorities for their own purposes. But how is this kind of insulation to be reconciled with the fact that at Helsinki in July Mr. Gromyko, in the name of his government, agreed that the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) shall seek to "facilitate freer movement and contacts" and to "facilitate the freer and wider dissemination of information of all kinds" among the participating states?

So far, the Russians' way of overcoming the contradiction has characteristically been to suppress it. The Soviet press did not tell its readers what had been agreed by the foreign ministers at Helsinki. It did not tell them that virtually all the non-communist speeches made there dwelt on the essential link between true detente in Europe and what President Kekkonen of Finland referred to as "opening gates". It suppressed both the speeches and the agreed agenda on which the talks in Geneva, where the CSCE will get down to brass tacks, are to be based.

HE CANNOT CALL IT INTERFERENCE ANY MORE

In the Geneva talks the Soviet representatives will doubtless offer to sign documents that seemingly commit them to opening a few gates. But the line laid down by Mr. Gromyko, Mr. Zorin and other communist spokesmen during the CSCE's opening stages indicates that they will demand that all east-west contacts must be circumscribed by the "existing laws and customs" of the communist states. In plain language this means that the Soviet and other east European authorities' monopolistic control of information would remain unbroken and that their political police would continue to supervise carefully controlled cultural exchanges. There would simply be more Potemkin villages.

Potemkin had the advantage that Catherine, having appointed him viceroy in the south, did not want to expose his deceptions. Mr. Brezhnev, too, would like the western world to treat him as a favourite, to applaud his declared eagerness for detente, to shower him with grain, credits, and even royalty, and to avert its gaze from the nastier realities of his regime. He rebuffs any idea that can be depicted as interference in Russia's domestic affairs. Yet now that the Soviet government has accepted an agenda for the European conference that makes freedom of movement and information items of legitimate international concern, it cannot sustain the "outrageous interference" argument any longer.

It had wanted the conference to go very differently. The Soviet proposal was to stage a quite brief meeting and adopt a set of grandiose declarations that would sanctify the existing division of Europe (and partic-

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ularly the division of Germany), commit the west to help Russia overcome its economic difficulties, and lead people to feel they could safely relax (people in the west, that is; the communist world still resounds to calls for continued vigilance and increases in armed strength). But the noncommunist countries—including neutrals that are not members of Nato—have insisted on taking the idea of detente seriously. "Greater mobility for both persons and ideas", said the Swedish foreign minister at Helsinki, was needed because "ignorance has always been one of the main causes of tension". "The way to peace lies through exchanges of ideas, through the free movement of individuals", said M. Jobert, adding that, as France saw it, the conference must open up a path to security by way of liberty if it was not to be merely "a delusion for the masses, a manoeuvre for the wildest, a mistake for others."

SOME DEALS ARE SAFER THAN OTHERS

Mr. Brezhnev cannot expect the west actually to help him erect more facades, and his anxiety for economic help may involve him in opening some real gates. But he will evidently do his best to avoid doing so. Speaking to a French correspondent on August 21st, Professor Sakharov used these perceptive words:

"In this dialogue, the Soviet Union is the interested party, and it is bluffing hard. It is very important that the western countries should make full use of their trump cards. But they must understand that they are dealing with a very crafty partner who has the advantage of a totalitarian regime."

People who, like the professor, know all too well how the Soviet system works do not suppose that trade promotes real understanding or that the multiplication of business deals automatically breaks down barriers.

The widely-publicised project of exporting Siberian gas exemplifies the kind of big new deal that Mr. Brezhnev thinks it fairly safe to contemplate. The American, Japanese or other foreign technicians required would do their work in remote areas; the impact on Soviet society would be small. The real test would come if co-operation was extended to jointly-controlled production in centrally-sited and labour-intensive industries in Russia, with foreign investors insisting on overhauling methods of management and raising awkward questions about, say, the mobility of labour. The tensions that developed when the Fiat plant was built on the Volga show the kind of problems that the Soviet regime would face if it allowed foreign companies to establish themselves more widely. The question is whether anything less than that will suffice to bring about the economic miracle that Mr. Brezhnev hopes for.

On present form, he will stop short of taking such risks. If his government sticks to the positions it has now taken up, Russia's economic difficulties will not be resolved; its citizens will remain isolated from the rest of mankind; and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe will run into the sand without giving Europeans any reason to feel more secure, or any increased opportunities for co-operating. There is still a long way to go before a reality of detente can be built up behind the facades that have become such a prominent feature of today's landscape.

LAND USE PLANNING ACT

HON. CARLETON J. KING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. KING. Mr. Speaker, a news release from the office of Representative JAMES R. GROVER, JR., has come to my

attention, and I sincerely believe its contents are of sufficient importance that it should be called to the attention of my colleagues.

The enactment of the bill described in Congressman GROVER's release would permit the Federal Government to dictate the location of many Government facilities.

In my opinion, the bill should be voted against when it reaches the House floor for a vote.

The news release follows:

One of the most radical and far-reaching legislative bills which I have seen in my years in Congress breezed smoothly through the Senate Chamber some weeks ago. It now awaits the House Interior Committee's action, and many members of that committee are praising it as the panacea for all environmental ills.

This type of legislation is often called a "sleeper." It has an attractive cover and title—The Land Use Planning Act—and its avowed purpose is to encourage the states to undertake a land use planning program. But how does this power grab encourage states to do their planning? It requires the states to submit a land use program to the Interior's Secretary for approval. What if he doesn't approve of the plan? Well then, New York State, for example, loses hundreds of millions of dollars of its share of highway, airport and land and water trust funds. Just a pint-sized package of federal blackmail.

Okay, so let's give them a plan they will approve—what can we lose? Since we must conform to the planning criteria in the bill we stand to lose our home rule shirt at all levels of government. This surreptitious nationalizing of real property laws, zoning laws and building codes makes the UDC look as democratic, harmless and acceptable as a New England town meeting.

It could force public housing on communities, control density and location of residential, business and industrial buildings; it could dictate location of governmental facilities, public utilities and even have a say in police and fire protection in our communities.

We are all for cleaning up our air and water and for keeping our country clean and green. But do we have to totally disenfranchise our villages, towns, cities and counties with this collectivist legislative outrage to accomplish such a goal?

RETIREMENT FOR FEDERAL LAW ENFORCEMENT AND FIREFIGHTING PERSONNEL

HON. FORTNEY H. (PETE) STARK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, I have been concerned for some time that Federal law enforcement and firefighting personnel should be permitted to retire at a time conducive to their interests and to those of society. A quarter of a century ago Congress first acted to give these public servants a retirement formula more generous per year of employment than other Federal workers. The goal was to maintain a relatively young and vigorous corps of workers, while making early retirement feasible for those charged with particularly stressful jobs.

Eventually, a more liberal computation factor was provided for all Federal employees, so the intention of the law was

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thwarted. Now Congress is acting to rectify this situation, and the House gave its support on September 20 by an overwhelming margin. Although I was absent from the floor for its consideration, I most certainly would have cast my vote in its favor.

THE ABORTION BATTLE CONTINUES

HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Ms. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, after the momentous Supreme Court decision last January, legalizing abortion, most abortion advocates breathed a sigh of relief and turned their attention to other pressing issues. The antiabortion forces, however, mustered their strength and launched a multipronged attack on the Court's decision. At the center of this attack are three proposed constitutional amendments that seek to completely overturn the Supreme Court's decision. Less sweeping, but equally dangerous, is the restrictive legislation that antiabortion activists have actually succeeded in getting passed. These include: an amendment to the Legal Services Corporation Act forbidding Legal Services attorneys from giving counsel to poverty-level women in need of abortions and the Church amendment to the Public Health Service Act Extension which prohibits the denial of Federal funds to hospitals that refuse to allow abortions or sterilizations on the basis of religious or moral beliefs.

Underlying most antiabortion arguments is the assumption that the fetus is a whole human being entitled to civil and criminal protection under U.S. law. The implications of this legal position border on the absurd. According to Arlie Schardt associate director of the ACLU in Washington:

Every pregnant woman would be constantly acting at her peril . . . lest she be held accountable for any injury the fetus suffered . . . Prosecutors might well be obliged to investigate every miscarriage, to see if it resulted from fetus abuse, carelessness or recklessness. Women taking medicine which also happens to expel the fetus could be guilty of murder. So could women using IUD's. Every woman might have to register her pregnancy with a fetus-protection authority, subjecting every aspect of her life to potential state inspection, regulation and control.

Mr. Speaker, I place the full text of Mr. Schardt's remarks in the RECORD at this point:

SAVING ABORTION

(By Arlie Schardt)

When the Supreme Court legalized abortion last January with a pair of sweeping, 7-2 rulings, many people relaxed. They believed the issue was settled, and that henceforth the state could not interfere with a woman's right to decide with her doctor whether or not to terminate her pregnancy.

Such people could not have been more mistaken. Far from settling the issue, that decision—undoubtedly the most controversial and far-reaching since *Brown v. Board of Education* outlawed school segregation in

1954—set off a wave of reaction among certain groups.

At least 188 anti-abortion bills have been introduced in 41 states.

Several states have enacted, or are retaining, anti-abortion laws which are clearly unconstitutional, but are being invoked nonetheless.

Approximately 10 per cent of the U.S. House of Representatives (some 41 of the House's 435 members) are sponsoring some form of anti-abortion legislation.

Although opponents know they can only overthrow the Supreme Court decisions by passing a constitutional amendment, the availability of abortion has already been reduced via amendments to other bills passed by Congress.

Three distinct types of constitutional amendments have been put before the Congress, including one sponsored by seven senators.

A discharge petition (same device used last year in the school busing controversy) has been introduced in the House, seeking to dislodge one of the proposed constitutional amendments from committee and put it directly on the House floor.

COST OF SILENCE

The proponents of these laws have been flooding their legislators with mail. Some members of Congress receive more mail opposing abortion than on any other subject. Because those who favor abortion mistakenly believe the Court has settled the issue, they have not been writing at all. Their silence, if continued, will prove costly.

Among the many ironies attending the issue, two stand out. First, continued inaction by pro-abortion citizens could result in the Court's decision being overthrown through passage of a constitutional amendment by a panicky Congress, even though polls show most Americans favor a woman's right to choose abortion. The last nationwide poll, taken by Gallup in June, 1972, found 64 per cent agreeing that abortion is a decision solely for a woman and her doctor. A Gallup poll of January, 1972, also found 54 per cent of Catholics of the same opinion.

Second, enactment of a constitutional amendment to prohibit abortion will not eliminate abortion, or even reduce it. It will only turn back the nation to the pre-1973 days when millions of women underwent illegal abortions, often under unsafe conditions. Many suffered serious injury or death as a result. Prohibition of abortion has been no more effective than prohibition of alcohol was in the 1930's.

HISTORY OF LAWS

Compounding these ironies is the fact that any new abortion law would be a complete contradiction of the reason why abortion laws were first introduced into English and American common law at all. That reason was to protect women from the dangers posed by medical conditions of those times. Such protection is no longer needed because today abortion is safer than childbirth. This has been true, in fact, since approximately 1930. Abortion laws have thus been counter-productive for some 40 years, because they no longer protect the patient's life, as intended. Indeed, they actually deny the protection they were meant to provide. Studies made after New York State liberalized its abortion laws in 1970, for example, indicate that eight times more women per 100,000 died in childbirth than as the result of legal abortions performed within the first 24 weeks of pregnancy.

The common law liberty of women to have abortions existed in England from 1327-1803, and in America from 1607-1830. Abortion was legal when the U.S. Constitution was written in 1789, thus making it a woman's right under the Ninth Amendment, which says the enumeration of certain rights in the

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Constitution shall not be construed to deny others.

When legislatures began passing abortion laws in the 1800's, the motive was neither religion nor morality. The laws did not seek to discourage sexual promiscuity, since they applied to married as well as unmarried women, and to victims of rape. Nor did they seek to protect the fetus.

RIGHTS OF FETUS

This last concept—the effort to establish the fetus as a person with full legal rights—has become the rallying cry of the "right to life" groups spearheading the anti-abortion campaign's drive for a constitutional amendment.

Their motive has been questioned by others, who charge that the anti-abortion campaign is really an attempt to impose one religion's beliefs on the lives of all. They point out that vigorous lobbying is being conducted by such official bodies as the U.S. Catholic Conference and the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, and that the membership of the primary citizen lobby, the National Right to Life Committee (NRCL), is overwhelmingly Catholic. The NRCL denies any religious motivation, stating its only concern is the sanctity of all life.

The January Supreme Court rulings, which anti-abortionists seek to overturn, were an expansion of the privacy doctrine through which the Court had earlier determined that persons may not be hampered by the state in their access to contraceptives. There, Justice Brennan wrote for the Court in *Eisenstadt v. Baird* that "If the right of privacy means anything, it is the right of the individual, married or single, to be free from unwarranted governmental intrusion into matters so fundamentally affecting a person as the decision whether to bear or beget a child."

The abortion decisions stated that during the first trimester (usually meaning the first 13 weeks of gestation), the decision to have an abortion must be left solely to the woman and her doctor. During the second trimester, government regulations "reasonably related to maternal health," such as licensing of the facility and its personnel, are permissible. Once the fetus has reached viability—i.e. it is potentially capable of life outside the mother's womb, usually at from 24 to 28 weeks—the Court held that anti-abortion laws may be passed to protect the state's "interest in the potentiality of human life," but that abortion prohibitions must make exception for the preservation of the woman's life and health, including her mental health.

COURT'S CONCLUSION

Thus, although the Court found that a woman's right to privacy is not absolute in the case of abortion, it basically recognized that right through two-thirds of the pregnancy, and to some extent through the last third.

As for the fetus, the Court noted that the word "person" as used in the 14th Amendment's stricture against depriving any person of life without due process of law "... does not include the unborn."

And in what is probably the first direct attempt in case law to address the status of the fetus's constitutional rights, if any, the Court ruled in a footnote to *Dole v. Bolton*, the case brought by the ACLU, that "the Court does not postulate the existence of a new being with federal constitutional rights at any time during gestation."

In any case, the issue of a woman's right to abortion is going to be joined around the uncharted course of the rights of the fetus. This raises the fascinating possibility of 100 fully developed males thrashing about on the floor of the United States Senate, debating the mysteries of the female anatomy, the question of how soon conception takes place after implantation of the fertilized egg into

the uterus, and the very definition of life itself. These are problems which have not been solved in medical science, to say nothing of law, throughout humanity's time on earth, and there are those who claim that in the end, even the United States Congress would have to settle for definitions more arbitrary than scientific.

AMENDMENTS

There are also those who contend this is an area where the federal government has no business legislating. Nevertheless, the attempt is underway. The most far-reaching proposals are those seeking to completely overturn the Supreme Court's decision with a constitutional amendment. At least 18 constitutional amendments have been proposed. They divide into three distinct categories.

The first is exemplified by H.J. Res. 261, sponsored by Rep. Lawrence Hogan of Maryland. Hogan's is a so-called "right-to-life" amendment seeking to insure that due process and equal protection are afforded to an individual "from the moment of conception." (Hogan's amendment would also forbid the state from depriving "any human being of life on account of illness, age, or incapacity." Whether this would accidentally abolish the death penalty is unclear.)

On July 10, Rep. Hogan also initiated a discharge petition, a rarely used device which seeks to discharge a bill from committee and place it directly on the floor, where it takes priority over all other business. To do this, the sponsor must obtain the signatures of more than half of the House, or 218 of its 435 members. A similar effort failed last year in an effort to force a floor vote on a constitutional amendment to bar all school assignments based on race. Hogan's petition had only 11 signers at the end of July, but right-to-life forces were planning heavy pressure on representatives back home for the August recess.

The second type of proposed amendment is H.J. Res. 468, sponsored by Rep. G. William Whitehurst of Virginia. Known as a "states rights" amendment, it says that nothing in the Constitution shall bar any state "from allowing, regulating or prohibiting the practice of abortion." As of mid-July, a tabulation by Planned Parenthood-World Population counted 19 bills in the House calling for either a "right-to-life" or a "states right" amendments, with a total of 36 sponsors. Whether advocates of Hogan's more sweeping right to life amendment would compromise by supporting a states rights amendment—thereby placing the decision in the laps of the 50 state legislatures—is unknown.

The third type of proposed amendment is in the Senate. Sponsored by Sen. James Buckley of New York, S.J. Res. 119 is co-sponsored by Senators Mark Hatfield of Oregon, Dewey Bartlett of Oklahoma, Wallace Bennett of Utah, Carl Curtis of Nebraska, Milton Young of North Dakota, Harold Hughes of Iowa, and James Eastland of Mississippi.

"PERSON"

The Buckley amendment says that the word "person," as used in the Fifth and 14th Amendments (no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law) shall apply to all human beings, "including their unborn offspring at every stage of their biological development."

But the Buckley amendment displeases many purists in the right-to-life movement because it also says it "shall not apply in an emergency when a reasonable medical certainty exists that continuation of the pregnancy will cause the death of the mother." Many right-to-lifers contend that if they are to win they must be consistent, and that to be consistent they can allow no exceptions to the absolute right to life of the fetus.

The Buckley amendment also faces trouble

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over the problem of when life begins. In introducing his amendment, Buckley said it would apply "from the time a biologically identifiable human being comes into existence." Hatfield, perhaps unintentionally, anticipated the kind of confusion that will take place should this bill ever reach debate in the Senate, when he said, "It may be sensible to point to implantation, and the time after potential segmentation, as the more precise moment when . . . life is present." Technically, this could leave a gap of from five to seven days when abortion would be legal.

Buckley may have further weakened his support from right-to-lifers by explaining that his amendment would probably not apply to women using "morning after" pills or the intrauterine contraceptive (IUD), or to women who were raped. Since the exact point at which life begins is unclear, many right-to-life advocates feel that such contraceptives are really a form of abortion. Some believe the IUD, for example, displaces the embryo after it is fertilized, and thus may be essentially an abortive agent.

The potential for conflict within anti-abortion ranks over possible loopholes may have been signaled in a June 11 press release from the National Right to Life Committee, which stated that its primary goal is an anti-abortion constitutional amendment protecting life from the moment of fertilization, and banning abortifacient devices and medication.

CONSTITUTION

There is no historical basis whatsoever, of course, for recognizing the fetus as a person in the constitutional sense. Neither the Constitution nor any amendment has ever treated a fetus as a person. No census taker, from 1790 to 1970, has ever counted a fetus (for one thing, no one knows it sex).

The chaotic impact that a new body of "fetus law" would have on our entire system of civil and criminal law is reason enough to reject any further efforts to ban abortion. Whole areas of long established law having no relationship to abortion would be dislocated.

In civil law, for example, if the fetus is a person, what are the rights of a fetus which is a guest in an automobile? If there is an accident, can the fetus sue for negligence? What if the driver did not know that the woman passenger was pregnant? Or, could the fetus sue for negligence if the woman carrying it negligently contracted German measles, or took a harmful drug?

What about inheritance? As a person, under the Hogan amendment unborn fetuses might inherit property, even if they are never born alive. This could also increase estate taxes, since property passing through the fetal estate might be taxable. Estate tax returns might have to be filed on behalf of fetuses which are miscarried.

There might also be a whole new variety of medical malpractice suits, with claims not only on behalf of the woman, but on behalf of the miscarried fetus.

This would result in increased risks to the life of a pregnant woman because doctors would hesitate to use life-saving medical procedures which might abort the pregnancy.

DEPENDENT?

Still other tort law problems could the fetus be counted as a dependent for tax purposes? How far would Internal Revenue have to go to verify the fact of pregnancy—and thus create a prodigious new threat to the right to privacy? What would be the status of a fetus conceived in the United States by non-citizens?

Who would determine the line between the mother's right to do what she wishes with her own body—e.g. water ski, play tennis, diet, smoke, drink—and a compulsory standard of care to ensure the health of the fetus?

Could all such activities be prohibited by the state?

Fetus protection lawyers would surely be involved in constant litigation. The Hogan amendment would plague our legal system with ambiguities, and would open the way for intolerable official intrusion into the private life of a pregnant woman in order to protect the rights of the fetus.

Criminal law would be equally chaotic. At no time in Anglo-American history has abortion been considered the equivalent of murder, yet under the Hogan amendment, anyone committing a lesser crime which incidentally resulted in a miscarriage could be guilty of murder.

Presumably no pregnant woman could be jailed, since the fetus committed no crime. Prosecutors might well be obliged to investigate every miscarriage, to see if it resulted from fetus abuse, carelessness or recklessness. Women taking medicine which also happens to expel the fetus could be guilty of murder. So could women using IUD's.

Assuming anyone could ever really figure out when a woman conceives, every pregnant woman would be constantly acting at her peril from that time forward, lest she be held accountable for any injury the fetus suffered. Every woman might have to register her pregnancy with a fetus-protection authority, subjecting every aspect of her life to potential state inspection, regulation and control.

OUR SIDE

Many notable organizations are on record in favor of a woman's right to choose abortion with her doctor, generally along the lines of the Supreme Court decision. Among them are the American Bar Association, the President's Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, the National Conference of Commissioners on Uniform State Laws, the American Medical Association, and hundreds of doctors of obstetrics and gynecology.

Despite such impressive support, despite the fact that polls show most citizens—including Catholics—favor the right to abortion, and despite the Supreme Court's finding that women have the constitutional right to abortion, the issue frightens Congress.

This is so not only because of abortion's volatile religious and emotional content, but also because Congress is hearing from just one side—those determined to ban abortion. A one-issue group, such as the National Right to Life Committee, can create enough action, in the absence of a counter-force, to make congresspeople feel they will be swept out of office if they go wrong on that issue alone.

Indeed, even though they rarely represent majority opinion, or have enough votes to actually tip the balance in any congressional district, one-issue lobbies always have a disproportionate impact on elected officials. This is partly because they are so active, but also because most people are interested in many issues, and do not vote for or against a legislator because of his or her vote on a single issue. Mark Hatfield and Harold Hughes are in unusual company, for example, with the likes of James Buckley, Dewey Bartlett, James Eastland, et al., on S.J. Res. 119. Yet their pro-abortion constituents are unlikely to reject Hatfield or Hughes due to this one action.

LOBBYING

To offset the exaggerated impact of one-issue lobbies, those representing majority opinions—such as those who favor the Court's rulings on abortion—should simply let their congresspeople know they exist. Once legislators understand that anti-abortion activists are but a small fraction of their constituencies, they can be expected to act more responsibly in support of the Court's decisions.

But in the absence of any pro-abortion lobbying, anti-abortion forces have not only raised the possibility of a constitutional

amendment, they have actually succeeded in passing some restrictive legislation.

In the House, for example, an amendment was added to the Legal Services bill forbidding Legal Services attorneys from giving counsel to poor women having problems concerning abortion. This is a flagrant case of class discrimination, since middle class women have access to paid abortion counsel. And it ironically regenerates a portion of the class discrimination that has always attended abortion: namely, during all the years abortions were illegal, rich women could have them anyway, because they could afford them, while poor women could not. A responsible Senate would kill such an amendment.

Another piece of anti-abortion legislation has actually become law (and will likely be challenged soon by the ACLU, which has already filed other suits in eight states, challenging noncompliance with the Supreme Court rulings).

The newly passed law is the so-called Church amendment, added to the Public Health Service Act Extension by Sen. Frank Church of Idaho. The amendment says federal funds may not be denied to hospitals because they refuse to allow abortions or sterilizations on the basis of religious or moral beliefs.

While recognizing that no individual doctor, nurse or health care personnel can or should be required to participate in abortions if they do not wish to, the ACLU contends that hospitals which receive federal funds may not refuse to perform abortions.

In a third action, the National Biomedical Research Fellowship, Traineeship and Training Act of 1973 was amended by anti-abortion forces to prohibit funds for research on live fetuses. Both this and the Legal Services amendment were offered while the bills were on the floor, thus preventing consideration by the appropriate committees. The ease with which this tactic worked shows how reluctant the Congress is to confront abortion, and how vulnerable the issue is to misleading simplification.

Many other bills have been proposed, including one to amend the Social Security Act to prohibit Medicaid payments for abortions except in cases of medical necessity. Such bills will continue to be enacted as long as pro-abortion persons fail to contact their congresspeople.

STERILIZATION

Adding to the explosiveness of the issue is the current controversy over the use of federal funds for sterilization. Anti-abortion interests are capitalizing on this by coupling it with abortion. Yet there is a major difference: Groups like the ACLU, which support the right to abortion, are outraged by recent instances of sterilization, not because they oppose sterilization, but because it had been made compulsory. If a person gives knowledgeable consent to sterilization, that is a right, just as is abortion under the same circumstance.

It must be kept in mind that the Supreme Court abortion decisions are consistent with the above position. No one can be forced to have an abortion. It is the right of those who desire abortion to have it. Those who oppose abortion need not have it, but they may not impose their will on others by denying them this right.

It is worth reiterating that making abortion illegal again will not stop abortion. It never did. It will merely restore the practice of millions of illegal abortions—many under back-alley conditions—that prevailed until recently, and that have been drastically reduced thanks to the Supreme Court rulings. Outlawing abortions again will also restore the discrimination between rich and poor which enables those with money to limit their families, while the poor are denied this choice.

The question is not whether women will

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continue to have abortions, but whether they will continue to have them in safety.

CONSERVATISM

There is one final, crowning irony to the abortion debate. While attempts to ban abortion are characteristically led by people who call themselves conservatives, their position is actually a flat contradiction of conservative doctrine.

For nothing could interfere more directly with a woman's personal life than state action telling her whether she will or will not give birth. Yet the basis of all conservative doctrine is resistance to state interference with one's personal life.

Today, of course, anti-abortionists are shifting their focus away from a woman's constitutional rights to the notion of the rights of the fetus. This means determining when life begins—which no one knows—and must ultimately rest on man-made definitions more arbitrary, philosophical and religious than scientific.

Congresspeople pay scrupulous attention to their mail, especially mail from individual constituents rather than obviously organized campaigns. If any portion of that majority who favor abortion simply begin saying so, Congress will find its backbone.

No magic formula is necessary. Letters, mail-grams, telegrams, calls and home district visits have worked just fine for the right-to-life campaign. They will work equally well for those who want Congress to support the Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

Some groups fear they will lose their tax-exempt status by writing. Yet there is nothing to prevent each individual member of a group from writing on his or her own. No meeting should end without making this point.

EQUAL TREATMENT FOR VETERANS

HON. JOHN C. CULVER

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. CULVER. Mr. Speaker, today I am joining several of my colleagues in sponsoring a bill to insure that veterans' pensions will not be reduced by increases in social security benefits.

Presently, social security benefits are considered as income in determining eligibility for veterans' pensions. Because of this, increases in social security benefits have unfortunately led to a reduction in veterans' pensions. This policy of taking away with one hand what has been given with the other has disastrous consequences for veterans, many of whom rely solely upon social security and veterans' pensions for their income.

Our Iowa veterans, and those throughout the Nation, have served America with great courage, dedication, and in many cases, sacrifice. It is clearly not fitting that we reward their service to our Nation with such indifference. We must at this time give attention to the special problems that veterans face in civilian life, particularly during their retirement years.

Last year's 20-percent increase in social security benefits is one example of the effect that such a raise has on veterans' pensions. Although Congress intended to give all social security recipients the full raise, veterans received less than half the

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intended increase. If the House acts to adopt this bill, this inequity of treatment would end.

Veterans, like other older Americans living on limited incomes, are perhaps those most severely victimized by the effects of inflation, since the rise in prices over the past 4 years has often been sharpest for services or products of special importance to them. In fact, rampant inflation in such necessities as food, health care, rent, and transportation has made the last raise inadequate even to those who received the full amount. Veterans who did not receive the full benefit of that raise are now experiencing particular difficulty in maintaining a decent standard of living.

By enacting this bill, we can ensure that veterans' pensions will not be reduced by increased social security benefits and that our veterans will be able to enjoy the standard of living they so much deserve. I strongly urge the House to act quickly and enact this bill.

CHILEAN BISHOPS ASK FOR RESPECT, NOT REVENGE, IN COUP AFTERMATH

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile has already led to grave internal strife in that former hardy South American republic. On September 20, a resolution was introduced in the House calling on the new government to insure protection of the rights of all persons present in Chile. The 26 Chilean bishops have now asked the military rulers "to show respect rather than revenge for the followers of ousted President Salvador Allende." I find this call for respect a useful contribution to the present tense situation. I regret that the Chilean people have been denied knowledge of the bishops' statement.

The statement follows:

CHILEAN BISHOPS ASK FOR LENIENCY, NOT REVENGE, IN COUP AFTERMATH

SANTIAGO, CHILE.—The 26 Chilean Catholic bishops asked the new nation's military rulers to show respect rather than revenge for the followers of ousted President Salvador Allende, a Marxist, in the aftermath of their coup.

The strict censorship imposed by the junta banned the bishops' statement from radio and television newscasts.

"We hope that those who have fallen in battle and, especially ex-president Allende, will be duly respected. We ask moderation in what affects the defeated and that there be no unnecessary reprisals; that consideration be taken of the sincere idealism motivating the defeated; that there be an end to hatred and that the hour of reconciliation has arrived. We did what we could to avoid these violent events. The blood that has reddened our streets, our neighborhoods, our factories—the blood of civilians and soldiers—the tears of so many women and children grieves and weighs enormously on us. We hope that the social gains of the workers will not be ignored but rather augmented. We ask all Chileans to help restore

the gravely altered institutional order and economic life of the country. We recommend that the Armed Forces remember their traditional good sense, their humanistic and democratic values."

HEARINGS ON FLEXIBLE HOURS EMPLOYMENT ACT

Hon. Yvonne Brathwaite Burke

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mrs. BURKE of California. Mr. Speaker, today Congresswoman BELLA ABZUG and I submitted testimony before the Senate Post Office and Civil Service Committee on S. 2022 to provide increased employment opportunity by executive agencies of the U.S. Government for persons unable to work standard working hours. We have introduced a companion bill, H.R. 9109, which already has 19 cosponsors, and are hopeful that it will receive hearings in the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee in the near future.

I believe that these hearings and this statement are of sufficient importance of the Members of this body as to merit insertion in the RECORD. The statement follows:

JOINT STATEMENT BY CONGRESSWOMAN BELLA ABZUG AND YVONNE BRATHWAITE BURKE BEFORE THE SENATE POST OFFICE AND CIVIL SERVICE COMMITTEE ON SEPTEMBER 26, 1973, REGARDING S. 2022 TO PROVIDE INCREASED EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY BY EXECUTIVE AGENCIES OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT FOR PERSONS UNABLE TO WORK STANDARD WORKING HOURS, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

Mr. Chairman, let me first explain that I am today presenting a joint statement not only on my own behalf but on behalf of Congresswoman Yvonne Burke of California, who has joined with me in sponsoring H.R. 9109, the Flexible Hours Employment Act. However, because of illness in her family, she can not be here. Let me also explain that I will try to be brief because of my commitments to the deliberations about to commence in the other body.

What this Committee is considering may prove in the future to be one of the most important pieces of legislation to be proposed in this or any other Congress. The concept of flexible hours employment perhaps should be defined at the outset as I and Representative Burke and the 19 co-sponsors of H.R. 9109 understand it. It is basically a two-part definition.

The first involves part-time employment. That is generally understood to mean less than the normal 40 hour work week. This could mean either less hours per day for five days or less than 5 days a week employment. The second part of the definition would involve breaking the normal pattern of the 9 to 5 work day. This alone can produce some very interesting results that I will go into in a moment.

Part-time workers comprise an increasingly important proportion of the Nation's workforce, supplying trained manpower needs. In 1967, 6 million women worked part-time out of choice. Three million of them worked part-time year round. In a 16-year period (1950-66) the full-time labor force increased by 20 percent, and the part-time workforce by 69 percent. The proportion of women in the part-time labor force increased by 79 percent.

In 1967, BLS estimated that by 1980 one

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worker out of every 7 would be part-time. But the rate of increase in part-time workers has been so great that the ratio of 1.7 was reached by the end of 1972, eight years ahead of the estimate. More than 12.5 million American workers were part-timers at the end of last year, 5 million more than BLS found in 1963 when it began keeping those statistics.

The need for this legislation is demonstrable on a number of grounds. First, it would increase the opportunity for the Federal government to employ the skills, resources, talent and brain power of many segments of the population that, because of the current rigid system of employment practices, are denied that opportunity.

Indeed, the President's Advisory Committee on the Economic Role of Women finds that the addition of these millions of women to the labor market contributes significantly to the national output as measured by gross national product. While most of the benefits of this additional output accrue to the women who produce it and to their families, there are direct benefits to society at large, including the taxes paid on women's earnings.

If we had a meaningful system of flexible hours, using the definitions that I have provided, more women—especially women with children, the handicapped and the elderly, would have a chance to work for the Federal government.

The problem of talented women with children who would like to return to work is great.

Skilled professional part-time workers are usually women. Those men who have part-time jobs are generally students or older men. Many more women want to work part-time but cannot find jobs. The unemployment rate in 1971 for women with young children was almost 12%, close to three times the rate of other married women, a condition which is costly to the women, their families, and the Nation.

Some 35 million women workers represent 43% of the nation's work force. These workers have 5 million pre-school age children. I don't have to go into detail with you about the grossly inadequate number of quality child-care facilities available or even the inequities in the child care deduction now allowed within the income tax system. Let me give you an example from a letter I received:

"For the past six years, I have been a civil servant and for the past four years of this time have worked for the Office of Child Development, Department of Health, Education and Welfare in Dallas, Texas. I wholeheartedly support this legislation for several reasons. But this year, I am particularly interested since I will become a mother for the first time in December.

"While the Federal regulations presently are quite liberal compared to most private industry, they are rigid. For instance, you are allowed a period of absence for maternity reasons of about 14 weeks—6 weeks before expected date of delivery and 8 weeks after actual delivery, unless an operating agency head establishes by regulation that a longer period of incapacity is normal in his agency for types of positions of a strenuous or physically exacting nature. No provision is made for part-time work during this period—it is an 'all or nothing at all' situation.

"Many women would come back to work sooner if they were allowed to work only part-time. And this makes sense. I have observed that many women come back to work full-time only to find themselves exhausted in their new dual role of mother and worker. If they were allowed to ease back into their workday which would allow adjustment to their work schedule at home also, all sides would benefit."

But with little help from the Federal government—with the help provided by a broad flexible hours program—we can upgrade the efficiency of current Federal employees who might opt for flexi-hours positions, attract

talented women who because they can't find child care or have some commitments at home can't work 40 hours a week from 9-5. That part-time workers are "management bargains" has been the theme of most evaluations which the increase of part-time workers has generated. Some of the advantages found were:

Greater selectivity possible by the employer; low turnover rates; lower fringe benefit rates; high productivity; greater maturity—ability to organize, to make relationships to synthesize work; stronger motivation, growing out of appreciation for maintaining skills.

The American Society for Public Administration endorsed part-time work in private business as a source of specialized, high calibre professionals. The Wall Street Journal considered the advantages of part-time workers as meriting a frontpage story in March of this year. The Russell Sage Foundation, the Radcliffe Institute, Harvard, Stanford and Princeton are among institutions finding the use of part-time women of value. John Kenneth Galbraith in his recent book *Economics and the Public Purpose* states unequivocally that there should be greater flexibility in work hours to allow more sharing by husband and wife of family chores. Finally, almost 24,000 workers responded to the survey in which 21,683 were in favor of a flexible hours program by supporting a four-day, 40 hour workweek.

Let me briefly mention at least four other segments of the working force population that could benefit from such a program. The talents of the handicapped are lost to the Federal government for a variety of reasons, including prejudice, and often architecture, but one of the problems that groups representing the handicapped have expressed to me, is the problem that the handicapped have in competing with the crush of people during the rush-hour. Adoption of this measure could add this large group to the federal work force in significant numbers.

Students could more easily work for the Federal Government and federal employees could more easily pursue advanced degrees or specialized training. People who are thinking of retiring from the Federal services might think about working longer, giving us the benefit of their experience, if they could reduce their number of hours. Another segment of the population that would benefit from this program are men. Men who are considering the responsibilities of child-rearing and would like to assume a greater share of that responsibility could opt for participation in this program.

Within the Federal Government there have been some experiments with part-time workers—mostly women in the AEC, Department of Labor, HUD, Peace Corps, National Science Foundation and the Veterans Administration. But there are inherent impediments within the Federal Government's employment policies which have retarded its development. Why hasn't the government moved ahead in this critical area?

According to a very thorough report of the HEW Women's Program: The answer seems to lie in the budget process and employment ceiling controls which have created an artificial dichotomy between full-time and part-time employment—a dichotomy which need not persist if the facts are understood.

These controls have emphasized full-time employment and given little attention to part-time. The effect has been to focus management attention on full-time with no incentive to establish and maintain an optimum employment mix.

Does it work?

Yes. It has been successful in private industry where it is being used. Let me give you a few examples. In a recent (September 10) article in Newsweek a Vice-President of Hewlett-Packard, which recently converted

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its 15,000 employees to flexible hours said, "I now have people from 7 am to 5:30 pm." Still quoting from *Newsweek*, "Executives say the system virtually eliminates tardiness, cuts absenteeism and boosts morale..." Let me just cite some other American companies that have adopted this system: Nestle, Occidental Life of California, Lufthansa German Airlines, and Metropolitan Life.

There is a subsidiary point that should be raised at this time. I am sure that in your considerations of the Civil Service in general you have come across the problem of getting the civil service to serve the people. Complaints about government agencies, especially those that deal with the public, being opened only from 9-5, 5 days a week. People complain about having to miss their own work to take care of some problem with the government. If we had a flexible hours program it is possible that we can open the doors of the agencies before 9 and keep them open after 5.

With the adoption of this proposal we can increase productivity and efficiency in government, open the work force to groups that are excluded and increase the government's contact with the people it serves.

ONE-STOP ITC CHARTER LEGISLATION, S. 1739 AND H.R. 8570

HON. JOHN E. MOSS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, on September 11, 1973, the Senate Committee on Commerce reported out S. 1739, a bill to amend the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to provide a definition for inclusive tour charters, and for other purposes, together with minority views; Report No. 93-387, 93d Congress, 23 pages. This piece of legislation is identical to a bill, H.R. 8570, which I and my colleagues Mr. DELLUMS, Mr. ECKHARDT, Mr. LEGGETT, Mr. LONG of Louisiana, Mr. NEDZI, Mr. PEPPER, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. STARK, Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California, Mr. WRIGHT, and Mr. VAN DEERLIN, introduced in the House of Representative on June 11, 1973.

Recently a number of my colleagues have informed me that they are beginning to receive a large amount of mail in opposition to these two bills, besides those letters favoring the legislation. Upon examination, it turns out that most of the letters in opposition to these two bills were written by scheduled airline employees. In addition, as the *Wall Street Journal* reported yesterday, September 25, 1973, on its front page, the letters are not spontaneous, but rather part of a well-financed public relations drive by the Air Transport Association of America and the airlines to defeat this legislation.

LABOR LETTER

Companies push employee support for legislation affecting their firm.

The president of Continental and Western Airlines sends all employees letters urging them to write their Senators protesting a bill that would ease curbs on nonscheduled carriers. Employees at United get a similar appeal along with their paychecks.

* * * * *
The degree of pressure varies. Continental President Robert Six asks employees to give

him a copy of their letters; over 80% of the carrier's managers have responded.

In this regard, I understand the presidents of the various scheduled airlines are also writing every member of their VIP clubs, and having their sales representatives approach city officials and travel agents, in an effort to generate even more support for their cause.

Now, Mr. Speaker, every Member of the House and the Senate has been subjected to a mail campaign of this type at one time or another. It is part of our democratic process. That is not what troubles me. What bothers me is the factual inaccuracy of the information being distributed by the Air Transport Association and the airlines in their efforts to defeat this piece of legislation.

Accordingly, when my colleagues ask for background material, I have referred them to the Senate's Committee on Commerce report, and Senator CANNON's statement in the September 11, 1973, issue of the *CONGRESSIONAL RECORD* at pages S16226-S16228, since our own Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce has not yet had an opportunity to consider our bill, H.R. 8750. I hope that anyone who is interested in these two bills will take time to read Senator CANNON's remarks.

In addition, I ask unanimous consent to insert in the *Record* for the further information and interest of my colleagues two letters recently exchanged between Mr. F. C. (Bud) Wiser, Jr., president of Trans World Airlines, Inc., and Senator CANNON which have now been made part of the public record.

TRANS WORLD AIRLINES,
New York, N.Y., September 13, 1973.
Hon. HOWARD W. CANNON,
U.S. Senate,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR CANNON: As the president of an air carrier serving your state, I would like to bring to your attention S. 1739 which may well be on the Senate Floor by the end of this month. We at TWA view this as the most detrimental piece of airline legislation to appear in Congress in the last decade. Passage of this legislation would permit supplemental carriers to fly, for all practical purposes, scheduled service when they so desire. To state it another way, individual members of the public would be permitted to purchase a reserved seat on a flight between any two points the supplemental carrier wishes to fly. Although at first blush this may not appear to be catastrophic, a close perusal of the facts will prove otherwise.

If this legislation becomes law, the supplemental carriers will naturally fly the highly profitable routes and, as usual, omit those whose money-making capabilities are in any way questionable. Moreover, they will fly those preferred routes only during the prime seasons of the year. It is most unlikely, for instance, that there would be any supplemental carriers flying from New York to London in January. The result of this "cream skimming" technique will be to drive the regularly scheduled carriers into an even more precarious financial position than presently exists and some, perhaps, into bankruptcy. It is important to realize that the ability of most scheduled carriers to fly non-profitable routes is dependent upon offsetting losses with earnings on their prime routes during peak seasons of the year.

I would urge you then to consider very carefully what the adoption of this legislation would do in the long run to the regu-

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larly scheduled airline service of this country. Do not be taken in by the proposition that all Americans would be able to travel more cheaply on tours both domestic and international as is done in Europe. As a result of this type of flying authority in Europe, scheduled service is 50-100% more costly than similar U.S. service. In addition, the service is not nearly as frequent or reliable or extensive. Even so, the only way scheduled service is possible in Europe under this system is because most of the scheduled airlines operate in controlled pools.

Senator, there is far more at stake than an increase in low cost air transportation. I strongly urge you to oppose this legislation.

Sincerely,

F. C. WISER, Jr.

U.S. SENATE,
COMMITTEE ON COMMERCE,
Washington, D.C., Sept. 21, 1973.
Mr. F. C. WISER, Jr.,
President, Trans World Airlines,
New York, N.Y.

DEAR MR. WISER: This will acknowledge your letter of September 13 regarding S. 1739.

I am deeply disappointed by the kind of tactics your letter represents because it implies that I, as a sponsor of and the manager for the bill, do not have any concern for a strong, healthy scheduled airline industry. As the president of one of the largest airlines you should know that is not true.

I am amazed at how the scheduled airlines continue to compete vigorously over the twenty percent or so of Americans who can afford to use air transportation but ignore the other eighty percent whose economic means presently make them unable to take advantage of air travel. I am interested in the development of an air transport system that can meet the needs and the economic realities of most Americans—and the marvelous technology of high performance, high density aircraft coupled with modern regulations makes that possible.

Eliminating outmoded and antiquated restrictions will make it possible for most American families to take advantage of vacations by air at a fraction of the present cost and will create a vast new market for air travel that has never even been explored much less tapped by the airline industry. With the tremendous business and financial opportunity such a system offers, it is difficult to comprehend how you continue to fight for the status quo.

As the price goes down, more people will fly. People who would not have flown at higher fares. The air service experience between North America and Europe over the past five years seems to offer concrete evidence in support of this proposition. And I do not believe the scheduled airlines have seen their traffic and passengers diverted to the supplementals.

The figures show that as charter transportation has flourished in the market, scheduled service has also grown at a vigorous rate; a rate far better than the domestic growth within the United States.

The increasing availability of low-cost charters in the market has stimulated new business, it has put more people into the air and the traffic growth of both scheduled and supplemental carriers has been robust. The scheduled airline marketing people have not lost sight of this fact either. I note that your major competitor's charter business over the North Atlantic has increased over 60 percent in 1973. During hearings on this bill I repeatedly asked the scheduled airlines to provide data or statistics to back up the claim that scheduled service would be imperiled by liberalized ITC operations. You may not know that not one shred of evidence was presented to support the allegations. I suspect that none exists.

With these facts in mind, I am troubled by the zeal and vehemence with which you

and your colleagues are attempting to defeat this bill.

Now, let me comment on the points you raise in your letter.

First of all, you make the completely false statement that the bill will "allow the supplemental carriers to fly, for all practical purposes, scheduled service when they so desire." This is sheer nonsense. Under the provisions of S. 1739, the supplemental carriers are *not* authorized to provide *point-to-point air transportation* at all, they are authorized to provide inclusive *tours* or vacation packages to that segment of the public which wishes to purchase a *complete vacation* rather than an airline ticket between two points. Obviously that segment of the American public which needs or desires the flexibility of scheduled airline service, on a point-to-point basis for business or personal travel, will not be interested in purchasing a myriad of services designed to meet the need of the price conscious vacationer. Yet you continue to equate the inclusive tour vacation concept with point-to-point air transportation. Another point you *fail* to mention is that the bill would also authorize the *scheduled airlines* to offer and sell to the public this important service. The propaganda barrage from the scheduled airlines would have the public believe that *only* the supplementals could offer ITC services to the public. That simply is not true.

Second, you suggest "the supplemental carriers will naturally fly the highly profitable routes, and as usual, omit those whose money-making capabilities are in any way questionable." That isn't true either. Again, S. 1739 does not authorize the supplemental carriers route authority to sell point-to-point air transportation anywhere—the authority is *expressly* limited to the sale of vacation tours. In addition, you fail to point out that the bill *expressly* gives the CAB the authority to restrict ITC operations in *any geographic areas or markets* in which the Board finds that excessive ITC operations pose a threat to scheduled airline service. By omitting mention of this most important provision, you would have the Senate and the public believe that the bill would permit untrammeled ITC's anytime and anywhere the carriers might wish to operate them without regard to any possible impact on scheduled service. Your statement also assumes that the CAB will completely fail to exercise its responsibility as provided for in the provisions of the bill. Our bill and report demonstrate that your charge is absolutely without foundation.

Finally, your charge that ITC's in Europe have resulted in high scheduled fares is ridiculous. Europe's cartelized airline operations have always been high-fare, low-service propositions. The high fares in Europe were there long before ITC's ever came along and anyone knowledgeable about air transportation is aware of that. ITC's in Europe, a relatively recent phenomenon, have, if anything held scheduled fares down.

I have read in your "house" newspaper articles predicting doom for the company if this bill is passed. I urge you to print my letter so that your employees might have an opportunity to hear some of the facts that you have been unwilling, so far, to present.

Sincerely yours,

HOWARD W. CANNON,
Chairman, Aviation Subcommittee.

Mr. Speaker, I believe there is another aspect of the airlines' problem being brought to light by Senator CANNON's recent experience which should not be overlooked in the heat of battle, particularly by the scheduled airlines. It is an overriding problem—the lack of factual accuracy.

Like Senator CANNON, I am troubled by the zeal and vehemence with which the scheduled airlines have approached

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this issue. I fear that regardless of the outcome of this particular legislation, the scheduled airlines and the Air Transport Association of America are in the process of losing one of their most valuable assets, if indeed they have not already lost it—their credibility.

The scheduled airlines and the Air Transport Association of America's loss of credibility is not something to be taken lightly. A recent article in the September 8, 1973, issue of Business Week entitled "The Railroad Paradox: A Profitless Boom," emphasizes the importance of this to the scheduled airlines. In this article, the editors of Business Week indicate that the reason the railroads have not been able to earn money in the industry's finest year is rooted in problems that have been building up for years, one of which is:

They have the worst credibility in industry. Neither labor unions nor regulators nor the public believe their arguments. Railroads have been threatening collapse for so long without collapsing that nobody listens to them any more....

CONGRESS SHOULD REWRITE VETOED MINIMUM WAGE

HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, an excellent editorial appeared in the Tallahassee Democrat of Tallahassee, Fla., on Friday, September 21, 1973, regarding the need for rewriting the minimum wage bill.

As Members of the House know, I expressed considerable concern over this measure during its consideration. Now that the President's veto has been sustained, I think it behooves the Members of the Congress to develop alternative legislation that will meet his objections.

The editorial reprinted herewith is recommended for reading by Members of the Congress:

CONGRESS SHOULD REWRITE VETOED MINIMUM WAGE BILL

President Nixon won another veto battle with Congress when the House failed to muster enough votes to overturn his rejection of the bill increasing the minimum wage and extending coverage of millions of workers.

It was the sixth time this year that a presidential veto was upheld. The President obviously retains considerable power despite the setbacks caused by the Watergate scandal. Unfortunately, however, it is a rather negative power, but it might stimulate new legislation more in keeping with his announced goals.

The minimum wage bill was rejected because the President said it would increase unemployment and add to inflationary pressures. It would have hiked the minimum wage from \$1.60 an hour to \$2 this year and \$2.20 next year.

We believe the President was correct in his assessment of the wage hike. But we do see considerable merit in extending the present minimum wage to many workers throughout the country who do not come under it.

New legislation is in order to correct that situation. The President apparently will

welcome a revised bill. He said it is now up to Congress to replace the vetoed bill this year with a new bill which will "bring the minimum wage in line with the increased cost of living while doing so in a way that helps to check inflation and that protects jobs for low income workers."

The trouble with most minimum wage legislation is that it does not make compensations for the unskilled laborer, particularly the teenager. Such workers should not be exploited, but there should be some provision to exclude them from minimum wage rules until they can justify full pay.

As matters now stand, the teenager with no skill is unlikely to get a job with any business coming under the federal law. The same goes more so with the marginal adult worker whose work output hardly measures up to the norm.

Writing exceptions for these people is difficult. It may be impossible to devise rules which will keep some unscrupulous individuals from exploiting them. But that should not be used as an excuse not to write rules which would encourage businesses to hire them.

Those who violate present rules face severe penalties. Those who take advantage of rules dealing with teenagers and other marginal workers also could be punished. Congress at least ought to try to find ways to encourage employment of people who can't produce enough to justify payment of the current minimum wage.

OMB RELEASES NIER FUNDS

HON. JOHN B. ANDERSON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. ANDERSON of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to announce that I have today received word from the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, Mr. Roy Ash, that impounded funds for the National Industrial Equipment Reserve—NIER—were today being released for the reactivation of the reserve and the popular and successful "tool for schools" loan program.

I wish to commend Mr. Ash for his forthright and exemplary concession that the NIER impoundment and dismantlement order were wrong. While the amount of money involved is not great, I think this reversal does symbolize a new spirit of cooperation between the executive and legislative branches which will hopefully replace the climate of confrontation which has strained relations between the two branches in the past over impoundment.

I also wish to thank the 80 cosponsors of my NIER amendment in this body for all of their assistance in putting NIER back on the track. Today's announcement is especially good news for the 400 schools and 35,000 students who have benefited from training on NIER machinery.

At this point in the RECORD, Mr. Speaker, I include the text of a release issued by my office today on this matter.

The release follows:

ANDERSON ANNOUNCES OMB REVERSAL ON MACHINE TOOL RESERVE IMPOUNDMENT

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Congressman John B. Anderson (R-Ill.) today announced that he

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had received a phone call from the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, Roy Ash, indicating that OMB was reversing its decision on the impoundment of funds for the National Industrial Equipment Reserve (NIER) and its directive to the Department of Defense to dismantle the reserve.

Earlier this year, Anderson offered an amendment to a supplemental appropriation bill restoring \$1.8 million for NIER which had been without funds since December 31, 1972. While \$950,000 of that amount was apportioned by OMB to the General Services Administration for operating the reserve during the last six months of 1972, OMB impounded the remaining \$850,000 and ordered the Department of Defense to dispose of the machinery in the reserve.

Anderson protested the OMB action as illegal and his charge was confirmed by the Comptroller General in a legal decision Anderson had requested. While the Comptroller General cannot force the expenditure of impounded funds, Ash was apparently persuaded by the opinion and conceded to Anderson today, "You were right and we were wrong; I am today ordering the release of the NIER funds to reactivate the reserve."

In addition to providing a reserve of machine tools for defense production needs in time of national emergency, NIER makes the machinery available on loan to schools for vocational training purposes. At present, NIER machinery is being used in 400 U.S. schools including 15 in Illinois. Four schools in Anderson's 16th Congressional District have NIER machinery on loan: Belvidere High School, Jo Daviess-Carroll Area Vocational School, Freeport High School, and Rockford East High School."

Anderson hailed the OMB reversal as "a forthright and exemplary concession," and added that while the amount of money involved was not great, the decision does symbolize "a new spirit of cooperation between the Executive and Legislative branches which will hopefully replace the climate of confrontation which has strained relations between the two branches in the past over impoundments."

DR. SIDNEY P. MARLAND, JR.: NATION'S FIRST EDUCATOR

HON. ROBERT H. STEELE

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. STEELE. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to an outstanding public servant and educator from Connecticut, Dr. Sidney P. Marland, Jr., who resigned September 19 from the position of Assistant Secretary for Education in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Dr. Marland, who has had a distinguished career in the education field, is a native of Danielson, Conn., which is located in my district, and a graduate of the University of Connecticut, where he earned both his bachelor's and master's degrees. He holds a Ph. D. from New York University.

Prior to World War II, Dr. Marland taught in the West Hartford, Conn., school system and following military duty in the Pacific theater, where he won the Distinguished Service Cross,

Bronze Star, and Legion of Merit, he became superintendent of schools in Winnetka, Ill., and Pittsburgh, Pa. He was president of the Institute for Educational Development in New York City before he was named U.S. Commissioner of Education in December 1970.

Last fall Dr Marland was appointed the first Assistant Secretary for Education

We in eastern Connecticut, as well as the entire State of Connecticut, are extremely proud of Dr Marland's outstanding contributions to improving the level and quality of education in America. We wish him and his family well in the future.

AGONY OF THE AMERICAS BY GRAHAM HOVEY

HON. CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR.
OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, Graham Hovey, a member of the New York Times editorial board, used the occasion of the Chilean coup to review concisely and perceptively the recent tragic history of democratic government in Latin America.

In concluding his article, which appeared in the Tuesday, September 18 edition, Mr. Hovey raises extremely important questions in regard to the political crisis of the Americas and U.S. policy toward that continent. I believe his queries merit the careful consideration of each Member of the House. Therefore, I insert his article at this point in the RECORD:

AGONY OF THE AMERICAS

(By Graham Hovey)

How hollow the rhetoric that ushered in the Alliance for Progress in 1961 sounds in the wake of Chile's tragedy.

"This Alliance," declared the statesmen at Punta del Este, "is established on the basic principle that free men working through the institution of representative democracy can best satisfy man's aspirations"

First on their list of Alliance goals: "To improve and strengthen democratic institutions through application of the principle of self-determination by the people."

And now, twelve years later? Well, now we have a military junta ruling Chile with an iron fist after delivering the coup de grace to South America's most durable democracy.

And over the Andes, in the country where the Alliance was born, the armed forces of Uruguay (nobody knew they existed in 1961) govern by decree through a puppet President after helping to collapse the purest democracy in the Americas.

And across the Rio de la Plata estuary, the "application of the principle of self-determination by the people" seems certain on Sunday to restore the trappings of power—the substance having been returned months ago—to Juan Domingo Peron, the ancient, ersatz Mussolini who led Argentina from prosperity to bankruptcy before the Army booted him out eighteen years ago.

And up north, in the giant country who's elected President in 1958 paved the way for the Alliance for Progress with his inspired Operation Pan America idea, Brazil's army presides over a spectacular, if highly uneven, economic development, barely giving lip service to democracy and stamping hard on dis-

sent. One of those stamped on is that ex-President Juscelino Kubitschek.

One could go on, *ad nauseam*, but the point is clear: Twelve years after the launching with high hopes of an Alliance aimed first of all at underpinning freedom and democracy, there is much less freedom in the Americas. There is more oppression, more torture and terror, more censorship and rule by fiat.

Why have things gone so terribly wrong? Why have there been more coups since the beginning of the Alliance than in any comparable period in the modern history of the hemisphere? And most pertinently, in light of worldwide accusations of American complicity in the downfall of President Allende in Chile, is the United States primarily to blame for this situation?

The image of this country as ruthless, pervasive practitioner of neoimperialism simply won't wash. If Washington had indeed turned the Monroe Doctrine into the Brezhnev variety there would be no Castro regime in Cuba and a Marxist Government would never have come to power in Chile (not even Lyndon Johnson's invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965 can be compared to the Soviet occupation of Hungary in 1956 or Czechoslovakia in 1968).

Of course Washington would not help Dr. Allende clamp on Chile a draconian socialism fiercely opposed by a majority of Chileans. Nor would Washington influence international lending agencies to continue accepting Chile as a good credit risk once it became evident that Dr. Allende could not shore up the economy or curb inflation, and that his firebrands would not let him make good his pledge of fair compensation for expropriated enterprises.

But the ingredients for the Chilean tragedy were homegrown, not imported; here, as elsewhere, United States influence, for better or worse, was marginal. As Covey T. Oliver, a former Assistant Secretary of State for Latin America, has written: "We have the power, at one extreme, to remove almost any country from the map . . . but we could not, even if we wished, translate this into control over the country's routine actions."

The valid charge against the Nixon Administration on Latin America is more one of neglect than of imperialist exploitation. After the extravagant rhetoric and feverish activity of the Alliance for Progress heyday, the low-key approach charted by the President was widely welcomed. It soon became evident, however, that behind the lower profile was no hemisphere policy at all.

Mr. Nixon may have disclosed more of his thinking about the political crisis of the Americas than he intended in welcoming President Emilio G. Médici to Washington in 1971: "We know that as Brazil goes, so will go the rest of the Latin American continent."

Is that it, then? Is dramatic economic development achievable only under military rule in a climate of repression and censorship? Many American businessmen involved in Latin America devoutly believe so. Or, at the other end of the spectrum, is a redistribution of wealth, a better deal for the poorest Latins, possible only under a Marxist dictatorship? After the collapse of the Allende experiment, even many American liberals say so.

But can the American Government accept such theses? Even in disillusionment with the Alliance for Progress and recognizing that American influence will be only marginal, can Washington be comfortable with a nothing policy for a continent largely out of control but clearly lurching toward revolution?

Henry A. Kissinger said that his recent call on President Echeverría in Mexico City—his first diplomatic mission since President Nixon nominated him to be Secretary of State—"underlines the importance we shall attach to relations with Latin America." How fine it would be if he really meant it.

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ATTICA REVISITED

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, 2 years ago the worst prison riot in the U.S.'s history occurred at the State Prison in Attica, N.Y. It preceded a wave of prison disturbances which shook the penal system to its foundations and which made many of us realize, for the first time, the need for reform of our prisons.

On September 9, the NBC Sunday News presented a report by Mr. Jack Paxton on Attica Prison and the effects the riot had there. I was deeply impressed by the report and have taken the liberty of enclosing the transcript:

ATTICA

JACK PAXTON. On this day two years ago, a minor incident turned into a four day uprising at Attica. The inmates took over the prison. Finally a thousand police charged, firing rifles and shotguns. When it was over 43 people were dead including 9 prison guards.

In the last 2 years, Attica has changed. In many ways, it is now a better place for the inmates. Most of the changes came as a direct result of the uprising.

There have long been plans to improve conditions. It took a riot to pry loose the money. There have been two basic changes: overcrowding has been relieved, the prison population has been reduced by one-third; and the prisoners have more freedom, spend much less time idle in their cells. A gymnasium is being built. It was first planned in 1948 but the money didn't come until after the uprising. This prisoner is combining his hobby with work, painting murals to decorate messhalls. He thinks things are better, though there are prisoners who disagree.

PRISONER No. 1. There's much less tension in the yards . . . I think I have to emphasize again that it's this recreation program because before we spent as much as 23 hours in a cell. Usually I'd say about 18 to 20 anyway. But now we have this night recreation, therefore, your aggressions are worked off in sports instead of toward each other.

PRISONER No. 2. They are letting us out of our cells mostly to pacify us but the grievances are still the same. You've got more repression. You've got guntowers in the yard. Any place you go through these halls you have got teargas guns pointed at your back. The guards still carry clubs. You know you got stories every day of guys coming down from the box, guys getting beat.

JACK PAXTON. There may never be much satisfaction in a place that keeps people where they don't want to be and there are undoubtedly abuses, but efforts are being made to improve life here. New equipment to improve food service, educational programs have been expanded including the law library, to help prisoners plan how to get out legally. There has also been a program to re-educate guards to improve their attitudes, to try to eliminate brutality and misunderstandings, racial and otherwise.

Ray Henneberg, a prison guard, was here during the revolt.

RAY HENNEBERG. I think the inmates' attitudes are to my way of thinking the same. We still have 90% of inmates that are cooperative to a great degree and there's always that 10% that want a lot more change than is possible, a lot faster than change is possible. I would say before the riot there was a great deal of tension because of the fact

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the inmates wanted change and the change because of budgetary reasons wasn't forthcoming. I think that now it has leveled off a great deal because of the fact that the State has realized its responsibility and come through with some of these programs that they were asking for.

JACK PAXTON. It really took the trouble to do it though, didn't it?

RAY HENNEBERG. That had to happen, right, it had to happen.

JACK PAXTON. Attica is still a maximum security prison. Some things can't change. But the tragedy two years ago has made life better here today.

PORTUGUESE GUINEA AND THE PAIGC "DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE"

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, on September 17 my distinguished colleague from Michigan (Mr. Driggs) addressed the House on the subject of a "Declaration of Independence in Guinea-Bissau," referring to Portuguese Guinea, and read into the RECORD a recent communiqué of the Second Congress of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde—PAIGC.

In so doing, I was struck by the comparison the gentleman made between the communiqué and our own Declaration of Independence. I believe that most Americans would reject the comparison, especially when they gave the document close scrutiny.

PAIGC, it turns out, is a group of about 5,000 persons—of a population of more than half a million—which promotes active revolutionary violence in Portuguese Guinea, and which, according to the "Annual of Power and Conflict 1971: A Survey of Political Violence and International Influence," edited by the respected British analyst, Brian Crozier, "received aid and support from China, the Soviet Union, and European private charities." Indeed, in its own communiqué, the PAIGC paid tribute to "the multifaceted aid of the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union." This aid seems to come primarily in the form of weapons, which are used indiscriminately against civilian and military targets.

Being a student of American history and interested in matters concerning our NATO partners, I was motivated to do a little research concerning the PAIGC, and I have found no significant parallels between a group supported by the Soviet Union and Communist China on the one hand, and our colonial forefathers on the other hand.

In examining this matter, I came across some very appropriate recent remarks by the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Dr. Rui Patrício, who noted in reference to Portugal's African policy that—

The principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states is insistently

proclaimed, but when the Portuguese state is concerned this same principle is ignored. The absolute priority of peace and the universal renunciation of violence and armed struggle is proclaimed insistently to the four winds, as well as the necessity of finding peaceful solutions for all contested problems. In spite of this, when Portugal is concerned, aggression is incited, aid is given to the terrorists, and the threat of war is brandished.

The Portuguese Minister for the Overseas, Professor Silva Cunha, spoke at length on the subject of Portuguese Guinea on September 14. I include the following excerpts from his address in the RECORD at this point:

Portuguese Guinea is a small territory with an area of less than 30,000 kilometers. Squeezed between the sea, Senegal and the Republic of Guinea, it is traversed by innumerable waterways (which offer additional means of easy penetration), and has a population of about 600,000 inhabitants divided into numerous tribal groups (about 30). The climate is harsh and makes difficult the establishment of white settlers. The economy is based primarily on agriculture carried on by traditional methods and on trade. In the over-all strategy of encirclement of Europe by the Communist world, Guinea occupies a geographical position of great importance. Facing Cape Verde, Portuguese Guinea, if occupied by forces hostile to the West, would provide the necessary springboard for an attack on that archipelago. In a global conflict, Cape Verde would be the key to the South Atlantic. This factor gives, within the framework of the objectives of that strategy, a fundamental importance to Guinea. These facts, together with the smallness of the territory and the easy utilization of neighboring territories by the terrorists as bases for attacks and as sanctuaries, necessitates its being considered a prime objective of attacks against Portuguese positions in Africa, especially since it is believed that the territory's population, constituted predominantly of Africans, would quickly join in the subversion and thus facilitate domination of the territory.

But terrorist actions in Guinea began in 1963, and the facts have not borne out the expectations of those responsible for the global strategy of subversion. In not one part of the territory have the terrorists succeeded in establishing themselves so that they could in truth state: "Here we give the orders." The population has not been won over, and if terrorists are recruited from within some small elements of their tribal groups, the truth is that the great majority have remained loyal to Portugal, indeed to the degree that about 60% of the armed forces and militia which defend peace and order in the territory is composed of Guineans. There are no liberated areas; there is no general subversion of the territory. Life in Guinea is not easy; but the enemy has not succeeded in preventing the construction of more than 500 kilometers of paved roads; nor the resettlement of a substantial part of the population in new, more comfortable and hygienic villages; nor the continued growth of the economy; nor progress, notable in all respects, in areas of health and education. In summary, the enemy has not prevented the continued progress, with the enthusiastic support of the people, of the policy of economic and cultural development now pursued in all parts of the Portuguese territory. This is the reality.

Mr. Speaker, if Portuguese Guinea is strife-torn and dominated by the PAIGC, as some allege, this fact is not verified by the statistics of the World Bank, which points out in its latest Atlas that the province enjoys a per capita income

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of \$250 and a per capita growth rate of 4.9 percent; these figures exceed the income and growth rates of Nigeria, Egypt, Ethiopia, Morocco, and many other more favorably endowed African countries, and are significantly higher than Portuguese Guinea's two immediate neighbors, Senegal and Guinea, from which PAIGC operates.

THERE CAN BE NO COMPROMISE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND TRADE

HON. FRANK ANNUNZIO

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. ANNUNZIO. Mr. Speaker, the Ways and Means Committee is about to consider the provisions of the Trade Reform Act of 1973 that would give the President authority to grant most-favored-nation—MFN—status to non-market-economy countries. At this time, important attention is being given to the many aspects of our relations with the Soviet Union, and in the climate of détente that the Nixon administration has established with the Soviet Union, trade relations loom as a crucial area.

Promises about trade and credits have apparently been made to Secretary General Brezhnev, and the Soviet Union seems ready under his leadership to end its independent economic orientation and seek outside help. In this country, the administration has pointed toward the Soviet Union and other East European countries saying that there lies an answer to the U.S. trade deficit; and certain American commercial interests have leaped at the supposedly fat carrot that has been waved before them.

Buying détente by the granting of concessions cannot be continued. Although the aspects of détente that lessen the chances of nuclear confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union are most welcome, it is paramount that the United States not go overboard, drop its guard, and act as if the Soviet Union is some long-lost relative regained. Indeed, to continue to make economic concessions and deals in the name of détente that is not yet fully defined or clear is rashness of the greatest degree. A careful reading of the Soviet press, official spokesman of their party and Government, reveals continued reference to what they call a successful peace offensive which does not mean the abandonment of the well-known ideological doctrine they regard as central to a continuing class struggle between differently organized societies. When we hear calls for realism in our relations with the Soviet Union, let us be careful not to abandon realism in our assessment of the situation.

It is clear that economic failure in the Soviet Union is leading the Kremlin to seek aid in the West. I emphasize the word "aid." It is most unsettling to see this administration suddenly extending concession after concession to our most powerful rival. We have already witnessed the disruption last year's huge

wheat sale—or wheat giveaway—caused in our economy, for which our people are paying through increased consumer prices on food. The price of a loaf of bread is almost out of sight for the average American, while we hear reports that Russia is now selling our grain at incredible profits to other European countries.

Now we are being asked to give the Soviet Union MFN so the Russians can export manufactured products into our economy that we do not really need. In addition, granting MFN status would help the Soviets earn currency to pay for U.S. technology they desperately need to make their industry productive and enable them to make capital investments, necessary for development of their resources sector.

Fortunately, the efforts of my distinguished colleagues, Senator JACKSON and Representatives MILLS and VANIK, have slowed headlong folly and caused a realistic assessment of conditions in the Soviet Union. It certainly is time now to take a closer look at what the Soviet Union's real objectives are to recognize that the Soviet leadership is very shrewd and calculating in its "détente offensive." I have gone on record in the past as a wholehearted supporter and cosponsor of the Jackson-Vanik-Mills amendment and I can only reiterate in the strongest terms possible my continuing support for the effort my colleagues are making to inject reason into this country's foreign policy.

This past Saturday, the swearing in of Henry Kissinger as Secretary of State reminded me of the circumstances that led to his coming to this country in flight from the worst kind of repression and persecution in Nazi Germany. We as a nation pride ourselves that we offered new lives and careers to countless refugees from intolerable tyrannies. Yet, we find before us legislation—and now a compromise, the Corman-Pettis formula—that would grant to Russia trade privileges and concessions that are certainly undeserved. We are asked to ignore Russia's record of oppression and atrocities, and continuing lack of concern for the human rights of its citizens.

Indeed, we are asked to abandon this Nation's dedication to human principles, and we cannot, we must not, surrender this or any opportunity to influence the Soviet Union's behavior toward those who want to emigrate from the Soviet Union, as well as toward those who want to stay but be treated as human beings.

The Corman-Pettis amendment, if adopted over the Jackson-Vanik-Mills amendment, would be an abject surrender. My colleagues are asking for "reasonable progress" in human rights, and that there be no "unreasonable tax" on emigration. We have already seen what the Soviet Union does to reasonable men. They are harassed, prevented from emigrating or working, are incarcerated in asylums as lunatics, or tried on trumped-up charges and sent to work camps and prisons.

We are forced to witness this, and then are admonished by the Kremlin not to interfere in internal affairs. That is pure nonsense, for when it comes to the

rights of human beings, it is the affair of all responsible men everywhere. This Congress must continue to assume its responsibility to do whatever possible to get the Soviet Union to recognize international principles of human rights and assure the continued dedication of the United States to recognition of those rights.

I will admit that there has been progress in the Soviet Union to the extent that dissidents are heard, and that fear of violent death no longer hangs over their heads. But, nonetheless, fear exists and I maintain that the progress made has not been nearly enough. Legislation such as the Corman-Pettis amendment to the trade bill that only seeks "satisfactory balance" and "safeguard arrangements" is nothing more than surrendering to the Soviet Union what it wants without requiring what I feel is the minimum response necessary to earn our favorable consideration.

Mr. Speaker, I, of course, will vote "no" to any extension of MFN to the Soviet Union, and urge that my colleagues join me in supporting the Jackson-Vanik-Mills amendment. We cannot allow unchecked the flow of capital and technology to a country that blatantly ignores the minimum human rights of its citizens. We must make sure that our own country is not endangered by a policy that gives too much away without safeguarding our own national interests, and that America will not abandon the hopes of millions in the world but instead will reassert its moral leadership in the conduct of its foreign policy.

THE COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH CENTERS EXTENSION ACT OF 1973

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, I am today joining with my colleagues from Indiana, Congressman WILLIAM H. HUNNUT III, and from New Hampshire, Congressman LOUIS C. WYMAN, in sponsoring the Community Mental Health Centers Extension Act of 1973. Our bill will continue for 3 years Federal start-up assistance for additional community mental health centers and provide continuing aid for preventive mental health services.

This bill is designed to meet a target date of June 30, 1980, for full coverage of the Nation's population with nearby mental health care. It is estimated that our citizens can be fully served with nearby care with 1,500 community mental health centers. Presently, there are about 500 federally funded centers and 100 centers financed privately or from State and local sources. This means there are at least 900 catchment areas for which centers must still be planned and initial funding secured.

The administration has again proposed to discontinue all Federal support for additional centers. This would be a mistake. The success of this program as

shown in the initiation of nearly 500 community mental health centers, which were not there before the availability of Federal start-up aid, and the resulting 36 percent reduction in the population of our State mental health hospitals over the last 5 years provides ample evidence for a strengthening and continuation of this program. I know of no other Federal "pump-priming" program which has produced such measurable results in terms of helping people. Two-thirds of our population remain unserved by nearby centers, and this program should be continued with a high priority.

Our bill provides for Federal start-up assistance for new centers with the Federal role diminishing over an 8-year period as State and local input takes over. Federal assistance up to 10 percent of total operating costs would be continued after 8 years for consultation and education services offered by the centers to schools, courts, clergy, community health and welfare agencies, police, and others in the community.

These consultation and education services are important in the early detection of mental illness. However, since they are not self-supporting financially, many centers would have to discontinue these efforts without this support.

The bill limits the total amount of Federal assistance which any center can receive over the 8-year start-up period. The limitation for operational costs is \$18 per capita for nonpoverty catchment areas and \$30 per capita for centers in designated poverty areas. Language is included to insure that funds going to poverty centers are actually used on services for the poor.

This limitation on each center's total assistance is intended to spread available funds equitably to the catchment areas not now served. Mental illness pays no attention to geography, and it is essential that skill in craftsmanship by some centers not be permitted to give those centers a disproportionate share of available funds, thus leaving other catchment areas with insufficient startup aid.

The bill provides needed improvements in the services offered by federally assisted community mental health centers. A full range of diagnostic, treatment, liaison and followup services must be provided by all centers to children and the elderly, two age groups which have received inadequate attention by some centers in the past.

The centers would be required to screen and, when possible, provide treatment for persons within their catchment areas who might otherwise be admitted to a State mental hospital. Followup care of persons in the catchment areas who have been discharged by the State hospitals is also required. In addition, the centers are required to provide services to any health maintenance organizations in the catchment areas.

Finally, the bill provides an authorization of \$20 million each year for 3 years for the purchase or renovation of facilities to be used for community mental health centers. Special emphasis should be placed on renovation of existing facilities, but authorization is included for new construction if other facilities are not available.

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Mr. Speaker, great strides have been made under the community mental health programs across the country in improving preventive measures and treatment capabilities for mental illness. However, with more than 275,000 resident patients in our State mental hospitals and with about two-thirds of the country still unserved by community mental health centers, we must take prompt action on this extension legislation. It is estimated that one family in four will need mental health care. Congress must respond to this need by placing the highest priority on the extension and improvement of this proven program.

HOME MORTGAGES

HON. HENRY HELSTOSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. HELSTOSKI. Mr. Speaker, the shortage of funds for home mortgages has been and is continuing to be a major concern to all of us and therefor I believe we should consider all proposals and suggestions directed at making money available to those who want to buy or build their own homes.

I would like to place in the RECORD an address delivered by Mr. Jackson W. Goss, president and chief executive officer of Investors Mortgage Insurance Co. of Boston, before a seminar on conventional mortgages held in Birmingham, Ala., on August 21.

Mr. Goss' proposal for building up funds to meet increasing demands for home mortgage loans might well be fully considered by those interested in finding a solution to a most serious problem.

The text of Mr. Goss' address follows:

Every American who wants to own his own home should have that opportunity—and should be willing to do whatever is necessary to accomplish that goal.

Every individual, business, industry and group connected in any way with housing should be willing to help provide the one vital ingredient that makes it possible for families to reach the goal of home ownership—money for home mortgage loans.

These are two undeniable facts of life that every one of us in the housing industry must accept—accept as the answer to keeping the industry and the country moving ahead.

There are an increasing number of economic pundits who keep trying to convince the nation that there simply is no money available right now for housing—for mortgage loans.

They are wrong.

There is money available for housing—it needs only to be put to work in the right places—another undeniable fact.

It is estimated that if every potential home buyer were to deposit \$100 in a local thrift institution—there would immediately be more than \$1 billion in new funds available for new mortgage loans.

Of course, the skeptic will say, "Well, \$100 won't make the down payment on a home."

And he would be right—but \$100 in a savings account is a start and it is the first step that any potential home buyer can take toward his eventual goal.

All of these individual accounts would go a long way toward proving the pundits wrong. And if you add to this some very logical steps

that all of the individuals, companies and groups related to or connected with the housing industry can take, the pessimists would soon have no audience at all.

There is nothing at all that would bar a home builder, a real estate broker, a mortgage banker or a utilities company from depositing a portion of their capital in a savings and loan.

Consider, for example, construction union pension funds. These are organizations that are continually searching for good, solid long-term investments with little risk and better-than-average returns. The purchase of a mortgage package would be an investment that would mean even more money circulating within the thrift industry.

What better way would there be for such a fund to assure its own continued growth. By helping to provide more money for home mortgages, they would be insuring continued employment for union members in the home building field.

This is the message that must be gotten across to everyone in the housing industry. We must all invest in our own future by seeing that American families and individuals have the financial wherewithal to buy homes.

And we must emphasize even more strongly to the home buying public what the purchase of a home truly means—an investment in the American way of life. A home, for example, is one of the few investments in which the buyer can gain full ownership. He is, in effect, buying his own business.

I can think of no better way to show a young family how capitalism really works than to make it possible for them to buy their home.

All of us who are associated with housing know that it is an amazingly broad and complex field—an industry that is basic to our national economy and the American way of life. How true the statement: as housing goes, so goes the economy.

There are few, if any, other industries in which success depends so strongly on the cooperation and working relationships of so many different groups. Everyone has done a tremendous job thus far in making this industry work and now is no time to let up in that effort.

In fact, it will take an even greater effort in the weeks and months ahead to maintain the pace we have set in meeting the demand for housing. But there is no doubt that it can be done. It must be done.

I am bullish on America—I am bullish on housing. I am bullish on America because of its people—I am bullish on housing because of the individuals who make up our industry.

LAKES ALSO DIE

HON. DON FUQUA

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, the Bradford County Telegraph of Starke, Fla., has long been recognized as one of the Nation's outstanding weekly newspapers.

In the September 20, 1973, issue of this paper, publishers Bob G. Ferguson and John M. Miller printed an outstanding editorial that I would like to have reprinted in the RECORD for others to read.

Their comments about pollution of a lake in their area can be transposed to literally hundreds of thousands of similar circumstances across the Nation.

Ultimately the solution to many of the pollution problems in the Nation will come when local citizens become con-

cerned enough to take an interest and do something at that level.

As the paper stated, we got into this mess because people just would not get interested until it was too late.

The editorial is as follows:

LAKES ALSO DIE

The Council on Environmental Quality reported from Washington this week that the nation must spend some \$274 billion over the next ten years on measures to clean up the environment, but should reap greater benefits in reduced pollution damage. The report contained a bit of encouragement by noting some improvement in national air quality in 1971, its latest available estimate. But it pointed to a distinct and accelerating increase in the concentration of carbon dioxide in the world's atmosphere and blamed it on man's excessive burning of fossil fuels.

A sobering item in the report noted that some scientists fear continued carbon dioxide increases would create a "greenhouse effect," trapping solar heat and perhaps altering the world's climate.

Of the total \$274 billion proposed expenditure during the coming decade, measures relating to water pollution correction and control would account for almost half—a staggering \$121.3 billion—the largest item in the budget.

All of which brings us to ponder—just how the heck did we allow ourselves to get into such a polluted mess?

The answer is, of course, the age-old human habit of failing to lock the barn door until the horse is stolen.

For a graphic local instance of this frustrating shortsightedness, we have only to look at what is happening to Kingsley Lake—once the most beautiful natural lake, and best suited to swimming and water sports of any lake in Florida. For those who are newcomers to the community, it is still a cut above other lakes in the area, but for those who remember the pristine loveliness of its crystal clear waters and white sand bottom, the present condition of the lake is revolting.

The eminent marine ecologist, Dr. James B. Lackey, who resides on Melrose Bay, once said that "a lake begins to die as soon as it is created." And the cause of its death? What else could it be but the malpractices of that great abuser of the environment—mankind.

Ask a dozen people what is causing the rapid deterioration of Kingsley Lake, and you'll get a dozen different answers. Each individual has his own personal ideas—always excluding, of course, anything that he himself has done or may wish to do in the future in, on, or to the lake.

And it is true that there might be as many as a dozen different causes for this deterioration—each contributing to the deadly cumulative effect which will ultimately end in killing the lake for everyone—perhaps not in this generation; but surely it would take a grossly selfish and unconcerned person not to have some consideration for the pleasure and well-being of the generations to come.

Some of the most likely causes of threatened pollution and/or general deterioration of the lake are these:

The strong possibility that there are numerous septic tanks, placed too near the shore line, which overflow in times of heavy rain, dumping raw sewage into the lake.

Overfertilization from nutrients washing into the lake from detergents, sewage, and the practice of feeding lawns with commercial fertilizers, which leach out into the lake with the very next rain.

The practice of the Clay County road department of repairing eroded roads with clay, which washes downhill into the lake with every rain.

Possible improper drainage structures in-

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stalled by the Department of Transportation with the redesigning of Highway 16, causing some muck to be discharged into the lake.

Possible sediment in the lake caused by the blowing of sand into the lake with prevailing southwest winds.

The dumping of garbage and human waste into the lake by large-size boats that have been seen on Kingsley at intervals this summer.

And last, but not least—the general overpopulation of the lake due to the increased popularity in recent years of mobile homes, campers, and other types of shelter that can crowd three or four families onto a lot originally intended for one.

Belatedly—just about fifteen or twenty years after it should have been done—a group of Kingsley property owners have petitioned the Clay County Zoning Board to rezone the lake to R-B (residential) from its present classification of "Agricultural."

The request was made with the realization that no lake can support unlimited density of population, and that is just what will happen with the present agricultural zoning. The proposed change in classification is in keeping with Clay County's comprehensive zoning plan which aims to lower the density of population around the county's many beautiful lakes in order to protect them for present and future generations.

A commendable step was taken in this direction recently when the board responded to a petition from residents around Lake Geneva and reclassified that body of water R-A, the highest classification of residential zoning on the books.

When the Kingsley petition was heard on September 6, with four members present, the motion to grant the rezoning was lost for lack of a second, and two members of the board (only four were present) suggested that the petitioners should settle for R-C, a lower classification.

It was difficult for the petitioners to understand why Kingsley, generally considered the finest lake in the area (or was at one time), should deserve only R-C zoning, when Lake Geneva had already been granted R-A. The fairness of this proposal could not be justified on any logical grounds.

The petitioners hope that the two opposing members of the board will reconsider their position by the October meeting time and grant the much needed R-B classification. When and if this is done, property owners on Kingsley Lake should lose no time in organizing a Kingsley Lake Protective Association which can speak with some authority when a matter of vital importance to the lake arises. This has been done on several other area lakes (notably Lake Geneva and Melrose Bay) with gratifying results.

Where one or two individuals speak with a voice that is often inaudible in high places, a group, speaking through an organization, will be heard.

The time for complaining to one another about deplorable conditions on Kingsley Lake is past. With the belated, but now rapid growth of this area, conditions will continue to worsen around all our lakes at an accelerated rate.

The ultimate result is death.

It happened to Lake Apopka. It could happen to Kingsley.

H.R. 3483

HON. OGDEN R. REID

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. REID. Mr. Speaker, I insert in the RECORD two recent news items which ap-

peared regarding my bill, H.R. 3483, to exempt certain income of nonresident alien authors, artists, and composers from "developing countries." This legislation would, in sum, protect such persons from double taxation to which they are now vulnerable.

The first piece is a newsstory from the New York Times of September 1; the second is an editorial from the Nation of September 17, 1973:

[From the New York Times, Sept. 1, 1973]

BILL WOULD AID FOREIGN AUTHORS

A group of authors writing on behalf of the Authors League of America have urged Representative Wilbur D. Mills, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, to give favorable consideration to a bill that would relieve authors from the developing African and Asian countries from the burden of double taxation on royalties earned in the United States.

Under present law, authors of Western countries are exempted from a United States royalty tax of 30 per cent under treaties between their countries and the United States. As yet, however, most developing countries have not been able to negotiate such treaties. Thus, their authors are taxed both here and at home on the same income. A bill introduced by Representative Ogden R. Reid at the request of the Authors League would relieve authors of developing countries of the United States tax for a period of five years.

The letter to Mr. Mills was signed by Ralph Ellison, John Hersey, Elizabeth Janeway, Toni Morrison, Barbara W. Tuchman, Rex Stout, Jerome Weidman, John A. Williams and Herman Wouk.

[From the Nation, Sept. 17, 1973]

MODEST PROPOSAL

According to Anthony Sampson's interesting book, *The Sovereign State of ITT*, the corporation in question, eighth largest in the country, paid no U.S. taxes in 1971. Presumably, ITT's kingdom is not of this world, so it need not render unto Caesar.

Fair enough—but who takes up the slack for ITT? We do, of course, but we have help from unexpected quarters. If, for example, a foreign author should publish a book in the United States, adding to the gaiety of a nation that can use all the gaiety it can get these days, he will be taxed at the rate of 30 per cent. Not 30 per cent of his profits but 30 per cent of the gross royalties from his books. And then his own government will tax him too, at whatever rate it thinks fit.

A foreign author can avoid this double jeopardy if he has the wit to be a citizen of England, France, Germany, or any nation rich enough to have concluded reciprocal treaties with the United States, in which each government waives its rights to tax the other's authors. But if the writer lives in what is called, indifferently, an "underdeveloped" or "developing" nation, the chances are good that he is protected by no such treaty. He may be living in the humblest circumstances in his own country, but our government will combine with his to encourage literature by keeping him poor.

The Authors League of America has drafted a very modest bill to alleviate this instance of an unintended hardship imposed on those least able to bear it. Modest, because this bill "to exempt certain income of nonresident alien authors, artists and composers from taxation," applies only to authors resident in a developing country, defined for the purposes of the proposed statute as having an annual per capita income no greater than \$300. That stipulation is eloquent in itself. Members of Congress who have indicated their support for the bill include Andrew

Young, Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, Ronald V. Dellums, John Conyers, Jr., and Barbara Jordan. And if the measure passes, as it clearly deserves to do, what will America gain by forgoing the widow's mite of Asia and Africa? Reciprocal privileges for our own writers in the countries involved, of course. And self-respect which, like gaiety, has been in short supply with us lately.

SNOW'S ISLAND NATIONAL PARK?

HON. EDWARD YOUNG

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. YOUNG of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, H.R. 9916 proposes that Snow's Island, S.C. be made a national park. Snow's Island is associated with Gen. Francis Marion, the "Swamp Fox," because he used it as the base of operations for the brilliant guerrilla campaign in the winter of 1780.

The Florence Morning News has joined the South Carolina General Assembly, the South Carolina Archives, and numerous historical societies in supporting this concept:

SNOW'S ISLAND NATIONAL PARK?

Snow's Island is an approximate 5,000-acre tract of land where Lynches River flows into the Great Pee Dee. The island is formed by division of Lynches into two arms before it empties into the Pee Dee. The two arms flow on two sides of the island and the Pee Dee on the third.

It is a wild wilderness of lush swamp growth, a natural habitat for wildlife, and a breeding place for mosquitoes that swarm the island.

But it is one of South Carolina's most historic spots in the struggle for American independence. Here in 1780 when the British were in virtual command of South Carolina, Francis Marion established a hiding place from which he would sally forth in quick, devastating strikes against British and Tory troops and their lines of supply.

With the island are associated names legendary in South Carolina's Revolutionary war history: the Horrys—Peter and Hugh, Lemuel Benton, Hugh Ervin, Gavin Witherpoon, John James, a small galaxy of lesser lights, and, of course, Marion himself.

Here, too, was his base when he was made brigadier general, placed in command of Continental troops and instructed to form the brigade which ever afterward was to bear his name.

From the relative security of Snow's Island, Marion conducted the vigorous and sustained campaigns that were major factors in upsetting British plans for conquering the South as a necessary prelude for breaking the military stalemate in the North.

Congressman Ed Young now proposes that Snow's Island be obtained by the federal government and converted into a national park, and he has introduced a bill in Congress to effectuate that end.

It is not the first time that interest has been directed toward properly identifying the island as a significant historical site. But it is the first time, so far as our knowledge goes, an effort has been made to bring it into the system of national parks.

We wish success for the effort. In a sense

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far more real than historians have ever recorded, the battles took place in South Carolina that made victory possible for the cause of independence. Most of them were not battles at all in the conventional sense, but brief, hard-hitting skirmishes that kept British troops and their movements off balance, and eventually set the stage for the trap sprung upon Cornwallis at Yorktown.

As Associate Editor Dew James said in his by-line column last Sunday, converting the wilderness that is now Snow's Island into a national park would be appropriate to the bicentennial observance in 1976. It would give Marion and his men the place they deserve in U.S. history, appropriately stress South Carolina's contribution to American independence, and awaken as a continuing emphasis "the Spirit of '76."

SNOW'S ISLAND NATIONAL PARK IS GOOD IDEA

Probably no one is more pleased than Dr. Robert Bass with efforts of Congressman Edward L. Young and others to convert Snow's Island in Florence County into a national park.

The low-lying island at the juncture of the Great Pee Dee and Lynches Rivers was the hideaway of Revolutionary War Gen. Francis Marion and his men. It was from that swampy hideaway that the diminutive guerrilla partisan launched those hit-and-run attacks that tormented British troops in the Pee Dee region.

Dr. Bass, a professor of English at Erskine College until his retirement, has been a Marion admirer since boyhood and is the author of "Swamp Fox," the widely-acclaimed biography of Marion.

Dr. Bass' boyhood home at Britton's Neck was less than a mile from Snow's Island and as a boy he and his father went fishing in that area. His boyhood curiosity about Marion's exploits culminated in his becoming a leading scholar on the American Revolutionary period.

In addition to the Marion biography, he is also the author of "Gamecock," a biography of Revolutionary Gen. Thomas Sumter and "The Green Dragon," the story of British Revolutionary Col. Barnestre Tarleton and Mary Robinson.

Congressman Young introduced a bill Friday to make Snow's Island a national park and thus preserve a site significant to American history. The congressman envisions of a visitors center on Dunham's Bluff, a highland area in Marion County across from the island.

It's a good idea and one that hopefully will win favor in Washington. Establishing a national park on Snow's Island and adjacent area would be an appropriate way for this region to commemorate the nation's bicentennial which is less than three years away.

The idea is keeping with the only really worthwhile proposal to come from the American Revolutionary Bicentennial Commission which has done little else since it was established on July 4, 1966, to prepare an overall program commemorating the nation's 200th birthday.

For some strange reason, the commission voted earlier this year to abandon the idea of establishing a series of bicentennial parks across the nation meaning the proposal to make Snow's Island a national park probably won't fit into the commission's plans if it ever develops any.

Because Snow's Island is low-lying and subject to frequent flooding, its utilization for recreational purposes is probably limited. But if the Okefenokee Swamp in Georgia can be utilized as a park, then it shouldn't be too difficult to dream up ways to make the Snow's Island area both a historical shrine and a recreational area.

FAREWELL TO WILLIE MAYS

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, an era is ending this week as the time approaches when Willie Mays will be playing his last major league baseball game.

Last night in New York, more than 53,000 fans came to Shea Stadium to honor Willie Mays on his night and to express that very special love that New Yorkers have held for Willie ever since he came to New York in 1951 as a scared, 19-year-old kid straight from the minor leagues.

Although adopted by New York, Willie has always had a very special place in the hearts of the people of the Harlem community. He first played at the Polo Grounds, which was located in Harlem, and it has become a community legend, that during his early years with the Giants, he would come down into the streets and play stickball with the kids of the community. Willie won our hearts then and became one of us. He was taken away to San Francisco, but we never lost that special feeling for him and always felt he was a part of us and a special part of our community.

It is fitting that Willie came back to New York to end his glorious career. His return last year brought back to the city the feelings of our youth, and new hopes and promises which come with remembrances of the hopes and promises of youth. We knew he did not have much longer to play, but we had the opportunity to love him again as ours, to cheer him on and, once again, to marvel at his unique skills.

Today I join with the people of my community and the people throughout the city of New York in honoring Willie for all that he has done and all that he has meant to us and in wishing him well in whatever he undertakes in the future.

The current issue of Time magazine captures some of the spirit of Willie's career and his special relationship with the city of New York and the Harlem community:

SAY HEY, SO LONG

It was the last contest of the 1954 World Series, and the New York Giants had a deciding 3-0 edge in games over the Cleveland Indians. Cleveland had two outs and a man on third when the batter drove a long fly ball to deep center field. Willie Mays made one of his patented "basket" catches. Thinking there was only one out, he then wound up and fired a perfect strike to Catcher Wes Westrum at home plate in hopes of catching the runner trying for home (who was already dejectedly trotting toward the dugout). A Cleveland sportswriter turned to the boys in the press box and said: "Well, we've finally found Mays' weakness. He can't count!"

True. There were no weaknesses in Willie Mays' career except a refusal to count the years. But last week he had to add up 42 of them, complete with fluid-swollen knees that had to be drained almost daily, an agonizing shoulder that would not let him throw, aching ribs that barely permitted him

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to breathe. "Maybe I'll cry tomorrow," Mays said, but he finally decided to hang it up after 22 resplendent years in baseball.

Mays was the last of the superstars who could do everything with consummate grace and skill. It was only fitting that he wind up his career with the Mets in New York, where two generations of ghetto kids have practiced basket catches and echoed his favorite cry, "Say hey!" through the streets of Harlem. Willie Mays, season after luminous season, made myths come alive and heroes, American-style, believable.

NASA TESTING HYDROGEN IN "GAS" TO CUT AUTO FUMES

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the national space program continues to provide new technology for the benefit of our nation and the world. Mr. Richard Witkin in the New York Times of September 17, 1973, describes a development being carried out at the Jet Propulsion Laboratory, Pasadena, Calif., by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration to reduce auto pollution.

This project, along with many others, benefits from the vast store of knowledge developed in the space program since its inception in 1958. Mr. Witkin's incisive article points out clearly the importance of funding science and technology while gaining practical benefits from our national space program.

The article follows:

[From the New York Times, Sept. 17, 1973]
NASA TESTING HYDROGEN IN "Gas" To Cut Auto Fumes

(By Richard Witkin)

A radical system aimed at meeting the legal limitation on auto-engine emissions is being developed by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

The concept involves the use of hydrogen as an additive to gasoline in modified versions of standard internal combustion engines. It has shown "promising" results in laboratory tests but will not help power an auto for another two months.

The development is being carried out in Pasadena, Calif. by the space agency's Jet Propulsion Laboratory, whose Ranger and Surveyor vehicles scouted the moon as a prelude to manned landings.

Engineers at the laboratory stressed that the work was in its early stages, with numerous difficult technical details to be worked out.

"It is too soon to talk about whether we really have a handle on being able to meet the Federal standards," said Harry Cotrill, projector manager, in a telephone interview. "We're quite excited by the results so far, but we have a long way to go."

Starting today, representatives of the nation's major auto manufacturers will visit the laboratory for demonstrations of what has been accomplished.

Dr. William H. Pickering, the laboratory's director, said the companies had been invited "to assess the utility of this system with a view to the possibility that they might wish to work cooperatively with us."

The space agency has allocated \$600,000 for the first six months of the effort. Dr.

Pickering estimated that it might take a total of \$4-million to \$5-million to meet the emissions standards now mandated for 1976 and 1977 under the Federal Clean Air Act.

A key component of the laboratory's system, based largely on research by an engineer named Jack Rupe, is a hydrogen generator that would be carried aboard the car. Mr. Cotrill predicted that a fully developed research vehicle able to meet the emissions standards could be running about two years from now.

"But after that," he said, "it would have to be engineered for mass production. It wouldn't be ready yet for the little old lady from Pasadena."

The laboratory has bought two Chevrolet Impalas to be used as the research vehicles. The concept would be applicable to piston-engine airplanes as well as cars.

A prime advantage of the laboratory's approach, its proponents contend, is that it would meet auto-pollution requirements without the need for attaching catalytic devices to engine exhausts, as major Detroit companies are planning to do.

The auto capital's concentration on such catalytic devices has been viewed with reservations by technical authorities because of the devices' cost and because of doubts about their durability. Also, strong preferences for more innovative and efficient solutions have been expressed.

At least two other advantages are claimed for the laboratory's method. It would improve fuel consumption, and it could operate with low-grade petroleum or synthetics, not simply with conventional gasoline. The fuel shortages that threaten the nation underscore how important such advantages could be.

READY AVAILABILITY

Over the years, there has been much speculation and some work on the idea of using hydrogen, with its enormous power and ready availability, to power autos. In fact, hydrogen has been increasingly looked upon as the most promising long-term answer to the world's power needs as fossil fuels become exhausted.

The hydrogen-powered car, however, has several obvious drawbacks.

For one thing, hydrogen can be very dangerous because of its extreme volatility. It takes up a great amount of space in gaseous form. And in much more compact liquid form, it must be kept at minus 423 degrees Fahrenheit. This requires expensive tankage that would have a big impact on auto design and on service stations.

The laboratory's concept aims to circumvent these complications in two ways: by perfecting an on-board generator to produce hydrogen as needed, and by using hydrogen not as the main auto fuel but simply as an additive.

How would the hydrogen be generated? First, regular gasoline and air would be ignited in the generator. The mix would burn constantly, much like the mixture in the combustor of a jet engine. Next, a carefully measured amount of water and more gasoline would be injected. The reaction, under the extreme heat from the burner, would produce hydrogen, carbon monoxide, and some inert products.

Why would the use of this hydrogen as an additive cut down on exhaust pollutants? The answer has to do with the fact that hydrogen will burn at much leaner mixtures than will gasoline. A lean mixture is one in which the ratio of fuel to oxidizing air is relatively small.

WATER VAPOR

The combustion of lean mixtures produces lower temperature. That in turn cuts the production of oxides of nitrogen, the

most difficult of the three main auto pollutants to curtail (the others are hydrocarbons and carbon monoxide). Tests show that the hydrogen fuel burns so completely that its exhaust products are nearly all water vapor and other inert components.

When idling, the auto engine would be run entirely on the output of the hydrogen generator. In city-street driving, where comparatively little engine power is needed, the proportion of hydrogen to regular gas would be relatively high.

Why not use the hydrogen gas all by itself? "Hydrogen is not that easy to generate," says Mr. Cotrill. Of the products put out by the hydrogen generator, only 20 to 22 per cent will be hydrogen. Furthermore, hydrogen has a habit of causing engine knocks at high power levels.

OLD TRASH—NASHVILLE'S NEW FUEL

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, in the August 1973 issue of Contractor magazine, there appears a story of importance in these days of energy shortages and solid waste surpluses. The article, entitled "Old Trash—Nashville's New Fuel," describes the construction of a new thermal transfer plant in Nashville, which utilizes the city's solid waste as fuel for the production of both hot and chilled water.

As one who has long attempted to promote the concept of recycling and reuse of our resources—as a means of getting America away from its brand of what I call a "waste economy"—I find particular ironies in so many of the present "shortages" we face in this country. One of the potentially most serious shortages we face is the energy situation. Yet we continue to consume our resources as if there were no tomorrow and to throw those resources away as if their supply were unlimited, and their usefulness exhausted.

I am delighted to note that the city of Nashville has taken a more realistic approach to two clear problems. Not only do facilities of this nature help solve the problem of what to do with all that trash—and the problems involved with "modern" man's solution—the sanitary landfill—but they also provide a new source of energy.

I would like, at this point, to include the text of the article for the information of my colleagues:

OLD TRASH—NASHVILLE'S NEW FUEL

The building industry is about to make a contribution to cleaner air. A unique new thermal transfer plant presently under construction in Nashville, Tennessee, is designed to use solid waste (garbage, trash, etc.) as fuel for the production of both hot and chilled water.

The idea for the plant was conceived by Mayor Beverly Briley back in 1969 when city officials, in collaboration with I. C. Thomas and Associates, were studying various means of providing heating and cooling for several downtown public office buildings. At

the same time, the city was facing up to an impending crisis resulting from the rapid depletion of landfill areas used for the city's solid waste. It occurred to Mayor Briley to kill two birds with one stone, by building a plant which would utilize solid waste as fuel for the heating and cooling facilities.

Presently there are at least 18 plants operating across the country which use gas or electricity as an energy source in producing hot water or steam and, in some cases, chilled water. The principle of burning solid waste as a source of energy is itself well established. However, the Nashville plant is unique in that it burns solid waste to produce both hot and chilled water in one operation.

The project has not been without setbacks. The first and perhaps most serious was the necessity of trimming more than a million dollars from the lowest bid on the project to meet the Bonding Company's requirements. Following a series of consultations between the contractor, subcontractors, suppliers, and the I. C. Thomasson and Associates, based in Nashville, the necessary belt-tightening measures were introduced to trim the original \$9,536,000 low bid by Foster & Creighton, AGC, down to the required \$8,400,000.

In addition to surmounting these initial hurdles, the actual construction of the energy complex faced other challenges. One of the city's main sewer lines runs through the site and plans had to be altered to get around this problem. Core explorations showed that the subsurface was of two distinct types, with the incinerator resting on solid rock and the chilling plant on fill. The latter situation was remedied by sinking 80 piles of 10-inch steel weighing 43 pounds to the foot, and ranging in length from 30 to 35 feet.

Minor difficulties involved clearing away an old existing dump and relocating the spur of a railroad. Mr. Wilbur F. Creighton Jr. (Chairman of the Board) of Foster & Creighton, far from being discouraged, commented that, "None of these problems were insurmountable—I guess you might say it's par for the course." Besides, the project is slightly ahead of schedule.

MORE EFFICIENT

The plan, as designed, is both economical and conservation-minded. According to Maurice J. Wilson, systems design consultant for I. C. Thomasson and Associates, the plant will produce steam for about 30 percent of the cost of steam from fossil fuel plants, and chilled water for about 40 percent. One ton of average-composition solid waste provides about the same amount of energy as one-third of a ton of coal. Another savings will be made by the direct delivery of solid waste to the plant at no cost by the city's refuse collection service.

The plant will replace 27 individual cooling and heating systems in its first phase alone, and will conserve some 200 million kWh in electrical usage. When the plant is completed, it will conserve more than 71 million kWh per year, or roughly the electric consumption of a residential area of 15,000 people.

The volume of solid waste will be reduced about 95 percent and will be rendered sterile, requiring no earth cover when used as landfill. In other cities, ash from incinerators has been used satisfactorily as a base material for roads and streets, and might prove useful here.

From the standpoint of its effect on pollution, the plant will make a positive contribution to cleaner air. The pollution rate from the present 27 plants is nearly four times greater for particulate matter and three times greater for sulfur dioxide emis-

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sions than will be produced by the new thermal transfer plant.

Construction on the mammoth project got underway last July with a projected completion timetable of approximately two years. It is sited a short distance from another Foster & Creighton venture—the Shelby Street Bridge spanning the Cumberland River.

FULL CAPACITY

One of the two buildings to be constructed by Foster & Creighton will measure 150 x 80 feet and 27 ft. high, and house the central chilling equipment, powered by turbines using steam generated by the incinerator-boilers. The other building, totaling 175 x 155 ft. x 100 ft. high, will house the incinerators and boilers, to produce the steam for year-round heating and cooling.

Two of the boilers will operate primarily from the burning of solid waste; the third is a standby unit which operates from fossil fuels in the event of a city refuse shortage. The plant is designed in such a way that additional boilers and chilling units can be added in the future. Presently, Nashville generates about 1,250 tons of solid waste a day. When the plant goes into operation, it will use about 720 tons daily, but this figure will eventually rise to a target of 1,500 tons daily.

SOVIET JEWRY

Hon. Yvonne Brathwaite Burke

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mrs. BURKE of California. Mr. Speaker, at a time when the struggle for human rights in the Soviet Union is highlighted by the irrepressible voices of Messrs. Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn, it is important that we not forget the countless others who must struggle without the benefits of well-known names. Without public recognition in the West, a Soviet citizen who chooses to live according to his individual conscience risks imprisonment, detention in psychiatric wards, and official harassment. The main source of protection for these courageous persons lies in the Congress power to withhold most-favored-nation status from the Soviet Government, until the most basic of all human rights—the freedom to emigrate—is restored.

In reaffirming my support for such rights, I would like to ask that the following resolution of the California Democratic Council be reprinted in the RECORD:

RESOLUTION OF THE CALIFORNIA DEMOCRATIC COUNCIL

Whereas: freedom of travel and emigration without restriction, obstacle or harassment is a fundamental human right of all people; a position which CDC supported in its Issues Statement on Equal Rights at its 1973 Convention, and

Whereas: the government of the Soviet Union has in the past and does today impose numerous restrictions on the emigration of Jews and other minorities, and

Whereas: the Soviet Union seeks to gain Most Favored Nation status, credit guarantees and expanded trade with the United States,

Now therefore be it resolved: that the

Board of Directors of the California Democratic Council fully supports and endorses the Freedom of Emigration Act of 1973 now pending in Congress, which would prevent the Soviet Union from gaining Most Favored Nation status and credit and investment guarantees as long as it does not permit freedom of emigration.

THE POMPONIO BROTHERS

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I would like to draw to the attention of the Congress an example of careless news reporting which has brought grievous harm to an innocent person. It is the type of sloppy, irresponsible, lack of craftsmanship which is rapidly tearing down the respect for the news media.

In the Washington Star-News, Metro Life section, page B1, Tuesday, September 25, 1973, there is a story concerning "The Pomponio brothers who were named yesterday in multiple grand jury indictments." Beside this story is a picture of two people; one is Arthur Pomponio. Arthur Pomponio's name is not listed in the story. Arthur Pomponio is not a member of the group indicted. Arthur Pomponio is not one of the three brothers discussed in the story. Arthur Pomponio is a person with the same last name, but not one of the persons involved in the indictment. Yet, by placing his name and picture beside the story, along with that of one of the indicted individuals, the Washington Star-News has caused tens of thousands of their readers to assume that the pictured Arthur Pomponio has been charged with illegal action by a Federal grand jury. Arthur is a close friend of mine of long standing. He has served a number of times as chairman of the Democrats for BROYHILL in my campaigns. He has crossed party lines to support me out of friendship. I know him to be an individual who cannot laugh off such a terrible slander against his good name even though it is erroneous. As his friend I share his anguish, and as his Congressman I am distressed at the utter freedom newspapers have to do such harm to good citizens without reason, without care. I am incensed particularly because the Pomponio story has been featured for many months and the Washington Star-News has been previously put on notice about the noninvolvement of Arthur Pomponio. Mr. Speaker, I would like to urge the Washington Star-News to openly apologize to Arthur Pomponio and to give assurance to all of their readers that efforts will be made to restore good practices in the field of endeavor so important to our society. I urge the Washington Star-News to announce a policy of accurately reporting news rather than continue a mad rush to dramatize the news and allow haste to make harm.

RADIO EDITORIALISTS IN IDAHO
ARE OUTSPOKEN

HON. STEVEN D. SYMMS
OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. Speaker, radio editorialists are outspoken in Idaho, and I would like to share with my colleagues two examples, one from Don Allen, of Radio Station KAIN, and the other from Wayne Cornils, of KFXD:

DON ALLEN EDITORIAL

Just what have you been voting for, friend? Most of the restrictions to personal freedom, the outright confiscation of our individual earnings by legalized taxation, the breakdown in civilized living through coddling of criminals, the disappearance of free enterprise through government manipulation and control . . . none of this has been voted in by the citizens of this country! None of it!

For instance, Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1932 platform was conservative. He accused Herbert Hoover of spending too much, of trying to "purchase" property by huge Government spending and intervention. The citizens agreed with F.D.R., no one voted in "The New Deal," and the new-deal government didn't solve the depression. It couldn't, because government intervention creates poverty rather than cures it! Hard to believe? In 1960, John Kennedy pointed out that seventeen-million people lived in dire poverty. Four years later President Johnson increased that figure to thirty-four million!

The point we make here is that "The New Deal," The New Frontier and the "Great Society" were not voted-on by the citizens! If they had been put to a vote of the electorate, we probably wouldn't have been saddled with them!

Did the electorate vote on our war in Vietnam? Or have any of us had a say in the policy of "No-Win" wars? What we are pointing out today is that the results of elections . . . and what happens after elections have little relationship! You can come up with your particular "beefs," and note they were not voted-in . . . but, rather come from presidential directives, bureaucratic edicts or court decrees!

In reality, our economic problems are caused by long lines of people-in-power who have not the foggiest notion as to how our economic machine works! Everyone pays lip-service to the free-market system, but we don't have a free market! We have not had a free market system since shortly after the civil war! Did any of us vote-out a free market? No. We did not!

And, so it goes. We vote every four years for national parties and leadership. But, both parties and leaders are trapped in a world of dreams . . . jousting with mythical windmills which take their time from grappling with reality. Don't take us wrong . . . we are all for voting . . . but, we are realistic also . . . we know our vote has little to do with deciding events . . . until such time as we can vote on the basic issues . . . and, somehow, the submitted ballots never get around to that!

KFXD EDITORIAL WRITTEN AND DELIVERED BY
KFXD PRESIDENT AND GENERAL MANAGER,
WAYNE CORNILS

Rank, raw, naked discrimination . . . I have said it before, and I must say it again. Our "no-guts," "got-to-find-a-scapegoat" congress manically groping to find someone to blame for everything has done it again. They've sent to the president a bill to make

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coddlers". Judges, attorneys general and police officers themselves served on the Commission. If anyone in the nation knows crime, these people should. They see it and deal with it every day, and they realize that the gun is a major contributing factor to violent crime.

WEEI has editorialized in favor of increased gun control many times. Again, WEEI asked you to join us in calling upon Congress to pass legislation that would require the registration of firearms and the licensing of their owners. Contact your U. S. Senator and Representative and tell them how you feel.

Registration and licensing is crucial now and is an important step toward the confiscation of handguns proposed by the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals.

MURDER BY HANDGUN: THE CASE
FOR GUN CONTROL NO. 25

HON. MICHAEL HARRINGTON

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. HARRINGTON. Mr. Speaker, an editorial on WEEI radio in Massachusetts has commended the position of the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals. Among other things, the Commission recommended confiscating all handguns within 10 years. If she could, Deborah Green would probably support this position; but she cannot. Her husband murdered her with a handgun. Maybe the rest of us should listen to the Commission's advice; before it is too late. I include the WEEI editorial and the article from the September 21 New York Times.

The material follows:

FROM THE POLICE BLOTTER

A 40-year-old Harlem man shot and killed his 21-year-old wife and then killed himself with a handgun in the kitchen of the couple's apartment at 1967 Madison Avenue, near 125th Street. The man, Charles Green, fired a bullet through his throat after shooting his wife, Deborah, in the head, the police said.

GUN CONTROL AND THE NATIONAL CRIME
COMMISSION

The National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals has spoken.

WEEI hopes everyone listened. In its report to the Nation the Commission sought new methods to fight violent crime in the United States.

To talk about crime and not about gun control would be like looking at a picture with your eyes closed. And the Commission did examine gun control in its report.

It surprised a lot of people by proposing the confiscation of all handguns within ten years. Production of these pistols and revolvers would also be cut off. The only exception to the rule would be the police and the military.

The factor that makes this recommendation even more dramatic than it is concerns the composition of the National Commission itself. The members were not so-called intellectuals and liberal senators, known in some circles as "bleeding hearts" and "criminal

coddlers". Judges, attorneys general and police officers themselves served on the Commission. If anyone in the nation knows crime, these people should. They see it and deal with it every day, and they realize that the gun is a major contributing factor to violent crime.

WEEI has editorialized in favor of increased gun control many times. Again, WEEI asked you to join us in calling upon Congress to pass legislation that would require the registration of firearms and the licensing of their owners. Contact your U. S. Senator and Representative and tell them how you feel.

Registration and licensing is crucial now and is an important step toward the confiscation of handguns proposed by the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards and Goals.

FAREWELL TO WILLIE MAYS

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, last night, 53,603 New Yorkers converged on Shea Stadium to pay tribute to one of the world's greatest athletes, Willie Mays, who at the age of 42, decided last week to retire from baseball after a brilliant career spanning 22 seasons.

These fans who did attend last night's Willie Mays Appreciation Night at Shea Stadium represented only a small segment of the New York population who considered Willie Mays, a New York legend. From that day back in 1951, when Willie Mays made his first appearance in the old Polo Grounds as a 20-year-old rookie, for the New York Giants, to last night at the brink of departure from baseball, as a New York Met, Willie Mays and the New York baseball fan had a continuous love affair.

The "Say Hey" Kid, as he was affectionately known, had one of the most brilliant baseball careers of any player in the sport. His lifetime batting average of over .300, his over 600 home runs, which placed him third on the all-time baseball home run list, and his winning of the coveted Most Valuable Player Award on three occasions, rendered him in a class by himself in the baseball history book.

Yet Willie Mays was more than this, he was an electrifying player, whose daring style of play, his uncanny ability to come up with the clutch hit, the extra base or, the game-breaking catch, thrilled the hearts of millions of baseball buffs throughout the United States.

Yet unfortunately, like all legends, the time came when the hard, cruel decision must be made to retire. It seemed somewhat ironic that as his present team, the New York Mets are themselves involved in a dramatic pennant race, that Willie Mays decided to call it quits. Yet Willie, in the true spirit of the champion he is, realized that he could no longer contribute to the game, therefore, it was time to step aside.

The fans who came to Shea Stadium last night to pay tribute to Willie Mays, represented all segments of society, the old, the young, the rich, and the poor all came with one common thought, that they wanted to personally bid farewell to a baseball institution. And these 53,603 individuals went just a little bit sadder and maybe even feeling a little bit older, because the retirement of the William Howard Mays really signifies the passing of a generation.

PUBLIC FINANCING OF FEDERAL ELECTIONS

HON. BILL FRENZEL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

MR. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, the crisis of nonconfidence in Government, specifically the Watergate mess, has given great thrust to proposals for public financing of Federal elections. The popular image of such plans is that they will magically purify elections and relieve elected officials of any and all pressures and taints of "dirty money."

I—and everybody else—warmly embrace the purification of elections, but public financing is neither a magic nor an exclusive means to move us toward better elections.

The same goals we all seek—open, honest, and clean elections—can be achieved more easily and effectively by writing responsible rules into a system of private financing.

Before I start spending the taxpayers' money, I want to be assured: First, the plan will give us the desired result; second, there is no easier way to get the same result; and third, it does no harm. I am persuaded that public financing brings no benefits that cannot be otherwise achieved, and, to the contrary, carries serious risks, some known and some as yet unforeseen.

Some of the known risks are:

First. Under publicly financed systems, challengers will be at the mercy of incumbents. No wonder Members of Congress like public financing. It is a self-protection scheme.

Guess who controls the election appropriations? That is right—the incumbents do! Appropriations can always be set low enough to inhibit any strong political contest. Public financing would guarantee equal expenses when studies show that nonincumbents must spend more merely to establish their identity against incumbents. The identity of an incumbent is already strongly established by the advantages of the frank, access to media and general public visibility.

Second. Federal financing schemes prohibit, or restrict, private contributions. This unconstitutionally denies a long-enjoyed right of free speech. To let one person contribute his time and labor to a campaign and not let another per-

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son, perhaps handicapped, make his contribution financially, is the rankest kind of discrimination.

Third. Private financing has been one of the traditional ways of determining the popularity and attractiveness of any candidate. In a country where we finance the arts, our charities, and much of our education privately, we have naturally supported elections in the same way. Other nations with a history and tradition of publicly financed elections are simply not comparable.

Many people want to support candidates and parties. Their enthusiasm helps enliven campaigns and increases voter participation.

Fourth. Public financing would inevitably result in unexciting elections which would cause lower voter turnouts. Candidates would no longer need to have very broad support to get campaign money. We would have scads of candidates. The more candidates per race, the more drab the election and the more the incumbents' chances for victory. Amateur nights are fun, but when minor candidates depress the public interest, the only winner is the incumbent.

Fifth. All of these disadvantages are achieved at the taxpayers' expense. The beleaguered taxpayer will see his money supporting candidates in whom he had no positive interest or to whom he may object most violently. The taxpayer will stand helpless while dozens of candidates, who would not have enough support to enter a privately financed election, happily use up his hard-earned money. Meanwhile, the incumbents would be inevitably returned to office.

Sixth. The taxpayers' money will be actually handled by an elections commission appointed by the President. No matter how high-minded and impartial it is, one wonders how easily it could deny money to a particular candidate for a "violation" of the law. Giving control of financing to the bureaucracy is giving control of elections to the bureaucracy. Control of elections may never get back into the hands of the people.

Seventh. Party responsibility would disappear. Candidates could thumb their noses at parties which could no longer raise money either for themselves or for their candidates. Our history of political regionalism and relatively weak parties points to collapse of parties under public financing.

Eighth. More money would be spent on elections. All the action now is in 50 House races. Over 80 percent of Congress' campaigns are contested feebly, if at all. But Federal money is "free money." Every candidate would use it whether he or she needs it or not.

Ninth. Public financing would dry up individual contributions for local candidates. They already have the hardest time raising money. Pious supporters of public financing probably do not realize that none of the schemes apply to State and local races.

Tenth. Taxpayer-financed elections do not fit our Federal pluralistic elections systems. States vary; districts vary; parties vary; people vary.

Minor party candidates and independents run under different laws and different patterns of tradition in each jurisdiction. They will be encouraged by "free money" to run, but will never be given quite enough to beat the incumbent.

Eleventh. All money is the same color—even political money. It only becomes dirty when it is misused. Stated another way, lawbreakers can violate a public finance law as well as a private finance law.

Minnesota history reveals millions of dollars of clean political money, from donors large and small, used honorably and proudly by our politicians.

For instance, the Minnesota Republican Party in 1972 raised its \$1 million budget from two fundraising efforts. In a door-to-door campaign, 2,000 solicitors collected 52,000 separate contributions averaging \$7. Sixteen thousand contributors averaged \$40 each of the annual dinner. That is real, individual participation by people who believe in something.

Twelfth. Many proponents of public financing are those who seldom give a dime to candidates they claim to support. The law should not be written by those who always tell us "they gave at the office."

The arguments in favor of Federal financing are not without merit. They do, however, have a good deal less merit than the intentions. The proponents always forget to say that the same goals can be achieved by writing responsible rules into a system permitting private financing. The idea that we are spending too much money on our election is one that needs to be analyzed. In 1972 we spent less than \$2 per person in this country to elect the President of this country for 4 years, and most of its Congress for 2 or 6 years. If our leadership is bad, that is too much. But, if it is good, the price is certainly reasonable. And, compared to the other democracies of the world, our costs are near the bottom on a per capita basis.

We can achieve our goals of clean, open elections, with a reasonable chance for challengers, through improving our election laws. We need a Federal Elections Commission, better enforcement and reasonable spending and individual contribution limits. We can do all this with private financing.

Public financing gives us no extra cleanliness. What it gives are: Abdication of individual political responsibility; incumbent protection; drab elections; and worst of all, transfer of election control from the people to the bureaucrats.

COLUMBUS DAY

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

MR. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, in a few days we will again be celebrating Columbus Day and recalling

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not only the bravery, vision, and faith of a daring explorer, but also the many contributions that those of Italian heritage, like Columbus, have made to this country.

Columbus was not bound by the limited vision and ideas of his day. Defying dogma and pursuing truth, he set out across uncharted seas to prove that the world was round and that the East could be reached by sailing west. Landing in this hemisphere on October 12, 1492, he discovered two continents rich in natural resources and offering the opportunity to establish a new and better life.

Millions have followed Columbus to the new world, showing the same vision, fortitude, and pioneering spirit. Thousands of Americans of Italian heritage share these qualities, be they simple working people or poets, artists, musicians, writers, statesmen, and community leaders. In Santa Clara County, they are a strong community preserving their distinct Italian-American way of life through organizations like the Sons of Italy, the Italian Catholic Federation, the Tricarico Club, the Italian-American Citizen Club, and other social and service organizations. In so doing, they continue their contributions to the greatness of the United States, in the tradition of their Italian forebearer Christopher Columbus.

WHY I LIKE TREES

HON. PIERRE S. (PETE) du PONT

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. du PONT. Mr. Speaker, this past week I had the honor to meet with four winners of an essay contest on "Why I Like Trees" which was sponsored by the Girls Club of Wilmington.

The leadership of the Wilmington Girls Club has made one of their priorities the awareness by their young members of the importance of the living things around them.

The Girls Club has asked me to share with you their concern for the unfortunate destruction of trees and plants when new roads, freeways, and expressways are built in the name of progress.

The Girls Club has raised the interesting proposal that all Federal funds being allocated to the states for highway construction include monies for the replanting of trees that have been destroyed in the process of building new highways.

I think you will see from the winning essays below that the Girls Club of Wilmington has been extremely successful in their endeavor to stress the importance of nature.

I insert the essays at this point in the RECORD:

I like cherry trees because they are juicier and they fill me up.

I like all kinds of trees because they make the world a much prettier place to live in.

By Diane Korwek, Wilmington, Delaware, Age 6, Dennison Club.

I think that trees should have a great life. Just like people should. I think when it is fall and almost spring the trees can feel the changes.

The trees get to be bigger and stronger just think if we did not have trees we would not have shade. And that's what I think about trees.

By Kathy Cusack, Wilmington, Delaware, Age 9, Dennison Girls Club.

You should not kill or cut down trees because they give us oxygen. Picture you self as a tree, having a good life then somebody comes and cut you down for nothing what would you do? Think About It.

By Pearl Rochelle Livingston, Wilmington, Delaware, Age 10, Dennison Girls Club.

I think some trees are very lovely. And trees are somethings of nature. And pollution kills some trees. I like trees because they grow fruit. And some people like trees. And fire kills trees, so be a Good person and keep a tree.

By Juanita Pierson, Wilmington, Delaware, Age 12, Kiwanis Girls Club.

A STUDENT EXAMINES OUR GOVERNMENT

HON. BILL ARCHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, each spring I sponsor a student intern program, whereby one junior from each high school in my congressional district comes to Washington for a 1-week indepth study of the Federal Government. The youngsters meet with various Congressmen and Senators as well as department officials and agency representatives. I believe that the best way to insure our country's continuing growth and development is to provide our future leaders with a firsthand glimpse into the workings of our system of government.

One of the participants in this year's program, Miss Sally Metzler of Tomball High School in Tomball, Tex., has written a most interesting critique of the program and her experience. I think my colleagues can benefit from the wisdom of Sally's words and I insert in the RECORD selected excerpts from her letter. The excerpts follow:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ARCHER: The Student Intern Program successfully combined classroom studies with practical experience. The sights we saw provided the ground level for meetings we attended. The meetings gave us a chance to talk with officials and evaluate them as representatives. They also provided a more thorough comprehension of our democratic system. Above all other points of discussion, I was interested in their reason for being in politics and how they began. This was foremost in my mind, because I felt that a person will only be as good a representative as he is sincere of his motive. I sincerely feel that as a citizen in the 7th District, I could not ask for a better representative than you. These are not only my own impressions, but those of others with whom I have talked. . . . I was impressed by your attempt to preserve equality as much as possible, since a balanced representation means a better chance for equality and justice for every citizen. No government is perfect, but through equal representation everyone has

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the opportunity to be heard so that injustices may be justly dealt with.

I feel that I gained a great deal from our discussion with Dolf Droege [staff member of the National Security Council]. Although the bulk of the session concerned the Vietnam war, his most influential statement, for me, was the importance of each of us being the most constructively effective citizen. No one ever studied the Vietnam culture or society during the many years we were at war with them. We complained without ever researching the whole story. We were not trusting our leaders, whom we elected to do the job. We jumped to conclusions. To believe that there will ever be complete peace among nations is idealistic, but it would be a better place if people would stop criticizing the officials, have faith in them, and give them the support they need to carry out their jobs effectively.

Before the Watergate break-in, I would have said that America, land of freedom and justice for all, did not have to feed propaganda to its people, but now I wonder if we will ever really know the truth. The bond of trust that unites citizens as Americans has weakened. Americans do not know whom to believe. But it is only through faith in God and our fellowman that our nation will be strengthened and united, free from doubt and mistrust, and able to again be the leader she has been in the past.

It was this trip to Washington that deepened my faith in government. I realized that it was run by *real* people, having feelings, families, and lives of their own. For the first time, I felt a personal contact with my government and this helped me to have a better understanding of it.

May I, as well as the other student interns, fulfill this service motivation you have begun in us.

Sincerely,

SALLY METZLER.

GOV. FULLER WARREN

HON. JAMES A. HALEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, September 25, 1973

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, the State of Florida has lost one of her most colorful and dynamic orators of the last 100 years—former Gov. Fuller Warren.

During Governor Warren's term of service in Florida's highest office from January 1949 to January 1953, I was privileged to serve in the State legislature. This was a particularly difficult period in Florida's history—one of great challenge and change. Governor Warren met those challenges head on and led the State ably through those times.

The Governor's success as a statesman was even more impressive considering his humble beginnings in Calhoun County, Fla. He was a State representative at 21 years of age, an author of three books, wrote a weekly newspaper column, and served his country well as a Navy gunnery officer in World War II.

He initiated the preliminary planning for the Florida Turnpike and arranged for the financing and construction of the Sunshine Skyway at St. Petersburg. Governor Warren used his unique speaking ability to tell the people of other States and of foreign nations of the many fine qualities of life enjoyed by

those who toured or lived in the Sunshine State. His efforts brought increasing numbers of visitors and then-needed industry to Florida.

Fuller Warren was my personal friend of many years and I join with fellow Floridians in expressing our admiration for him and extending heartfelt condolences to his family.

ENERGY AND THE PETROLEUM COMPANIES

HON. BILL ARCHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. ARCHER. Mr. Speaker, the energy economics division of the Chase Manhattan Bank has recently concluded and published a study of the financial performance of 30 petroleum companies during 1972. I think the results of this analysis are significant and would be worthwhile for all of my colleagues to read, particularly at a time when we are faced with severe shortages of energy.

The study, labeled "Annual Financial Analysis of a Group of Petroleum Companies," contains the following highlights:

There has been a lack of effective communications between the energy industries and Government and the public.

Rate of return on capital invested fell sharply to 9.7 percent from 10.7 percent the year before, the lowest rate since 1958—a year marked by a general business recession.

Over the past 4 years, taxes paid by the petroleum companies increased by as much as 112 percent, but combined net earnings increased by only 2.9 percent.

The companies capital expenditures exceeded the previous years' outlays by a small margin of 2.1 percent.

As a result of the companies expanded activities in response to the continued growth of worldwide demand for petroleum, the gross operating revenues rose by 9.5 percent to a level of \$104.2 billion.

Nonoperating revenues declined to \$2.1 billion—\$637 million less than the year before.

Operating costs rose in 1972 by 8.2 percent to a total of \$74.4 billion. At the level, operating costs absorbed 70 percent of the companies total revenue—approximately the same proportion as in 1971.

Funds earmarked for replacement of worn out or depleted equipment totaled \$7.5 billion, a 6.1 percent increase over the previous year.

Interest expenses increased sharply in 1972. The companies paid out \$1.8 billion, 11 percent more than in 1971.

The companies yielded \$6.9 billion of net income, only 6.5 percent of gross revenue—the lowest proportion ever reported and 5.6 percent less than the prior year.

This detailed study of the financial performance of the 30 companies provides a valuable source of reference and should be closely examined by everyone concerned about the energy situation.

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GONDOLA SHORTAGE IMPEDES RECYCLING

HON. GUY VANDER JAGT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, as Congress and the Nation confront a myriad of transportation problems, the shortage of railroad freight cars is a matter of particular concern.

Much of the discussion rightly focuses on the shortage of boxcars. The number of boxcars in use declined by 28.6 percent during a 9-year period from January 1, 1955, to January 1, 1973, and with that decline there occurred a decline of 12.6 percent in boxcar carrying capacity. This trend is alarming both to America's shippers and to its consumers.

However, a similarly serious problem which receives scant attention relates to the status of the general purpose gondola fleet, upon which the iron and steel scrap processing industry is heavily dependent. During the same interval of time, the number of gondolas declined by more than 111,000 cars, or by 38 percent; carrying capacity was reduced by 23.4 percent, or about 4 million tons.

At this time, the gondola car shortage is a serious impediment to the metallic scrap processing industry and to the recycling of precious resources. Many of the gondolas remaining in use are old and in extremely poor condition. Many are used for scrap only after they have become unfit for transporting other commodities. In some instances, it is questionable whether the cars should be loaded with scrap or scrapped themselves.

This critical shortage of gondola cars is part of an apparent pattern of discrimination against the scrap industry by the railroad industry. As we are all aware, the recycling of iron and steel scrap conserves irreplaceable natural resources, and alleviates the mounting problems of solid waste that the Nation is facing. However, according to ICC statistics, railroad freight rates to ship this scrap averaged double the rates to ship virgin iron ore in 1969—the latest data available.

If it is to perform its vital function of reclamation, conservation, and beautification, the metallic scrap processing industry must be granted relief from these discriminatory practices by the railroads. In this connection, I have recently submitted a brief *amicus curiae* in civil action No. 971-72, in the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. The brief supports the view of the plaintiff and plaintiff intervenors that the ICC's implementation of the provisions of the National Environmental Policy Act with respect to the regulation of railroad freight rates has been grossly inadequate.

So that my colleagues might gain more insight into the problems of rate and service discrimination facing the scrap shipper, I ask that an article from the May 1973 issue of Environmental Science and Technology, "Transportation: Bugaboo of Scrap Iron Recycling," by Dr. Herschel Cutler and Gerald S. Goldman,

of the Institute of Scrap Iron and Steel, be printed in the RECORD:

TRANSPORTATION: BUGABOO OF SCRAP IRON RECYCLING

(By Herschel Cutler and Gerald S. Goldman)

The next time you see a junk automobile on the side of the road, rather than think of it as an eyesore, view it as a mini-iron mine—above ground. On the average, it represents one ton of steel—just sitting there waiting to be moved to a scrap plant for processing, and then to a steel mill or foundry for remelting into a new product.

Such iron mines above ground, in the form of abandoned and obsolete automobiles, refrigerators, washing machines, farm equipment, and food and beverage cans, literally dot the entire U.S. These basic raw materials are almost everywhere, and yet our inability to mine these resources and convert them into new products creates unsightly backlog that threaten to engulf us.

VIRGIN MATERIAL VERSUS RECYCLED SCRAP

The question is why are these resources not utilized? Virgin resources such as iron ore realize certain artificial benefits not accorded the secondary product. These incentives come in the form of depletion allowances on the virgin material but not on the recyclable items and railroad freight rates which average 2½ times more for iron and steel scrap than for iron ore.

According to Interstate Commerce Commission figures published in 1968, the average freight rate to ship a ton of iron and steel scrap in the U.S. was \$4.12, compared to \$1.64 for a ton of iron ore. It's expensive to ship ferrous scrap by rail, and that's the way 70% of the scrap in this nation is moved. It is even possible that the cost to ship significant volumes of scrap is more than the value of the material.

Here's what this means: Fifty junk automobiles, after traveling through a scrap processing plant, yield about 50 tons of scrap. To ship that 50 tons of man-made resources to a steel mill for recycling would cost \$206 based on the average freight rate for scrap of \$4.12 per ton. On the other hand, 50 tons of iron ore stripped from a hillside would cost \$82 to ship to a steel mill based on the average freight rate of \$1.64 per ton. In essence, the Federal Government is condoning a freight rate structure that makes it more economic to strip ore from a hillside than to "mine" the metallic solid waste defining the hillside.

Basic to the transport problem is the refusal of the Interstate Commerce Commission to recognize that iron and steel scrap and iron ore (in its many forms) are direct competitors as raw material inputs in making new steel. For more than five years, the Institute of Scrap Iron and Steel has brought to the Commission's attention, in formal rate proceedings, that scrap and ore are competitive and that this competition should be recognized in the determination of rates. The law requires all carriers to establish rates that are just and reasonable, and the ICC has, in numerous decisions, consistently held that to meet this rule of law, rates on competing commodities should not unjustly discriminate against one, thus favoring the other.

Processors of ferrous scrap are heavily dependent on the nation's railroads for the transportation of prepared scrap to steel mills and foundries. The most recent figures available indicate that 28.2 million tons of ferrous scrap (520,069 carloads) were shipped by rail in 1970. In 1969, the railroads transported 29.7 million tons of ferrous scrap, representing 532,168 carloads. Although there was a decrease in the tonnage of scrap hauled in 1970, railroad revenues for that same year were \$136.4 million, \$6.8 million more for handling 1.5 million fewer tons.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Virtually every scrap iron and steel processing facility in the nation is designed around rail tracks for the out-bound movement of processed ferrous scrap. There are two basic reasons for this "captivity" to the rails:

The consumer (steel mill) generally requires inbound shipments of prepared scrap to move via rail because his facility also is designed around rail tracks.

Rail movement reduces the consumer's potential safety and security problems, as well as providing time to inspect the scrap (all scrap is sold subject to mill inspection) and to either charge it directly into the furnace or to unload it near the melting area. (Railroads permit the holding of cars for 48 hours without charge, while trucks must generally be released almost immediately, or detention will be charged.)

However, when a scrap processor has viable options as to the mode of transport, he, as is true of virtually all other shippers, exercises this freedom of choice to obtain the best service for a reasonable price. Illustrative of this point is the fact that the scrap processor has converted the major share of inbound service for the movement of unprepared scrap to his processing plant from rail to truck.

Nevertheless, rail movement of prepared scrap is the norm for both shipper (scrap processor) and receiver (steel mill). It is the forced dependence on the railroads—captivity—that has created an atmosphere which allows the railroads, through their pricing policies, to establish freight rates which discriminate against the movement of ferrous scrap and encourage the movement of iron ore.

"Iron units" are required to make new steel. They must come from either a primary source, iron ore, or a secondary source, scrap iron. Whether the steelmaker uses scrap or ore is a decision based upon the comparative costs associated with new steel made from the competing commodities, and transportation is an important cost element in the comparison. The point is, iron ore and steel scrap are interchangeable—one or the other or a percentage of each is used to make new steel.

The Institute repeatedly has brought to the Commission's attention the negative impact that discriminatory freight rates have on the environment, since metallic solid waste is forced to pay a disproportionately higher shipping charge. Although scrap iron and iron ore can be used interchangeably by the steelmaker, the railroads have denied and continue to deny that these two commodities are direct competitive inputs to the steelmaking process; and because scrap shippers are captive to the railroads, the carriers have found it possible to establish freight rates that are unreasonable and unjust.

BATTELLE STUDY

In 1971, the Institute, hoping to demonstrate metallic competition once and for all, contracted with Battelle Memorial Institute (Columbus, Ohio), one of the leading metallurgical research firms in the world, to do a study on "The Impact of Railroad Freight Rates on the Recycling of Ferrous Scrap." More than one third of the report is dedicated to documentation showing the direct competition between iron ore and scrap. Battelle states that "direct competition between virgin and recycled metallics is a fact of steelmaking."

According to Battelle, scrap iron rates should only be approximately $1\frac{1}{2}$ times higher than rates on iron ore, (not the $2\frac{1}{2}$ times found in the rate structure) on the basis of metallurgical competition (iron content of the two commodities: average 90% for ferrous scrap and 60% for iron ore).

Battelle develops the effect of the freight rate differential on decisions made by steelmakers who have the alternative of specifying the amount of scrap they will use in the making of new steel. The problem was in-

vestigated from two time frames—the short run and the long run.

In the short run, Battelle finds the freight rate differential results in a \$4.21 higher cost than necessary to produce a ton of steel using purchased scrap as the raw material. This is approximately 6% of the total cost (\$69-\$74) of making a ton of steel. The effect is to create an artificial increase in cost for the steelmaker when he utilizes the secondary material—purchased scrap. As an economic matter, the freight rate discourages the recycling of metallic solid waste and encourages the use of irreplaceable natural resources.

The long-run effect, which concerns itself with the impact of the freight rate on the decision to invest in new scrap intensive furnaces, is equally devastating. Battelle's research indicates that the rate differential in this case results in a decrease in the rate of return of approximately 1%/year for the life of the steelmaking furnace. This could mean the loss of millions of dollars for new furnaces being considered because of the discriminatory freight rates.

General conclusions of the Battelle research study are:

Present scrap markets are retarded because of transport rates which encourage the usage of iron ore.

Future scrap markets are being affected because new investment that would be logically directed to scrap intensive steelmaking is diverted because of the existing freight rate structure to ore-intensive steelmaking.

Iron ore (a limited domestic natural resource) is being exploited when it can and should be conserved.

Some scrap iron that should be recycled is unable to move; thus, the environment is despoiled by unnecessary accumulations of solid metallic waste.

ICC PROCEEDINGS

There should be no doubt that the current position of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the nation's railroads has penalized and continues to penalize severely the processor and consumer of iron and steel scrap. Although at times the ICC has expressed an understanding of the problem, in the three general rate increase proceedings prior to Ex Parte 281, "Increased Freight Rates and Charges, 1972," the Commission concluded that ferrous scrap and iron ore do not compete directly and authorized increases which widened the existing rate disparity between the two commodities.

Again, in Ex Parte 281, the Institute requested the Commission to acknowledge metallurgical competition and the negative impact on the environment in a statement of protest. The Institute's statement was accompanied by a presentation of T. M. Barnes, author of the Battelle research study. His report was submitted as a part of his sworn statement to the Commission.

The Institute requested the same maximum rate increase of 22¢ per ton for scrap iron as proposed for iron ore by the railroads so as to not widen the already discriminatory gap in rates as would occur under the railroad's proposal. For the first time in recent proceedings before the ICC, the railroads submitted a sworn statement by a metallurgist. (In other proceedings railroad traffic experts admittedly with no metallurgical competence would, under cross-examination, say that to the best of their knowledge, competition did not exist. This testimony, under oath, was valueless; they had no knowledge of metallurgy, but unfortunately, their opinions were accepted by the ICC.)

The railroad metallurgist attempted to discredit the Battelle report and to perpetuate the myth that scrap iron and iron ore do not compete. However, under cross-examination, the railroad metallurgist agreed (as any competent metallurgist would) that iron ore and scrap iron are interchangeable raw ma-

terials in steelmaking, and that a greater increase in scrap rates relative to ore rates could retard the movement of recyclable iron and steel scrap.

Thus, the railroad metallurgist and the scrap industry metallurgist were in agreement before the ICC that metallurgical competition exists. Therefore, the freight rates for the competing products should be properly related. Wrong, according to the ICC. In its report in Ex Parte 281 the Commission states, "We see no justification for requiring that increases on ferrous scrap be made subject to the maximum per ton limitation applicable on ore. Ferrous scrap . . . does not directly compete with iron ore in the steelmaking process . . ." There was no apparent recognition in the Commission's order of the cross-examination of the railroad metallurgist who admitted that competition does exist.

The ICC ignored and refuted the sworn testimony of experts; no competent metallurgist has ever denied the direct interchangeability of scrap and iron ore. But, the ICC does not agree. The Commission denied that scrap and ore compete; it failed to see the relationship between discriminatory rates and the negative environmental impact. What is extremely difficult to understand about the Commission's decision was that it denied a portion of the railroad's proposed increase on other secondary materials, while allowing the full increase on iron and steel scrap. It is totally illogical that the ICC did not apply the same recognition of environmental impact to ferrous scrap as was applied to non-ferrous scrap and waste paper or textiles, for example.

Concerning nonferrous metals, the ICC said, the "holdown here imposed should encourage the movement and recycling of these commodities," and "will also have a beneficial effect upon the environment." The Institute agrees.

However, in the case of iron and steel scrap, the Commission states "the increase authorized herein will not inhibit the movement of ferrous refuse such as abandoned automobiles and refrigerators (and) accordingly, we foresee no adverse effect on the quality of the human environment resulting from our approval," in essence, that was the Commission's concluding environmental impact statement. But more than this is required under the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA).

REACTION TO RATE DISCRIMINATION

Russell E. Train, Chairman of the President's Council on Environmental Quality (CEQ), writes, "Economics are clearly the limiting factor to increased waste use—not technology. Recycling will not increase, but decrease, if its cost exceeds the costs of other alternatives." And yet, the ICC says that their action will have "no adverse effect on the quality of the human environment."

The day following release of the ICC decision, Samuel Hale, Jr., deputy assistant administrator for solid waste programs, Federal Environmental Protection Agency, in a discussion on freight rates, was quoted as saying, "It is frustrating. It's hard to get the ICC to recognize, or even study, the possibility of any inequity in freight rates." R. Thomas Wilson, senior vice-president of the American Iron and Steel Institute, has said on numerous occasions that the recycling of tin cans could be more effective if the ICC would revise freight rates to encourage recycling secondary materials.

Just prior to the increased rates becoming effective on iron and steel scrap, the Commission announced that the new rates approved in Ex Parte 281 were being suspended until June 10, 1973, pending a further study of the environmental impact of the proposed rate increases on recyclable commodities. Following letters of protest from CEQ, EPA, the Institute, and others, the Commission

undertook to comply fully with NEPA and prepare an environmental impact statement in the spirit of the law's intent.

Industry and government leaders who are in a position to know, have publicly stated that the discrimination problem exists and should be corrected. It would seem that only the ICC needs to be convinced of these facts. The study which the Commission is now conducting provides the vehicle for the regulatory body to take a significant step forward in *Ex Parte 281* for the betterment of the environment.

As markets for metallic solid waste continue to dwindle because of the transportation function's lack of responsiveness to the needs of this industry, the waste continues to accumulate. What has occurred and what still continues in the steelmaking market is intolerable and incorrect. The competition between ferrous metallic sources is a fact, it is provable; the distortion brought about by discriminatory freight rates must cease.

Yet, it is not enough to state that these are the facts. Too many months and years have passed without progress beyond mere rhetoric. The nation requires more than moral support of these positions: the nation requires a concerted action by all involved to overcome this inherent bias that is having marked, serious, and inexcusable effects on the well-being of each and every citizen.

Every time an abandoned auto hulk mars the countryside or a city street, every time a refrigerator or dishwasher is thrown into the dump and not recycled, every time perfectly acceptable and valuable iron is buried or hidden or covered or somehow removed from view, waste occurs. And such waste cannot continue forever.

There is far more at stake than the existence of the iron and steel scrap processing industry. The impact of the actions and decisions of the railroad industry and the Interstate Commerce Commission must be made to reflect these greater parameters.

WE NEED A MINIMUM WAGE BILL

HON. JOHN N. ERLENBORN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. ERLENBORN. Mr. Speaker, 1 week has passed since the House voted to sustain the President's veto of the minimum wage bill (H.R. 7935).

Three weeks have passed since we received the veto message.

It's time we forget the rhetoric and remember we are a part of a representative form of government. That means we should be able to resolve our differences, and there is no issue more compelling than a new minimum wage bill by which we can demonstrate our ability to find middle ground. Finding middle ground ought not be impossible if our common goal is better pay for unskilled workers.

Twelve of us last week went the extra mile by introducing H.R. 10458. This bill is before the General Subcommittee on Labor which produced the vetoed bill and which has nothing more urgent than H.R. 10458 on its agenda.

We know the issues, so we do not need hearings. All we need is a spirit of compromise and a call for a meeting from our chairman (Mr. DENT). We find it hard to understand his continued failure to schedule a meeting to report a bill on this important topic.

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NEW YEAR, 5734

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, at sunset tonight, millions of Jews throughout the world will mark the start of the new year, 5734. The celebration of Rosh Hashonah inaugurates 10 days of penitence closing with a day of atonement.

The year 5734 has been highlighted by both accomplishments and tragedies for the Jewish community. This is an appropriate time to review some of the year's major events.

This past year has been a good one for American-Israeli relations. Our ties with the Israelis have become stronger in spite of the increased volume of Arab threats. The coming year will be a further test of the durability of American-Israeli ties. With the Arabs renewing their "oil blackmail diplomacy" there are many who, sensing a significant energy shortage in this country, are urging us to appease the Arabs by moderating our policies with them. This is not the answer. Instead of sacrificing our important ties with Israel let us instead undertake a major commitment to develop alternative energy sources; that is, the Alaskan pipeline—so as to limit our dependency on the Arab world for oil.

The year 5734 also saw a milestone for the Jewish community with the appointment of Dr. Henry Kissinger as the 56th Secretary of State. This represented the highest governmental appointment of a Jew in the history of the United States. Dr. Kissinger, in his previous role as chief foreign policy adviser to the President was the architect of our peace agreements in both Vietnam and Cambodia. He is eminently qualified to serve as the Secretary of State, and he brings to the State Department an unprecedented level of knowledge and experience. Dr. Kissinger will most assuredly pursue a foreign policy dedicated to the protection of the rights and freedoms of the Israeli people against the hostile attack of its enemies.

However, whatever accomplishments the Jewish community achieved in the year 5733, they have been largely overshadowed by the continuing plight of the Soviet Jews. Life for the Soviet Jew continues to one of both persecution and violence, as well as the inability to emigrate freely. Yet Russia is not the only nation where Jewish people have suffered the pains of persecution. Nations such as Iraq, have demonstrated in the past year, an equally callous disregard for the rights of the Jewish population in their country.

Yet, the year 5733 saw some significant inroads in the United States' recognition of the Soviet Jewish problem. Most importantly, this past year I and 285 of my fellow colleagues joined as cosponsors of the Mills-Vanik Freedom of Emigration Act to the Trade Reform Act of 1973, which will make the granting of most-favored-nation status to the Soviet Union dependent on their lifting their ban on emigration.

In addition there has been a tremendously increased awareness by the American people of the problems of the Soviet Jew and the need for U.S. action. Large numbers of people have indicated to their elected representatives their strong opposition to the continuing repressive tactics of the Soviet Union. This demonstration has made it imperative for the President to make any further economic agreements with the Russians contingent on receiving assurances that the Soviets will begin to respect the rights of the Jewish people in their nations, and relent on their archaic emigration policies.

As we begin the year 5734 let us continue to commit ourselves to the cause of freedom for the Soviet Jew. Let us also strive to prevent other nations from engaging in similar tactics. And above all, let me wish to all members of the Jewish community the hope that the upcoming year is one of peace, prosperity, and happiness for all. To them I say *L'shana tova*.

A FRESH APPROACH TO INTEGRATED HOUSING

HON. CHARLES W. WHALEN, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. WHALEN. Mr. Speaker, in light of the President's message on housing which was recently submitted to the House, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article from the September 15, 1973, issue of the *New Republic* entitled "Racially Changing Neighborhoods."

The author, Charles Hammer, discusses approaches which are being, and can be, used to halt continual racial neighborhood turnovers. He refers to efforts by city and suburban government, as well as those of interested individual citizens. In detail, Mr. Hammer reviews the plan to disperse low and moderate income housing which is being implemented in my congressional district—Dayton, Ohio, and the surrounding communities.

Mr. Hammer's observations are most timely, and I believe they will be helpful to my colleagues and me in studying the President's proposals.

A FRESH APPROACH TO INTEGRATED HOUSING— RACIALLY CHANGING NEIGHBORHOODS

(By Charles Hammer)

Once upon a time it was the big thing for white idealists to demonstrate brotherhood by moving their families into a racially changing neighborhood. And almost invariably they soon found themselves the last whites in an otherwise all-black neighborhood, a situation no more "natural" than its all-white opposite. So the rest of us caught on (me included) and joined the flight to the stable suburbs. I am here to argue that despite all the sweat and seeming futility, those sweet idealists were dead right.

Try imaginatively to put yourself in one such racially changing neighborhood of Kansas City, Missouri, where I have written as a newspaperman for more than a decade. Like hundreds of similar city neighborhoods in the '40s it was modest, attractive, separated

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physically from the jammed black ghetto only by one street. For years racial covenants in deeds had prevented the crossing of that street. Then, as 1950 approached, the US Supreme Court declared those covenants unenforceable and the ghetto began expanding southward. Real estate brokers and mortgage bankers cooperated to prevent any scattering that might have resulted in permanently integrated neighborhoods. Block after block was emptied of whites to be filled with blacks.

So swift and chaotic was the change at times that the ratio of black children in one elementary school soared from 25 to 65 percent in a single year. Physical deterioration started when whites saw the wave coming, for they suspended all maintenance of property. The early black arrivals—middle class and nearly always better educated than existing white residents—struggled to keep up their homes. It is no reflection on them to say property values plummeted, since the market was glutted with homes put up for sale by desperate whites. The wave continued, bringing poor blacks from the inner city.

Here we created—are still creating—the worst possible situation for the neighborhood meeting of the races. Even poor black families would have responded better in a stable community where old residents could have monitored them with a critical eye. They came instead to neighborhoods in disorder, and they were treated to a destructive vision of themselves as the pariahs who had caused it. "The thing I dread," said a black judge, "is when I have to explain to my little girl about that kind of thing. That's a cutting thing for a parent to have to tell a child."

Whites who might have been willing to accept integration were never offered a choice. They could flee or prepare to live in a virtually all-black neighborhood. Courageous resistance in the name of understanding invariably proved useless, since there was no metropolitan plan which might have made such gestures successful.

In the wake of neighborhood turnover has come most of Kansas City's other urban problems—loan foreclosures, widespread housing abandonment, new slums, sharp de facto school segregation and a black pupil ratio that has now soared beyond 50 percent.

In 1950 no Kansas City census tract in which the population was more than 24 percent black extended south of 31st Street. In 1970 one tract with a population 39 percent black reached south to 77th. Between lay five miles of neighborhoods, some virtually all black now, the rest still changing. In 20 years some 67,000 whites—equal to almost one-fifth of the city's entire 1950 white population—left Southeast Kansas City.

Much has been said about the white flight to the suburbs. Little has been said or done about its origins, which lie here, in the changing neighborhood. Kansas City may be considered among a lucky few: its ratio of black citizens grew only from 12 percent in 1950 to 22 percent in 1970. Consider the consequences in Chicago, where the comparable figures are 14 and 33 percent; Philadelphia, 18 and 34 percent; Detroit, 16 and 44 percent; or Washington, DC, 33 and 71 percent.

It is a mathematical axiom that as a circle expands the area of isolation inside grows faster than the line of contact around its circumference. No surprise, then, that the American metropolis is more segregated than ever. In 1950 only one-fourth of Kansas City's blacks lived in neighborhoods more than 90 percent black. In 1970 nearly half lived in such areas. Chicago's principal segregating years came between 1920, when none of the city's blacks lived in tracts more than 90 percent black, and 1950, when 67 percent did.

The segregation of cities is becoming segregation of suburbs as the Washington DC

ghetto pushes eastward into Prince Georges County, the Cleveland ghetto expands tentatively into DeKalb County, the Baltimore ghetto begins its break westward into Baltimore County. The pattern of ghetto formation and expansion holds even in suburbs such as Media, Chester and Darby outside Philadelphia, Maywood west of Chicago, Grandview outside Indianapolis.

All this would be fine if blacks wanted compact, fortress neighborhoods that could be defended in race war—and if whites wanted handy concentration camps that could be ringed with wire in emergencies. But even die-hard racists on each side don't want that. Yet that is what we have and are getting more of.

Racial turnover begins anew tomorrow and continues forever. But not if citizens organize to stop it. It will take more than the old liberal appeals to human decency, however. Needed now are appeals to interest, appeals to black and Chicano families weary of neighborhood turbulence, to middle-class and working-class whites whose neighborhoods are threatened by turnover, to suburban whites willing to accept integration if it comes with a guarantee against their greatest fear, racial turnover. We need to shift black buying out of the changing neighborhood into stable, outlying areas where scattered purchases by blacks will cause no panic. Here is the rallying cry: "Stop resegregation. Keep East Cleveland integrated. (Make it Prince Georges County or Media or Maywood.) Open cities everywhere."

In nearly every area undergoing turnover there are organizations, usually interracial, which can be useful—Seneca Hills Neighbors in a Chicago suburb, the former Dayton View Stabilization Project in Dayton, Ohio, South DeKalg Neighbors near Atlanta. Such groups need alliances in outlying white neighborhoods. Many have found them in the fair housing councils that have sprung up across the country. Blacks can make common cause with whites in the changing neighborhood only when the purpose clearly is not simply the exclusion of blacks. The charge that whites in the changing area only want to move blacks elsewhere can be blunted best by suburban whites eager for new black neighbors.

Such alliances should demand for the changing neighborhood its share and more of city services. If economies are to be made in garbage collection, housing, law enforcement, city beautification, they should be made by neighborhoods without the worst problems. The changing area must be first on the list for tree-planting, city-financed street improvements, park recreation programs and high-quality moderate-income housing. It should be last on the list as a site for low-income housing. It must be protected by city ordinances against blockbusting and the real estate "for sale" signs that tend to increase anxiety.

When racial change in housing begins, citizens should demand of their school board that the schools change more slowly or not at all. Switching individual school boundaries a few blocks often can prevent the swift change in school population that frightens white families. Busing can accomplish more, and busing to stop turnover is far more likely to be tolerated by whites than busing for integration.

The city-suburban alliance could also awaken local government to new options. One idea being discussed by certain city planners would help the changing neighborhood by guaranteeing every resident the return of his home investment there. By easing fears that homes will lose value, the plan would take countless houses off the market, bolstering prices sufficiently that the cash outlay might be relatively small.

Another plan calls for administrators to define neighborhoods likely to undergo racial turnover—white to black, black to white.

Government would then pay substantial bonuses—call them "open city" payments—for home purchases there by qualified families whose presence tends to reverse the trend. This would almost always mean paying whites to fill vacancies in changing neighborhoods near the black ghetto. The more controversial obverse side of that notion would have government reward families whose purchases integrated a neighborhood where their race was in a specified, tiny minority and where there was no future danger of racial turnover. This would be positive encouragement for black purchases in the suburbs and—for that matter—white purchases in the heart of the ghetto. Some such scheme would create new white buyers for the changing neighborhood, stop the drop in values, stiffen resistance by the old residents and push black families into outlying areas.

This pattern of dispersal—the pattern of an integrated society—already is emerging. It may be clearest outside Washington, D.C. where more than half of the 460 elementary schools in suburban districts showed percentage increases in black enrollment even before 1969. Chicago suburbs such as Skokie, Highland Park and Park Forest exhibit the same pattern, as do a few areas in nearly all of the nation's metropolitan areas.

The ghetto and changing neighborhood are one market, divided up among black real estate brokers and certain white brokers. Outlying neighborhoods are another, served largely by a separate group of brokers, almost all white. Black families usually find their way voluntarily or are steered to brokers of the first group—a fact that predetermines the housing they will be shown. But interesting things happen when the dual housing market is cracked—when a broker with access to black buyers gets listings in all-white neighborhoods. A pair of black brokers in Kansas City, Kansas put together such an effort in the mid-1960s and lightly integrated the formerly all-white west side of that city. In 1966 one of the two, Donald Sewing, bought a home for himself in the nearly all-white bedroom suburban area of Johnson County, Kansas. Since then he has negotiated sale of more than 40 homes there to black families, making a conscious effort to scatter them.

The force of such adroit personal effort can hardly be overestimated. In 1965 Dorothy Davis, a white housewife from an outlying Kansas City neighborhood, began to wonder why FHA-foreclosed homes in all-white neighborhoods were never sold to blacks. She learned that on market day, when black brokers called in to bid, they were always told the house was already sold. So Mrs. Davis bought one herself, proving in the process that the FHA managing broker had been "pre-selling" these homes to whites before they officially went on the market. She carried the story to a newspaper. Suddenly the foreclosed homes began to sell to black families.

Her work underlines the necessity for citizen scrutiny of federal housing agencies such as FHA and the Veterans Administration. Former HUD Secretary George Romney started these fusty organizations with new guidelines that helped put some federally subsidized housing for low- and moderate-income families in the suburbs. Inept administration cost the nation much of the good Romney sought. But there is still opportunity for citizens to make something out of the remnants of the Romney era.

In few places around the nation has the trend toward integration taken shape as well as in Dayton, Ohio. The first question to be settled by the Miami Valley Regional Planning Commission there was whether dispersal of low-income housing was necessary and right. The staff of the five-county commission studied the problem for more than a year and in 1970 answered, "Yes." The staff

proposed a plan for building 14,000 federally subsidized housing units for low- and moderate-income families. The units were to be dispersed on a formula almost the reverse of past practice: the richer the community, the richer and less crowded the schools, the fewer families of low income, the more low- and moderate-income housing that suburb was assigned. The member cities and counties on the commission approved the plan 30-0. Virtually no subsidized housing had been built before in the metropolitan area outside Dayton. Today 800 units are completed or under construction outside Dayton, and another 2700 are in process. In Dayton itself another 1800 units have been completed or under construction, with 665 others on the way. All are scattered and well away from the ghetto.

Dale Bertsch, Miami Valley executive director, says the major reason for the acceptance the plan has won is that people know each area gets its share of subsidized housing—no more. Miami Valley halted plans for a 465-unit project in Madison township, which is substantially integrated and lies directly in the path of northeastward black movement from Dayton. By opening themselves to racial integration, the Dayton suburbs have gone far toward protecting themselves from racial turnover.

Not directly connected with the Dayton plan but one reason for its success is the former Dayton View Stabilization Project, a city agency set up to battle racial turnover. Its first director, Joe Wine, is another example of how personal weight can help tip the scale. He left a job as department store executive and later became a community organizer of modest national reputation. While leading Dayton View, he helped convince Dayton citizens that only by opening the suburbs could they prevent resegregation of the city.

The Dayton plan is the flying prototype of a machine that could be mass produced across the nation, just as the locally developed Philadelphia plan or variants of it were multiplied to increase minority employment in construction. The first Dayton copy came off the line in 1972, when the Washington Area Council of Governments adopted a fair share dispersal plan. Your town could follow.

The Dayton plan leads inevitably into economic integration, which is precisely where it should. But citizens must demand that when the poor meet the better-off in outlying neighborhoods, they do so under the best of circumstances. That rules out the sort of high-rise, completely low-income project that caused a revolt among middle-class residents of Forest Hills in New York. Far better would be a garden apartment development on a suburban corner, with perhaps 40 moderate-income families and 10 low-income families. Every possible help should be extended to the families, but a landlord should hang in the background, ready to evict any family that fouls the nest. The few that cannot succeed even with major help simply must find a place in inner-city public housing.

The development described here will work—already is working in many outlying neighborhoods across the nation. In it both the poor and the moderate-income families gain housing far better than they could otherwise afford. And the old residents of the neighborhood console themselves that at least it is new construction, that the situation is under control—far better than the sweep of poor and black through crumbling neighborhoods half a century old.

The Dayton Public Opinion Center in one poll asked a cross-section of Montgomery County residents (the county is 14 percent black) whether they agreed or disagreed that their own neighborhood should have a mixture of races and economic groups. Five percent replied they agreed strongly, while 56

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percent merely agreed—a total of 61 percent on the integration side. Asked whether subsidized apartments should be built only in Dayton or scattered into suburbs as well, 81 percent of Dayton residents—not surprisingly—said they should be scattered. But 69 percent of the suburban people also voted for scattering.

"It's a natural thing for people to be provincial and protective and frightened," says Joe Wine, "particularly when there is no public ethic. Conversely, if people can be brought to understand the rightness, the essential rightness—witness what Miami Valley has done—people can be matured to understand moral purpose. That's why the work we've been involved in is so exciting."

CONSUMER PROTECTION AGENCY

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, a week ago last Monday, the Subcommittee on Legislation and Military Operations of the House Government Operations Committee convened to begin a series of hearings on legislation proposed during the 93d Congress to create an independent Consumer Protection Agency. As my colleagues know, this has been an issue under consideration in the House for over 4 years.

There are currently three major proposals under consideration by the subcommittee. My colleague Congressman DON FUQUA and I have cosponsored H.R. 564, a bill identical to the compromise proposal which we introduced for review purposes during the last Congress when it became clear that the far-reaching Consumer Protection Agency bill in the other body would not pass. H.R. 21 has been introduced by Congressmen CHET HOLIFIELD and FRANK HORTON, and is based upon H.R. 10835, passed by the House during the 92d Congress, and which I supported. Congressman BEN ROSENTHAL has introduced H.R. 14, which in large part is similar to the bill which failed in the other body last year.

So that my colleagues in the House might become better acquainted with the Fuqua/Brown bill as it relates to the other two proposals, I am including in the RECORD the statement I made before the Legislation and Military Operations Subcommittee on September 17, 1973. The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

Mr. Chairman and other respected fellow Subcommittee members, these should be historic hearings.

It is with great expectations—and not a little relief—that we come together again to hold what should be the last Congressional hearings on proposals to create an independent Consumer Protection Agency.

HISTORY OF CPA

We have come a long way since our 1969 hearings that resulted in a primitive version of the CPA bills now before us.

We saw that first CPA bill stopped in 1970 by a tie vote in the Rules Committee. That happened the day after the Senate passed its own version of a CPA by a vote of 74 to 4 during the waning days of the 91st Congress.

During the first session of the last Congress, the House passed another version of a CPA. That vote of 344 to 44 belied an unusually bitter and confused debate. A filibuster in the Senate last year, however, killed all hopes of creating a CPA during the 92d Congress.

I am confident that we can go the final lap during this 93d Congress. We have three bills before us that give the Subcommittee an excellent start, H.R. 14 by Congressman Rosenthal and others; the bill that passed the House in 1971 (for which I voted), H.R. 21 by Chairman Hollifield, Congressman Horton and others; and H.R. 564 by Congressman Fuqua and myself.

DANGERS TO BE AVOIDED

Make no mistake about it, though, the tarnished history of the CPA bills shows that this concept can—if we let it—become controversial legislation of the worst type.

Fluttering under the provisions of these bills you'll find a bevy of Henny Pennies. Some, who want no CPA, fear an explosion from any federal consumer advocacy; some, who want an avenging angel, fear an implosion unless we create a super agency.

Legislation of this type can make the best of us paranoid, if we let it. After all, everyone has at the same time substantial consumer and producer interests.

We all recognize that consumption and production are both part of the same continuous economic cycle upon which the country's welfare is based.

None of us wants to create an imbalance in this cycle; we want to correct an imbalance, taking care not to overcorrect.

Given the tremendous sensitivity of the CPA's mission—a mission that will affect regulation of our entire economy—a certain degree of Henny Pennyism is to be expected.

We all have seen, however, that CPA paranoia is a communicable disease, one that breeds at an alarming rate when cultured in ignorance of the facts.

ROLE OF THE COMMITTEE

It seems to me that one of our major concerns should be to guard against contributing to the confusion and paranoia that we have seen surround this issue in the past.

We have the votes to create a CPA. We have the commitment to do it. Let us resolve the few critical issues that remain. If we cannot get consensus on all of these issues, let us make sure that they are defined properly, fairly heard and then put them to the test of a vote.

But let us not get grounded on non-issues. Let us not, for example, entertain implications that we are insensitive to the deaths of babies in cribs because some proposals would not allow adequate participation in promulgating safety standards. Let us point out that all bills treat such standard-making proceedings adequately and virtually identically.

It may be surprising to those familiar with the CPA floor debate during the last Congress, but the three bills before us indicate that the various sponsors are in agreement over many more concepts than those over which they disagree.

This is not to say that all of the language is identical or that draftsmanship cannot be improved, of course. But what it does indicate is that we should focus on the few remaining major areas of disagreement, and a consensus may be possible once we get all of the facts on the table.

There even seems to be a growing consensus among business and consumer groups as to what the major issues are. Not agreement, certainly, on how we should resolve these problem areas, but recognition of the fact that we should consider them in depth and attempt to come up with definitive legislative answers.

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THE INFORMATION ORDER ISSUE

One of these issues has to do with the CPA's information-gathering powers. Under Congressman Rosenthal's bill, the CPA would be authorized with subpoena-like powers; it could order business firms and employees to file reports and answer detailed questions on confidential matters, under pain of court order and the possibility of contempt charges if necessary. This power is found in subsection 208(b) of H.R. 14, and is related to the proposed power, in subsection 211(c) of that bill, to allow the CPA to protect public health or safety by publishing trade secrets and confidential information so obtained.

The Chairman's bill and my bill would not grant the CPA such information demand power. I, for one, presently feel that making the CPA's scope of responsibility so sweeping—everything that the CPA, itself, considers of interest to consumers—requires us to put limitations on the powers of that agency, at least initially.

With respect to this particular power to issue court-enforceable information demands, a power heretofore reserved for regulatory agencies and usually of narrow scope, it should be noted that the CPA is to be a non-regulatory agency. But I shall listen with attentiveness to the arguments in favor of such a power, arguments that I am sure will be presented by Congressman Rosenthal forcefully and well.

THE COURT APPEAL ISSUE

Another area where there is general agreement between two of the three bills concerns the question of whether the CPA should be allowed to appeal to the courts the final decisions of its brother agencies. H.R. 14 would grant the CPA such a power under subsection 205(a), and H.R. 21 would grant a similar right under subsection 204(d).

The Fuqua-Brown bill would grant no such right, and again I look forward to hearing forceful argumentation on the need for such an extraordinary power. I fear that it would result in significant ambiguities as to what the position of the Government was until the courts tell us.

On this point, I tell you now that I cannot accept the arguments made last year to the effect that it is routine or commonplace for federal agencies to sue each other in court, and that because citizens sue their Government, the Government ought to sue the Government.

The first argument has no basis in fact; it is a myth. The Solicitor General's office has informed my staff that appeals by one agency of the decisions of another are infrequent occurrences. In fact, I have been unable to find a single example of a nonregulatory agency appealing the decisions of a regulatory agency.

The second argument which cites citizen rights makes little sense to me. We are not merely funding a Ralph Nader unit here, we are creating a part of the Government. To confuse governmental duties to protect the public with the rights of private citizens to challenge the Government is a leap toward George Orwell's 1984. I agree with Senator Sam Ervin's sparkling views on this subject, and urge you all to read them. They appear in the Committee report on last year's Senate CPA bill.

THE FULL PARTY ISSUE

The third area of concern is the most legally complicated, and the one about which we knew least during the last Congress, as our debate proved.

The Rosenthal bill, in subsection 204(a), would allow the CPA to assign itself full party status in the formalized agency proceedings where such status was available to anyone.

The Chairman's bill would allow CPA

party status, but it carves out an area of proceedings in which the CPA could only appear as an amicus curiae; this area, according to subsection 204(a), is all adjudications "seeking primarily to impose a fine, penalty, or forfeiture" for violation of federal law or regulation. This provision, if you will remember, ignited a very vigorous debate last year.

The Fuqua-Brown bill also would allow the CPA to be an amicus initially, but in addition the CPA would be given the right to reenter the proceeding after all argument and submissions have been made by others, and make its own "last word" arguments for the record.

Describing these provisions will make little sense to anyone except a lawyer schooled in the vagaries of the Administrative Procedure Act—the "APA," as lawyers are fond of calling it. It is through this act, upon which all of the CPA bills are based, that we can understand what each of the bills is talking about, and—more importantly—what they are not talking about.

Because this is such a complicated area, I have set forth in my prepared statement an illustration adapted from one that appears in the hearing record on the Senate CPA bills of this year:

NUMBERS OF FORMALIZED AGENCY PROCEEDINGS SUBJECT TO APA

No party status: Notice and comment rulemaking, 91%.

PROCEEDINGS ON THE RECORD—PARTY STATUS AVAILABLE

Adjudications—8.5%.

Rulemaking—0.5%.

Remember, we are talking about proceedings in which party status is available. This means we are not talking about those proceedings which should be of most concern to consumers and which constitute an overwhelming majority—estimated in the Senate hearings at over 90 percent—of the formalized proceedings in which the CPA could appear.

This is, we are not talking about notice and comment rulemaking under 5 U.S.C. 553 which, according to Professor Roger Cramton's testimony before us, is "an area where [CPA] consumer advocacy can make its greatest contribution."¹ Professor Cramton, then Chairman of the Federal Administrative Conference, told us that such rulemaking is the "most important area" of CPA advocacy, the one that the CPA "should be most interested in."²

In this notice and comment area that we are not talking about are all of the familiar examples that many erroneously thought were proceedings in which one could attain party status: Consumer Product Safety Commission proceedings to establish safety standards; Food and Drug Administration proceedings to establish nutrient labeling regulations; Federal Trade Commission trade regulation rules, and so forth.

Risking redundancy to save us from an experience similar to what happened last year, let me point out that in this most important type of proceeding as far as consumers are concerned, the three bills provide little if any area for disagreement. The Rosenthal and Hollifield bills would allow the CPA to have all of the rights available to anyone else. (See section 204(a) in each bill.)

The Fuqua-Brown bill would allow the CPA to have more rights than anyone else, because we feel that this is such a critical area; in addition to the present full rights of participants, we would allow the CPA a "last word" right in these proceedings as

well as in those where party status was available. (See Sec. 103(a).)

Now, let us finally get to what we are talking about when we discuss party status proceedings. In terms of numbers, we are talking about a small minority of proceedings, usually of very narrow scope and designed to impose a sanction upon someone.

What we are talking about, primarily, are agency adjudications—quasi-judicial proceedings often in the nature of a trial. It is here in this small area of relatively limited concern that I share the Chairman's apparent concern that we not create a dual prosecutor and run roughshod over established due process requirements.

What we are talking about here are agency proceedings which, because of their sensitivity, Congress required to be conducted in similar fashion to a trial, with cross-examination, subpoena and other discovery rights, and with the forum agency required to make its decision on the record developed in the proceeding.

It is true that a fraction of a percentage point of these proceedings are a disappearing species of rulemaking—rulemaking on the record—and perhaps we might wish to look into this area to see if more CPA rights are needed. But my chief concern is with sanction-oriented adjudications.

In sanction-oriented adjudications, a federal lawyer acts as a prosecutor and attempts to get his agency to impose a sanction, usually against a businessman in cases of concern to the CPA. The addition of another prosecutor for the Government is not only unneeded, it is blatantly unfair.

Having said this, I don't want to give the impression that I consider this small area of proceedings of no importance to consumers. Quite the contrary; you will find adjudications of possible significance to consumers in several agencies. FTC adjudications to determine if an unfair or deceptive practice violation has been committed and Federal Communications Commission proceedings to revoke a broadcast license are two that come to mind.

Recognizing these proceedings as important to consumers, but also recognizing their sensitivity, we have devised a CPA power that is greater than mere amicus curiae status, yet avoids giving the CPA party status; that is, we avoid giving the CPA prosecutor status. The words are synonymous in this context.

Our "super amicus" power proposed for the CPA in this limited area was inspired by the limited intervenor status that the FTC assigned to a consumer group recently when it was faced with a demand that the consumer group be given party status.³

The FTC refused to grant the consumer group party status, allowing them to appear and make their arguments after the FTC prosecutor had finished his case in chief. Consumers have not been allowed to intervene as full parties in FTC adjudications.

THE INFORMAL ACTIVITY ISSUE

The last major issue may be a non-issue, at least as far as the present thinking of the sponsors of the various bills before us. But it is worth mentioning here because of its potential as an issue to be raised by others, and because of an apparent difference of opinion on the proper interpretation of one of the bills.

Congressman Rosenthal's bill and the Fuqua-Brown bill clearly state, in almost identical terms, the power of the CPA to participate in the nature of an amicus curiae in the unstructured, sometimes called "informal," activities of other agencies. The

¹ The famous SOUP ("Students Opposed to Unfair Practices") case, *In the Matter of The Firestone Tire & Rubber Co.*, Docket No. 8818 (October 23, 1970).

² 1971 House CPA Hearings, p. 506.

³ 1971 House CPA Hearings, p. 498.

provisions are found in subsection 204(b) of H.R. 14 and subsection 103(b) of H.R. 564. Chairman Holifield's bill, however, does not talk in express terms about informal activities. This has led some to conclude that the CPA would not have a right to participate in this unstructured area. After listening to the debate on this issue during the last Congress, I, for one, believe that such a CPA right was at least intended and that the legislative history of the Holifield bill would be strong enough to sustain that conclusion.

However, we can let the Chairman speak to that for himself. If such was the intent, and if the language of H.R. 21 is not clear enough to satisfy all concerned, we now have the time to report a bill with more precise language.

I might say, at this point, that I am beginning to hear many more negative comments this year than last on granting the CPA the right to intrude into informal activities of other agencies. It goes without saying that we now also have the time to review the language on all bills and to minimize appropriately any risks of delay or disruption. We will be asked, I am sure, to drop the whole notion of allowing the CPA to enter any informal activity as of right. I have yet to hear, however, the grounds upon which such an across-the-board exemption would be justifiable.

SUMMARY

Mr. Chairman, in summary, let me say that I hope we can emphasize the great similarities in these three CPA bills, and resolve fairly and definitely the areas of controversy.

These bills are complex proposals, and we shall all bear a heavier burden because of this fact. Few, inside and outside of Congress, will understand these bills as well as us. We shall have to make great efforts to assure that whatever bill we do produce is not again misunderstood by our colleagues, the press, and—most important of all—the consuming public.

Thank you.

AMERICAN INDIAN DAY

HON. MARIO BIAGGI

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. BIAGGI. Mr. Speaker, tomorrow marks the celebration of American Indian Day, a day on which we honor the nobility and rich history of the first Americans, the Indians. Yet, it is a hollow celebration in light of the continuing neglect by the American Government of the problems of the Indians.

The year 1973 has been marked by an emerging militancy by the American Indian against the problems which they have experienced over the years at the hands of the American Government. While I cannot condone such incidents as the takeover of the Bureau of Indian Affairs offices, and the siege at Wounded Knee, I can sympathize with the issues which led to these acts. It is time that the American Government accorded the Indian the same basic rights and privileges which other Americans enjoy.

This can be accomplished by a renewed commitment to the ideals of providing the American Indian with a true voice in our Government. A realignment of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is neces-

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sary so that more representatives of the Indian community are involved in the decisions affecting them. Other steps to improve the quality of life on Indian reservations are needed. Indians suffer the shortest life span of any Americans, are subject to greater deterioration of health; are poorly educated and have a limited opportunity for improvement in life, and suffer continued denial of their civil rights in various communities.

I call upon the President and my colleagues in the Congress to begin this long overdue commitment, so that we can truly celebrate American Indian Day in 1974.

STATE OF MARYLAND AIR FORCE EMPLOYEES WHO WON AWARDS ARE LISTED

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, I have received a list of those people from the State of Maryland employed by the Department of the Air Force who have been cited for their outstanding service during 1972 and 1973.

Mr. Speaker, in recognition of these individuals, I would like to have printed into the RECORD the names of the recipients of those awards.

DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE,
Washington, D.C., Aug. 29, 1973.

HON. LAWRENCE J. HOGAN,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HOGAN: This is in response to your letter of July 31 to the Secretary of the Air Force requesting a list of individuals from Maryland who have received honorary awards such as the Distinguished, Meritorious, Commendable, or Valor Awards from the Air Force in the past year.

Enclosed are three lists of names with addresses compiled by our commands in this area, along with the title of the award received and the description of their achievements.

Your continued interest in Air Force matters is appreciated.

Sincerely,

MICHAEL L. SORRENTINO,
Col., USAF, Congressional Inquiry
Division, Office of Legislative Liaison.

HQ. COMD. USAF HONORARY AWARDS—
JAN. 72-AUG. 73

DECORATION FOR EXCEPTIONAL CIVILIAN SERVICE
Boyd, George C., GS-14, 9409 Jones Place,
Laurel, MD 20801.

In recognition of distinguished performance as Command Monitor for the close-out of the "Children Have a Potential" program. Served the Directorate of Accounting and Finance for 21 years. Awarded in June 1972.

Ross, Michael, GS-15, 6851 Tulip Terrace,
Bethesda, MD 20816.

For exceptional service as Director of Training and Commandant of USAF Special Investigations School, AFOSI, from Aug. 68 to Feb 72. Awarded in July 1972.

AWARD FOR MERITORIOUS CIVILIAN SERVICE
Coleman, J. D., Jr., GS-14, 6004 Joyce Drive,
Temple Hills, MD 20831.

For distinguished performance as Director of Civilian Personnel, HQ COMD USAF, from Jan 67 to Jun 73 in providing highly competent, technical leadership in the field of

civilian personnel administration. Awarded in Jun 73.

Cooke, Nannabell W., GS-11, 2020 Brooks Drive, Apt 208, Suitland, MD 20023.

In recognition of accomplishments of 17 years in providing outstanding and effective library services to Andrews AFB community. Awarded in June 1973.

Cuticello, Dominic A., WS-6, 8601 Temple Hills Road, Lot 48, Camp Springs, MD 20031.

In recognition of his outstanding accomplishments and managerial skill from April 1966 to May 1973 in improving supply procedures at Andrews AFB. Awarded in May 1973.

Dyer, Robert E., GS-10, 4795 Huron Avenue, Suitland, MD 20023.

For activities from January 1968 to April 1973 in supervising the controlled growth of and many changes in the Documentation Program at Andrews AFB. Awarded in April 1973.

O'Donnell, Bernard J., GS-15, 14147 Flint Rock Road, Rockville, MD 20853.

For meritorious service as Director of Personnel Investigations Control Center, AFOSI, from Aug 70 to Jun 72. Awarded in September 1972.

Sims, Edward E., Jr., GS-13, 6110 Summerhill Road, Marlow Heights, MD 20031.

For professional skill, leadership and dedication in effectively managing varied administrative duties provided to Registrar's Office at Malcolm Grow USAF Medical Center, Andrews AFB, from July 1967 to August 1973. Awarded in August 1973.

MERITORIOUS CIVILIAN SERVICE AWARDS— FISCAL YEAR 1973

Blaga, George, 8012 Carey Branch Drive, Oxon Hill, Maryland 20022.

Mr. George Blaga distinguished himself by meritorious civilian service from February 1969 to May 1973 as Chauffeur to the Secretary of the Air Force. (Conferred by SecAF).

Epstein, Murray, 11108 Dayton Street, Silver Spring, Maryland 20902.

Mr. Epstein contributed greatly in the establishment of a uniform technical framework for the efficient prosecution of military construction with attendant economies of substantial magnitude and improved design.

Klein, Elizabeth, 5904 Cleveland Avenue, Riverdale, Maryland 20840.

Mrs. Klein was recognized for her outstanding performance of duties in the materiel programming field.

Lerner, Harold H., 14124 Bauer Drive, Rockville, Maryland 20853.

Mr. Lerner was recognized for his outstanding administration of the Air Force Labor Relations Program.

Novicke, Gordon A., 5804 Annapolis Road, Apt. 1007, Bladensburg, Maryland 20710.

Mr. Novicke was recognized for his distinguished performance in formulating realistic logistical policies which contributed to increased efficiency of the Air Force missile programs.

Ruffo, Anthony F., 3421 Senator Avenue, S.E., North Forestville, Maryland 20828.

Mr. Ruffo distinguished himself by meritorious civilian service from March 1969 to May 1973 as Chauffeur to the Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Research and Development).

DECORATION FOR EXCEPTIONAL CIVILIAN SERVICE— FISCAL YEAR 1973

Caffrey, Edith E., 5922 23rd Place, Marlow Heights, Maryland 20831.

Mrs. Caffrey was recognized for her distinguished performance as personal and confidential secretary to the Chief of Staff, Headquarters USAF, from 1 Aug. 1969 through 25 May 1973. Throughout the period of recognition, Mrs. Caffrey consistently displayed the highest standards of professional competence and conduct in meeting the

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exacting requirements of this critically sensitive and demanding position.
(conferred by SecAF)

Jones, Joe C., 909 Hyde Road, Silver Spring, Maryland 20902.

Mr. Jones distinguished himself by exceptionally meritorious service as Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Air Force (Research and Development) from March 1969 to May 1973. During this period, Mr. Jones worked tirelessly to insure a viable and balanced Air Force research and development program.
(conferred by SecAF)

Munves, William, 8204 Bryant Drive, Bethesda, Maryland 20034.

Mr. Munves rendered consistently exceptional service to the United States Air Force as Assistant General Counsel (Procurement) from April 1965 to May 1970 and as Deputy General Counsel from May 1970 to June 1972. He distinguished himself as a dedicated public servant and legal authority across the entire contracting field.
(conferred by SecAF)

MERITORIOUS CIVILIAN SERVICE AWARD—
JANUARY-JUNE 1972

Clark, M. Eleanor, 5510 Surrey Street, Chevy Chase, Maryland 20015.

Miss Clark was recognized for her exemplary service and expertise on matters pertaining to civilian pay determination and leave administration.

Francis, Frankie P., 1913 Oakwood Street, Hillcrest Heights, Maryland 20031.

Mrs. Francis was recognized for her distinguished service and expertise in matters relating to the civilian personnel program and for her outstanding contributions in the area of automation of a civilian personnel management information system and computer assisted personnel program operations.

Pritchett, Duncan N. P., 6912 Oakridge Avenue, Chevy Chase, Maryland 20015.

Mr. Pritchett was recognized for his distinguished performance while serving as Chief, Development and Procurement Division, Directorate of Budget. His judicious and timely application of financial resources in support of critical Air Force plans, programs, and operations made an invaluable contribution to the accomplishment of the Air Force mission.

Perry, Alexander, 4109 Woodbine Street, Chevy Chase, Maryland 20015.

Mr. Perry was recognized for his distinguished performance as a Procurement Analyst, responsible for the development of Air Force positions on new legislation, claims, and releasability of information that resulted in savings throughout the Air Force.

Posten, Yvonne, 6914 Ellerson Street, Clinton, Maryland 20735.

Mrs. Posten was recognized for her performance of duties as Chief, Military Personnel Branch during the period February 1968 through February 1972.

Reiche, Harris G., 11805 Charen Lane, Potomac, Maryland 20854.

Mr. Reiche was recognized for his outstanding achievements while serving as Deputy Chief, Automatic Data Processing Systems Management Division, Directorate of Data Automation.

Wheeler, Mary E., 4514 Willard Avenue, Chevy Chase, Maryland.

Miss Wheeler was recognized for her distinguished performance in the Air Force civilian personnel publications program.

Wells, David W., 9150 Woodyard Road, Clinton, Maryland 20735.

Mr. Wells was recognized for his outstanding contributions which resulted in unprecedented improvements in the retention of a modern and viable industrial base.

West, Raymond H., 4620 Westridge Place, Camp Springs, Maryland 20031.

Mr. West enhanced the Internal Information Program through his superior profes-

sional knowledge of audio-visual techniques, awareness of Air Force information needs, dedication to the highest standards of professional conduct, and diligent application of these principles.
(conferred by SecAF)

Wiener, Monroe J., 8315 North Brook Lane, Bethesda, Maryland 20014.

The recommendation recognized Mr. Wiener for the outstanding performance in the resolution of complex programming problems of major importance to the Air Force and Department of Defense.

DECORATION FOR EXCEPTIONAL CIVILIAN SERVICE

Frederic L. Eisenmann, Luce Creek Drive, Annapolis, MD 21401.

Charles W. King, Ferry Farm, Annapolis, MD 21402.

John S. England, 5704 San Juan Drive, Clinton, MD 20735.

Peter R. Murray, 1704 Dana Street, Crofton, MD 21113.

AWARD FOR MERITORIOUS CIVILIAN SERVICE

Harold E. Baker, 8310 Bernard Drive, Oxon Hill, MD 20022.

Frank G. Brysselbou, 2021 Brooks Drive, No. 805, Suitland, MD 20028.

J. Meredith George, 935 St. Paul Street, Baltimore, MD 21202.

Charles R. Holloway, 41 Holly Road, Sevenoaks Park, MD 21146.

Steven I. Landis, 304 Aragona Drive, Oxon Hill, MD 20222.

Donald P. Rampolla, 6156 Springfield Drive, Greenbelt, MD 20770.

Webster F. Russell, 707 Claire Drive, Arden-on-the-Severn, Crownsville, MD 21032.

Harry J. Sleaman, 5223 Morris Avenue, No. 2, Camp Springs, MD 20031.

Francis X. Brennan, 5610 Chesterfield Drive, Camp Springs, MD 20031.

Ms. Ann R. Digeon, 11300 Marlboro Pike, Upper Marlboro, MD 20870.

Sola W. Gunnoe, 309 Alleghany Avenue, Towson, MD 21204.

Luther T. Lee, Rt. No. 3, Box 109, La Plata, MD 20646.

Marion G. Pritchard, Rt. No. 1, Box 129C, Dunkirk, MD 20754.

Harry E. Roberts, 747 Robin Hood Hill, Sherwood Forest, MD 20770.

Dr. Harvey E. Savelly, 273 Smith Avenue, Annapolis, MD 21401.

Melvin Tanchel, 8017 Carey Branch Place, Oxon Hill, MD 20222.

James F. Wayman, 4306 Karen Street, Skyline, MD 20028.

David Zigler, 1220 East West Highway, Silver Spring, MD 20910.

William D. Wlard, 4800 Cedell Place, Camp Springs, MD 20031.

LEAVE THE MARKET ALONE

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, there is continuing reason to question governmental interference with the traditional supply and demand in the marketplace. This was especially true in our recent experience with beef ceilings. Government action interfered and disrupted the market causing confusion, economic losses, unemployment, and shortages.

Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a recent editorial from the Hutchinson, Kans., News which effectively points out the importance of leaving the food market alone

September 26, 1973

insofar as government controls are concerned:

LEAVE THE MARKET ALONE

Monday's announcement by Dillons of a cut in beef prices undoubtedly will be echoed by other butchers.

The reduction is welcome. So is the increased supply. And both demonstrate how dizzy the market gets when government tinkers with it. Particularly the food market.

The end of a price ceiling on beef logically would have signalled a sudden surge in prices. Logic did not prevail, for a variety of reasons. One was that producers and feed lot operators had held cattle from the market, to show their contempt for being singled out with controls. And also in anticipation of higher prices ahead.

So, what beef could be purchased came in scattered lots, and required the extra expenses of paying packers to process. That kept the prices high. Now, with some cattle coming back in through regular channels, the retail price is going down.

It is a dicey game, to be played from week to week. Consumer demand for beef faded this summer, but as it increases so will the costs. Further feeder cattle supply is down, which indicates a lower supply this winter.

This whole episode can be chalked to the public relations motives behind many administration actions. Keeping controls on beef was strictly a bid to persuade consumers that the government is acting to bring lower food prices.

Now, Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz admits the whole thing was a mistake. "Counter-productive," is his term. "The consumers would have been better off by far had we not put the price ceiling on meat."

Agreed. And so would beef producers, processors, and retailers.

Let the food market alone. It has enough built-in controls through the old old forces of supply and demand not to justify any government controls. It is so complex, with factors that would make it tough even for a computer to digest, that simple enforcement is an impossibility.

OLD REDS LAUGH AT GENERATION JUST PAST

HON. JOHN H. ROUSSELOT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. ROUSSELOT. Mr. Speaker, an article appeared in the Washington Post on Monday, September 24, 1973, which should be read and studied by all Members. The article entitled "Old Reds Laugh at Generation Just Past" reminds us that communism is still a threat to our country, and to the democracy which we all wish to protect. The article points out that in battling for their own civil liberties, Communists are "often joined by sympathetic liberals and non-Communists of the left." Ironically, Gus Hall's basic view is that democratic rights are valuable only to the extent that they aid in the fight against capitalism.

Mr. Speaker, I do not mean to imply that there is a Communist under every bed, but the CPUSA is still very effective in selling their philosophy. This philosophy is rooted in strong Federal controls that preempt States' rights, as well as individual liberties. The Communist role as described by Gus Hall in this article:

Would be to continue as advocates of socialism, to support such a development, to have some sort of relationship with that kind of a party in the coalition sense.

We must be mindful of this fact, Mr. Speaker, and forever vigilant that the legislation we approve does not further socialism and thereby promote Communist doctrines. J. Edgar Hoover in his book "Masters of Deceit," states:

But we cannot afford the luxury of waiting for communism to run its course like other oppressive dictatorships. The weapons of communism are still formidable. They become even more effective when we lower our guard and when we become lax in strengthening our democratic institutions in perfecting the American dream.

I most strongly urge that all my colleagues read this article, and I am now submitting it for their thoughtful attention:

OLD REDS LAUGH AT GENERATION JUST PAST
(By William Greider)

NEW YORK, N.Y.—The objective conditions, as a good Marxist-Leninist might put it, are rather shabby behind the unmarked red door on 26th Street, where the Communist Party U.S.A. resides, a small crumbling office building with hand-me-down furnishings.

Inside, however, the Old Reds are enjoying a quite last laugh on the generation of history just past.

The CPUSA is a weak shadow of its old self, but it is still around, despite snide competition of New Left revolutionaries who belittled it as old-fashioned, despite draconian anti-communist pressures which attempted to smash it over the last 25 years.

"I firmly believe that within 10 years in this country we will have millions of people for socialism, on the order of 5 to 10 million," said Daniel Rubin, the 42-year-old organizational secretary, a young man rising in the gray-haired hierarchy. "Socialism is going to become so popular that we're going to have competing brands. We'll even have 'Rockefeller socialism,' only I'll continue to call it monopoly capitalism."

By its own generous estimate, the party now numbers only 16,000 members (a figure which is grossly inflated, according to the House Internal Security Committee). Yet such buoyant predictions are commonplace among its leaders. By its own terms, the Communist Party U.S.A. is flourishing these days, slowly coming out of its cocoon of secrecy and gradually growing in size. Even its own super-optimistic estimates, however, do not describe the revolution as imminent.

"If you think the revolution is just around the corner and it's not," explained Gus Hall, the secretary-general, "it leads to wrong tactics. Therefore, you have to have a very sober estimate of the process that goes on."

Hall's sober estimate: "The idea of socialism grows in this country. There's no question about that. The growth of our party reflects that. But if you speak about the millions, the mass, they are not yet at the point of socialism."

But Communists are doctrinal optimists, committed to the "scientific socialism" of Marx and Lenin, a faith which promises that history will inevitably reward the true believers. Like a religious convert, convinced that the Kingdom of Heaven awaits him, Communists tend to look upon their calamities as temporary inconveniences.

Carl Bloice, 34-year-old black editor of the party's West Coast newspaper, People's World, remembers the impatience of his young friends from civil rights and antiwar organizations during the '60's, when his own decision to join the Communist Party was so unfashionable.

"People thought they were going to pro-

duce a great deal of change within their youth," Bloice said dryly. "Not within their lifetime—within their youth. The period was marked with great spontaneity and not much organizing. It was like fire brigades going all over the place. We made a longterm commitment to be part of the struggle."

Arnold Johnson has done the long struggle, a 69-year-old party official with silvery hair and a gentle manner. He left Union Theological Seminary in the Depression to organize the poor, went to jail in the Harlan, Ky. coalfield strife of the '30s, spent three years in federal prison in the '50s as a "second-string" defendant in the anti-Communist trials. Considering his own travail and the party's many setbacks, Johnson is remarkably contented with his career.

"There is a joy in the Communist life," he said. "As a matter of fact, I think many of my colleagues who were students with me at the seminary were more frustrated and sometimes even envious that I was free and easy, working on things that they talked about—and I did."

To reach Gus Hall, the leader, you must ride up three floors on a tiny elevator, then climb another flight of narrow marble stairs to the loft, where the passage through a small supply room leads to his office. It is lined with books, from floor to ceiling, including 45 volumes on Lenin right behind his chair and numerous editions of "Capital," the primary gospel.

The oil portrait of Lenin which hangs behind his desk was a gift from Leonid I. Brezhnev, who met with American Communist leaders when he made his state visit to see President Nixon in June. Gus Hall gave the Soviet party chief a portrait of Brezhnev, done by a CPUSA artist.

"It was supposed to be only an hour," Hall said proudly, "but he postponed his trip to California and we talked for 2½ hours. He was very interested in our reactions to his trip and what the people thought of it, especially black people and working people."

Henry Winston, the 62-year-old party chairman who also met with Brezhnev, describes the emerging East-West détente as ultimately positive for the American Communists. "It strengthens the peace movement," he said, "strengthens them against the forces of imperialism that Nixon represents."

But Gus Hall concedes that it also creates problems for CPUSA. "It's a benefit for capitalism, no question about that, but it's not going to solve capitalism's problems," Hall said. "On the other hand, yes, it's going to create certain ideological problems that we have to deal with, for instance, the thing that some elements have tried to spread, that this proves socialism doesn't work, that they need the technology of capitalism to come out of a crisis."

Ignored now in his own country, Gus Hall is still a public figure in the Socialist world. He was the only American at Ho Chi Minh's funeral. His frequent pamphlets on the party line are reprinted abroad, often providing the semi-official rationale for controversial Soviet policies.

His 1968 pamphlet explaining why the Soviets invaded Czechoslovakia was a best-seller, translated into 100 languages, he says. "I'm not boasting; I'm just saying what the fact is," Hall said. "It is the accepted version of the Czechoslovakian events, including in Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. The position did not come from any other place."

For an old radical, born 62 years ago in Iron, Minn., imprisoned as a subversive for nearly eight years and scorned by younger leftists, that worldwide audience is lofty stuff. It helps explain why a confirmed believer might keep the faith, even keep his optimism, despite the party's longstanding failure to threaten capitalism in this country.

"I was born into the party," Hall said. "My father and mother were both charter mem-

bers of the party, Socialists before that, IWW before that. Not only that, but I had an advantage. This community where I was born was largely made up of iron miners who were black-listed for trying to organize a union, so it was a radical community."

At 25, he was organizing steel workers in Ohio, one of the founding members in the brutal struggle that created the steelworkers union. He ran as a Communist for city council in Youngstown under his given name—Arvo Gus Hallberg—so the next year, when he was trying to get a job in the steel mill, he changed it. "I just decided to cut out both ends," he said.

The man still has the lean, muscular presence of a mill worker, a handsome Scandinavian face with stylish gray sideburns, an affable directness which is draped over now with the dense vocabulary of his ideology. Except when he is talking about the strike of '36; then his speech becomes vivid and immediate. It was a violent and decisive conflict, in which Hall organized strikers at Republic Steel in Warren, Ohio.

"It was a very bitter strike," he remembered. "The company had their own police force, submachine guns, shotguns and so on. I've often said the biggest problem a strike leader had in those days was to convince the workers not to use violence because the companies were so violent and it was counter-productive."

Hall was also indicted on a bombing charge. The National Guard found some nitroglycerin in the strike headquarters. "It was a total frame-up," Hall said good-naturedly. After long delays, he pleaded guilty to a minor charge and was fined \$500. When he was drafted for World War II, the Navy tried to reject him because of his past, but Hall persevered and served overseas as a machinist's mate on Guam. By that time, Hall had left the union to become a fulltime organizer for the party.

Those were the best days for the Communist Party—100,000 members in 1943, FDR's "united front" with the Soviet Union, an influential voice in the industrial unions which the Communists helped build, plus the "submarine" members sprinkled through government and the professions.

Then history shook it apart—first a devastating internal clash over the direction of post-war American communism, then the dive underground, to avoid Cold War prosecution, the exposes and trials of the McCarthy period, the shattering revelations about Stalin, the anti-Soviet revolt in Hungary. All of these drove Marxists out of the CPUSA so that by 1960 prudent estimates put the CP membership at less than 10,000—most of whom wouldn't dare tell their neighbors or employers.

The party is issuing membership cards again for the first time in more than 20 years. The Communist Party abolished them more than 20 years ago when "card-carrying Communists" became part of America's common language, an expression of fear and hatred. The new cards, actually, are little red booklets, small enough for a billfold, with spaces for the monthly dues stamps, from 50 cents to \$5 a month, depending on the member's income.

"We have a standing understanding" Hall said, "that this is a privilege of every member, whether they want to announce their membership or not. The great majority of our members are not public and this is in spite of the fact that the policy of the party is to make known as many as possible."

So the long night is not over yet. The first priority of the party is to reestablish its political legitimacy, which is one reason why it ran a lively campaign for president last year. Gus Hall was the nominee, with Jarvis Tyner as his running mate, and they managed to get on the ballot in 13 states and the District of Columbia, knocking down a number of state anti-Communist laws in the process.

The party campaign committees spent about \$200,000 for what it claims was 50,000 votes including 252 in Washington, D.C. (The House Internal Security Committee puts Hall's total vote at 25,000.) According to the financial reports filed with the Government Accounting Office, practically all of that money was raised by collections at rallies. Indeed, the party reported a total of 1,450 CP rallies from June to November, including 13 in Washington. That's a lot of rallies for all of those FBI undercover agents to attend.

"We have some people who want to contribute," Hall explained, "but they can't afford to be identified so they do it through rallies."

The party does have a few of its own "fat cat" contributors, including an 84-year-old retired businessman from Bal Harbor, Fla., who gave \$4,000 to the Hall-Tyner ticket.

"I just got disgusted with all politicians," said M. J. Baker, who is not himself a Communist Party member. "We have these Watergates. I just wanted to give my contribution for a better humanity. I can't take it with me."

The party now claims about 1,000 active clubs, including some new ones in the South, where it was once defunct. The party, however, still centers on New York where as much as 15 to 30 per cent of its membership resides, depending on whether you believe Gus Hall or the House Internal Security Committee.

Rejuvenating a political party which was once labeled a subversive conspiracy has its difficulties. In Washington, for instance, Gus Hall reports that there is an upsurge of new members but the party is proceeding cautiously.

The D.C. party, as Hall notes, was "totally smashed" in the 1950s. The party treasurer, the officer who keeps the membership lists, turned out to be an FBI agent. She was a Virginia housewife named Mary Markward (who died earlier this year), and her revelations sent hundreds of local Reds scurrying for cover.

Now the D.C. club has several dozen new applicants, young people with backgrounds in New Left, black liberation or civil rights organizations. But the handful of older party members, who hung on in D.C. through the lean years, are suspicious.

"We have such an influx of applications," Hall said, "that we decided to take a little time in accepting them and do a little more checking. We think most of them, if not all of them, are honest. Other left organizations have disappeared from the Washington scene and they want to be part of the radical Communist movement. We always assume there are some agents here and there—we assume that."

American Communists, who once tried to work within the two-party system, now foresee its disintegration in the coming years. According to Hall's scenario, as the "two parties of big business" get weaker and fragment into splinter parties, a new major party will emerge—a neo-populist anti-monopoly party, not yet Socialist, but perhaps advocating selective nationalization of some industries.

The Communist role, he predicts, "would be to continue as advocates of socialism, to support such a development, to have some sort of relationship with that kind of a party in the coalition sense."

The working-class, which Hall talks about so fondly, has changed so much since the violent days of the 1930s—de-radicalized partly by the very reforms which Communists helped secure—that his formulations of class-struggle sound quaint and archaic.

"We always recognize," he concedes, "that when you win reforms, there's two effects of that. One is that it does indicate to workers that unity and struggle can win—that's an important lesson. I think workers generally have learned that. The other side

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effect is that it placates the demand and, in that sense, mitigates against the development of militancy. You have to just accept that as a fact of life."

The central hang-up for the American CP, however, has always been its relationship with Moscow. Hall denounces Watergate as the emergence of a police state, then turns to defend the Soviet Union's heavy-handed suppression of intellectual freedom, the harassment of Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn. "They're total apologists for imperialism," he explained. "They're swindlers—political, ideological swindlers."

That reflects a major irony for the U.S. Communists. The cutting edge of their struggle has always involved a battle for their own civil liberties, often joined by sympathetic liberals and non-Communists of the left. Yet Gus Hall's basic view is that democratic rights are valuable only to the extent that they aid in the fight against capitalism.

"I don't take a classless, abstract position on intellectual freedom," Hall explained. "I ask the question—intellectual freedom to what end? Intellectual freedom for what purpose? I'm for the maximum amount of democracy and freedom that is commensurate with the struggle for a progressive direction, for socialism. In that context, I am for the maximum. Anything that goes beyond that, that endangers this struggle and becomes an obstacle to it. I'm for curtailing."

So Gus Hall defends the Soviet Union on the various controversies over human rights, from the Jewish emigration issue to the invasions of other Socialist nations, as necessary to preserve "a progressive direction." That outlook has dominated the CPUSA from the start and it has repeatedly driven away members who wanted their party to take a more independent, more "American line" on such issues. In 1956, when the U.S.S.R. invaded Hungary, the CPUSA lost a huge chunk of its members—perhaps a majority.

Joseph R. Starobin, who was foreign editor of the *Daily Worker*, now a political science professor in Toronto, described this self-inflicted attrition in his recent book, "American Communism in Crisis, 1943-1957."

The CPUSA, of which he was once a member, "built what was by far the most powerful and pervasive radical movement in American life and then helped to shatter it," Starobin wrote. "The record shows, beyond dispute, that it was shattered as much by their own behavior, their inability to choose between the antagonistic strands in their own movement and their impotence to change their course, as it was by the formidable power of their opposition."

That poses an intriguing question for neutral historians of the future. Was the Communist Party crushed, as is popularly believed, by the pressures of McCarthyism, the FBI infiltration and the anti-subversive trials, or was the wound self-inflicted? A lot of ex-Communists think it was the latter.

Over 40 years, Gus Hall has seen a lot of comrades leave the party over various issues, but he has an explanation.

"There is such a thing as getting tired," he said. "Just getting tired of the struggle and, instead of having the courage to say that, you know, you find a kind of excuse, I think that's kind of a human thing."

Some old soldiers fight on. The party chairman, Henry Winston, blind and ailing, still manages to summon the party rhetoric that once stirred larger audiences. Winston lost his sight in federal prison when, he charged, the authorities refused to provide proper medical attention. The brain tumor was discovered too late.

"I'm not bitter, I'm not sore at anyone," the chairman said in his deep voice. "I'm bitter toward racism, I'm bitter toward fascism. I'm bitter toward any form of reaction that oppresses the working class. There's nothing personal in that."

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EXTENSION OF COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH CENTERS ACT

HON. WILLIAM H. HUDNUT III

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. HUDDNUT. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill to extend, for 3 years, and to amend the Community Mental Health Centers Act. This is one of the most important and successful health programs in the country. It is federally funded now in about 500 communities in which approximately 35 percent of the Nation's population lives.

The bill I am introducing provides an important middle-ground position between those who call for virtually unlimited Federal spending for community mental health centers, and those who would end Federal financing of center startup costs. It provides for continued growth of community based care to serve the 1 person in 10 who will require treatment for mental illness during his or her lifetime.

In addition to extending the program for 3 years, this measure includes important changes which will strengthen the existing legislation. For example, it would encourage treatment in the community, rather than in a State mental hospital, by providing a screening service for potential State mental hospital patients and by requiring a program for the followup care of discharged State hospital patients.

It mandates continued Federal funding beyond the present 8-year limit for consultation services, which are important in the early detection of mental illness. In addition, it provides for a greater spread of Federal seed money to the two-thirds of the Nation's communities that have not yet received Federal matching funds by first, placing a per capita limit on the Federal dollars an existing center may receive, and second, discontinuing Federal center support after 8 years with the exception of consultation services. Furthermore, it would permit Federal funds to be spent for all center operational costs rather than just for professional and technical support.

As a former president of the Marion County Mental Health Association, I am very much aware of the great value of community mental health centers. By providing a variety of inpatient and outpatient services, along with consultation services to key individuals and groups, centers have greatly reduced the admissions to State mental hospitals from the communities they serve. The trend nationally in State mental hospital census has continued downward with a reduction for the year ending June 30, 1972 of 32,029 or 10 percent. In Indiana, the population of Central State Hospital has declined from 2,100 to about 850 since the advent of the initial community mental health center. There is no reason why the progress that has already been made cannot be duplicated throughout America.

Among the attributes of the community mental health center system are these: First, it encompasses within a

single system all of the related services available to serve the population for which it is responsible. Second, there is a high degree of local responsibility. Controls and direction are provided by local volunteer boards. Third, the center program, which was to be imitated in each catchment or population area with the Federal funding on a diminishing basis has moved steadily toward ultimate support by State and local government and private sources. Only about 30 percent of the money invested annually in operating the community mental health center program now comes from local and State government; 20 percent comes from patient fees and forms of insurance. Fourth, the center system places major attention on the development of a preventive approach with better and more efficient utilization of limited professional manpower.

The current authorization for the community mental health services program will expire June 30, 1974. However, I am very hopeful that hearings can be completed early this fall on the legislation and that Congress can vote on the bill by the end of the calendar year, thus avoiding the pressure of last minute action. I would point out also that this program is not one which was developed and put together hastily in response to a crisis, but it evolved out of some 10 years of thoughtful deliberations with extensive community planning at State and local levels. The planning process was initiated during the Eisenhower administration and the program has had the continued support of each administration since then.

SUPPLYING OIL BECOMING AN INVOLVED JOB

HON. GARNER E. SHRIVER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. SHRIVER. Mr. Speaker, Richard Boushka, president of Vickers Energy Corp., which headquarters in my congressional district in Wichita, Kans., has forcefully spoken out on the importance of education as one of the keys to solving the Nation's need for petroleum resources. He has pointed out the need to use all of the technical know-how available to find and produce more oil. Mr. Boushka's views are highly regarded by the industry and by those who are concerned about resolving the energy crisis.

Under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a recent article from the Colorado Springs, Colo., Gazette-Telegraph which discusses Mr. Boushka's views concerning the challenges facing the petroleum industry:

SUPPLYING OIL BECOMING AN INVOLVED JOB

The petroleum industry's ability to meet national needs depends as much on education as natural resources.

"The United States is still the world's leading crude oil producing nation, but finding and refining that oil is becoming an increasingly sophisticated process," says Richard Boushka, president of Vicker Energy Corp., natural resources division of Esmark, Inc., a

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Chicago-based diversified international industrial complex.

Boushka was in Colorado Springs the past week for meetings of Vickers Energy's board of directors.

Esmark is a holding company whose three other divisions are: Swift and Company, food; Estech, Inc., chemicals and industrial products; and GSI, Inc., financial services.

"We have become a highly computerized industry, and this is where our educational needs are greatest," Boushka observes.

Computer scientists, usually with advanced degrees, are employed most heavily in the petroleum industry's research and development and staff departments. But Boushka contends that employees in all fields should be trained to use computers to help coordinate operations.

"The right hand must know what the left is doing at all times," he says.

"The days of the old roustabout are gone.

"The petroleum industry can't afford to waste natural gas on the old gushers you see in movies—and it certainly cannot waste time in getting products to consumers. These are areas where computers play a vital role."

Boushka notes that oil is becoming harder to find.

"We must use all the technical knowhow at our command and ability to find and produce more oil depends on it."

He points out that domestic consumption, including imports, is currently about 16.2 million barrels daily. By 1985, this is expected to increase by 50 per cent to 24 million barrels per day.

"Last year, U.S. crude oil production totaled about 9 million barrels per day," Boushka notes. "This must increase unless we want to become totally import-dependent."

"Through the finest education system in the world and the industry's new training programs, we will develop the highly trained minds that are essential in the development of all forms of energy for the U.S. consumer," Boushka concludes.

(WACC) coordinates the planning and zoning policies of over 20 citizen organizations, with over 40,000 members, who reside in Northwest Washington and nearby Montgomery County, Maryland. WACC has been attempting throughout the period of the bill's genesis to have the planning and zoning aspects of the proposed reorganization developed in separate legislation and to have the sections 203, 423 & 492 of the present bill embody three principles: 1.) citizen involvement in the planning process from the very beginning; 2.) separation of long range planning from the direct control of a four year elected mayor; 3.) constructive interaction between federal and municipal planning bodies in the development of comprehensive plans for the District and the metropolitan area.

This effort began with the workshops on the Nelsen Commission Report held in the District Building on March 17 and April 28 (where, incidentally, in Workshop I the seven representatives of citizen associations were outnumbered 2 to 1 by District department employees and "special interest" groups) and continued with testimony presented by Mr. Peter Craig on behalf of the Committee of 100 on the Federal City, June 8, before the D.C. subcommittee on Government Operations chaired by Rep. Brock Adams, WACC continued to present the issues in a series of letters addressed to Rep. Charles Diggs, Rep. Adams and the other members of the D.C. Committee, dated June 12, June 24, July 9 and July 17. On July 12 Mr. Peter Hornbostel attempted on behalf of WACC's 40,000 citizens to present testimony to the full District Committee and was denied by Chairman Diggs. Mr. Hornbostel's statement was simply accepted for the record and is now part of the unpublished transcript of the Hearings on H.R. 9056 before the full District Committee.

The bill now before you, H.R. 9682, does not embody any of these principles. The present bill in section 423 states "the Mayor shall establish procedures for citizen involvement in the planning process". Mayor Washington testified before the D.C. Committee on July 12 that appearance by the citizens in the course of Zoning Commission hearings was adequate participation. We consider that this is inadequate and a gross abuse of the citizens since it forces them into a position of continuous opposition. It has been demonstrated in the work of the Citizens Advisory Board for Friendship Heights that the citizens are capable of making a positive contribution and that the resulting product is far superior to that produced by the bureaucracy working in splendid isolation. The remainder of this paragraph in section 423 calls for the Mayor to establish procedures for "appropriate meaningful consultation" with other state and federal agencies. It is not known what the Committee had in mind when they inserted this language, the Mayor has not given his interpretation, but we find it totally meaningless.

Secondly, we view the transfer of the municipal planning function to the direct and sole control of the Mayor as being inherently destructive of sound, responsive planning. On July 13, Mr. Hornbostel proposed to D.C. Committee members the creation of a D.C. Planning Commission as a substitute for section 423 of the bill. The pressures on the Mayor to maximize current tax revenues make rational long range planning a complete impossibility. This is demonstrated by recent Zoning Commission actions. One permits the high rise commercial density presently found only in downtown to be spotted anywhere in the city. The other, the proposed rezoning of the Georgetown Waterfront, is not only in gross violation of the present plan but was done at the very time the National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC) and the citizens of Georgetown are

HOME RULE BILL

HON. ANCHER NELSEN

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. NELSEN. Mr. Speaker, I wish to insert at this point in the RECORD a letter prepared by the Wisconsin Avenue Corridor Committee—WACC. This organization takes strong exception to provisions in H.R. 9682, the "home rule" bill, as they relate to the National Capital Planning Commission, its organization and structure. This group represents approximately 40,000 residents of the District of Columbia and nearby Maryland, who are convinced "that the provisions of H.R. 9682 dealing with the planning and zoning matters work to the detriment of all concerned: City and Federal Government, and the citizens of the District of Columbia."

The letter is quoted below in its entirety.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1973.

The Honorable CARL B. ALBERT,
Speaker, U.S. House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN ALBERT: This month you and your colleagues in the House of Representatives will be considering H.R. 9682, a bill to reorganize the government of the District of Columbia and to provide a measure of self-government to its citizens.

The Wisconsin Avenue Corridor Committee

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working together to develop a plan for the whole area.

Thirdly, we have seen that the system of relying on veto alone (see section 203) produces inaction, stalemate, and escalating costs through continual revisions of finished plans. We are certain that there is a better way and believe that a process can be developed whereby the planners can work together during the early stages of the process.

Finally, in section 492, the NCPC is left in a purely advisory capacity with no provision made for the resolution of those cases where NCPC recommendations are ignored by the Zoning Commission.

We realize that the entire question of planning and zoning and the issue of federal-municipal interaction in that process are both very complicated. One legislative assistant asked a WACC delegation, "If bad planning is good enough for the other large cities why isn't it good enough for D.C.?" Still another told us to be quiet as we could hurt "home rule." Because we find the language to be grievously deficient we can not remain silent. This bill is created to give us a measure of self-government. Many of us have worked long and hard toward this goal. We are convinced that the provisions of H.R. 9683 dealing with the planning and zoning matters work to the detriment of all concerned: city and federal governments, and the citizens of the District of Columbia.

We therefore request that you act to delete these sections, 203, 423 and 492 from H.R. 9683 and that the issues they represent be considered in separate legislation with the care and thoroughness they deserve.

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN P. BARRY,
Chairman WACC.

HOBOKEN, N.J., HOME IMPROVEMENT PROGRAM HAILED BY NATIONAL LEAGUE OF CITIES

HON. DOMINICK V. DANIELS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. DOMINICK V. DANIELS. Mr. Speaker, in the September 1973 edition of *Nation's Cities*, the publication of the National League of Cities, Ivan Silverman discusses a unique program of home improvement undertaken by the city of Hoboken, which is worthy of study by all Members of this House.

Hoboken is one of America's oldest cities. It has all the problems common to our crowded older municipalities. It would have been easy for Hoboken's city government to simply throw up its hands and say: "What's the use?" But the "Mile Square City" has had three mayors in a row, the late John J. Grogan, Louis DePascale, and now Steve Cappiello, who were made of sterner stuff. Despite the fact that these three men did not always agree on all issues they shared a common dream for their city. Each made his own contribution in which they were assisted by very dedicated elected and appointed public officials. Today Hoboken is a city on the way back from the abyss.

Mr. Speaker, in the article to which I have alluded, Mr. Silverman describes the city's highly successful home improvement project which has won Hoboken national acclaim. I am happy to have had a hand in obtaining Federal approval

for this program. It is a good example of government, Federal, State, and local, working together with the individual homeowner. I hope all Members will read this article and see what we are doing in Hoboken.

The article follows:

THE CITY AS A MORTGAGE BROKER

(By Ivan Silverman)

Like many older urban areas, Hoboken, N.J. faced a housing problem of crisis proportions in the mid-Sixties. The city's antiquated building stock was in decline. Property taxes were on the rise. Abandonment was beginning to take its toll.

Recently things have changed for the better in Hoboken, a mile-square municipality on the western banks of the Hudson River opposite New York City. Within the past two years the community of 45,000 has begun to reverse the erosion of its living resources.

In no small measure, Hoboken's turnaround is traceable to its Municipal Home Improvement Project—a home-grown, anti-abandonment unit that has turned the city into a mortgage broker of last resort.

The new program, known locally as HIP, was established in 1971 by Hoboken's Model Cities agency, following an in-depth examination of the city's housing situation.

The core of Hoboken's housing problem, the agency's analysis revealed, lay in the virtual absence of bank financing essential for major housing renovation and repairs. A National Urban League study of housing abandonment in seven cities, conducted in 1970, arrived at similar conclusions about Hoboken's housing picture.

After interviewing local bankers and real estate brokers, Urban League analysts reported that "no conventional mortgage funds are available anywhere in Hoboken for the improvement of existing buildings." Building owners, in other words, had to deplete their savings accounts, or borrow from in-laws, if they wanted to improve their dwellings.

A second crucial point united the investigators. Hoboken has an extremely large number of resident landlords in buildings with one to four units. This on-site owner group could provide the backbone needed in a battle to save housing in Hoboken. Model Cities planners and Urban League analysts agreed.

In 1960, nearly two-thirds of Hoboken's residential structures had owners on the premises—just about the highest landlord live-in rate in the nation. By 1970 the rate had slipped to 60 per cent as many owners abandoned their homes. But it was still exceptionally high.

"The owner-occupancy rate began to curve down in the middle Sixties," Michael Ehrmann, HIP coordinator, says. "We wanted to curve it back up."

As the high, live-in landlord rate suggests, Hoboken has its share of stable neighborhoods—blocks where women polish brass door knobs on Saturday mornings while men sweep the pavement before their homes.

From the outset, HIP's objectives were clear. It had to fill Hoboken's financing vacuum by providing funds for major home renovation. And it had to aid the city's resident landlord population in the fight against abandonment.

From the start, HIP received crucial assistance from Hoboken's civic leaders and governing body. Mayor Steve Cappiello and his predecessor, Louis DePascale, provided backing needed to gain HIP broad support in the community.

To achieve these goals, Martin McCarthy, a New York-based lawyer and housing consultant to Model Cities, devised a deceptively simple plan. McCarthy suggested the use of a two-tier public sector-private sector financing system. Under this approach, building owners receive a "free" interest-reducing

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grant of money in combination with a conventional bank loan or mortgage.

To illustrate: On a \$6,000 home repair job, the homeowner receives a \$1,000 non-repayable grant. When combined with a \$5,000 bank loan, due in seven years at a 7 per cent interest rate, the effective borrowing cost is approximately 3 per cent.

To implement the McCarthy plan, Ehrmann and McCarthy examined several approaches. They considered raising money by selling bonds. They weighed the possibility of working with New Jersey's Mortgage Finance Agency (a unit that sells tax-exempt bonds and then loans the proceeds at low-cost rates to banks, which in turn offer low-cost mortgages). They also looked at the possibility of establishing a loan guarantee fund, as one way of encouraging banks to lend Hoboken homeowners money.

These ideas are still under review. They may be useful later, McCarthy believes. To start, however, HIP settled upon a streamlined plan. For private sector funds the project turned to bank monies available through existing federally-insured programs, among them Title I of the 1934 Housing Act and FHA-backed mortgages. For public sector grant funds, the project used money from Model Cities' \$2-million annual supplemental budget.

HIP is essentially home-grown. Nonetheless, it does resemble in some important ways Section 312, the Federally Assisted Code Enforcement program (FACE). Like FACE, which is being phased out by the government, HIP focuses upon housing rehabilitation, rather than new construction. Both programs make 3 per cent loans available for major home renovation—although FACE doesn't use the grant/loan system. Both programs are linked by the notion that low-cost money should be available to correct code violations. Beyond this point, however, the paths diverge.

HIP was specially constructed to meet Hoboken's specific problems and to build upon, and preserve, the city's specific strengths. Thus the project limited the use of its grant funds to owner-occupants of Hoboken dwellings. This is not an extreme limitation since 2,400 of Hoboken's 4,100 residences have landlords on the site. (Larger buildings, without on-site owners, are being renovated through other programs, including HUD's Project Rehab.)

In addition, HIP decided against becoming simply another code enforcement project. Once a list of repair guidelines has been met, HIP monies can be used for any reasonable purpose. Code infractions, in other words, aren't a pre-requisite for HIP loans.

"We wanted to promote project amenities to make Hoboken's neighborhoods more attractive. We also wanted to avoid discriminating against owners who had been meeting code requirements," Martin McCarthy says.

After handling basics like plumbing, wiring, and heating, Hoboken homeowners have used HIP funds to remove plaster from walls and expose the brick beneath; to open up closed fireplaces; and to plant trees. One Hoboken resident used part of the low-cost money to erect a turn-of-the-century gas light outside her elegant turn-of-the-century home.

To make sure that tenants, as well as landlords, receive the benefits of HIP resources, the program requires owners to offer apartment dwellers a two-year lease; to accept a limited return on their property; and to sign a non-eviction agreement.

In conjunction with low-cost home repair money, HIP agreements have helped stabilize the rental market in Hoboken.

"With access to 3 per cent funds, homeowners aren't forced to jack up rents in order to meet remodeling costs," Martin McCarthy points out.

To get its program off the ground, HIP had to go outside Hoboken to develop new

financial sources for local residents. Banks in Jersey City, a mortgage banking firm in Plainfield, and other capital sources were tapped. Recently, however, Hoboken banks have become active in making loans through the HIP program.

"After watching out-of-town banks doing business in Hoboken, the local bankers began getting back into the market," Michael Ehrmann says with a trace of irony.

To lower borrowing costs on the newly available capital, Model Cities initially used HUD supplemental funds as interest-reducing grants. In April 1973, after completing nearly 50 successful home repair jobs, HIP received a special \$200,000 grant from New Jersey's Department of Community Affairs to expand its grant-loan program. The new funds represented a breakthrough for HIP—and something of a breakthrough for the department.

"In the past, we've concentrated upon funding large-scale Rehab projects, rather than working through individual homeowners," says Cynthia Jolson, program manager of the department's division of housing and urban renewal. "The Hoboken grant is a trial balloon. If it works there, we may well go statewide with the concept."

The Community Affairs grant, combined with about \$1.25 million in "private" funds which it will generate, will provide low-cost loans for about 200 Hoboken homeowners this year. With these funds, and with this program, the city of Hoboken has, in effect, become a mortgage broker.

Although long-term results are not yet available, the program has already made its presence felt locally. At least in Hoboken, home repair fever seems to be contagious.

In the future, in light of the increased flexibility expected to be given to cities through bloc grant funding, HIP may be of more than local interest. Cities wishing to support housing development and to preserve their older neighborhoods, might consider developing their own home-grown public sector/private sector programs.

Officials from several New Jersey municipalities—including Newark, Asbury Park, and Elizabeth—have visited Hoboken recently to examine the HIP blueprint. And, lawmakers interested in housing and urban affairs have been in touch with Michael Ehrmann and Martin McCarthy. The legislators say that HIP's approach to home repair just might be the prototype for housing laws of the Seventies.

AMERICA NEEDS US TO VOICE OUR LOVE OF COUNTRY

HON. BILL NICHOLS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. NICHOLS. Mr. Speaker, while reading the Sunday, September 23, edition of the Birmingham News, I came across an article by Dr. Max Rafferty. In the article Dr. Rafferty takes to task those who seek to rundown, degrade, and through nefarious ways, imply that America is no longer a country of freedom, justice and humanity. Nothing could be further from the truth. America has repeatedly shown its care for those less fortunate and still remains the bastion among all nations for freedom which we all hold so dear.

I would like for each Member of Congress to read this column and would like to compliment Dr. Rafferty for his call of love to America:

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

RIGHT OUT LOUD—AMERICA NEEDS US TO VOICE OUR LOVE OF COUNTRY

(By Dr. Max Rafferty)

I know it's the duty of every educator to correct illogic, combat ignorance and strive valiantly against sheer stupidity wherever and whenever found. A teacher all my life, I've done my share of said correcting, combatting and striving, so I should be hardened and weathered to the task. Yet every now and then, examples of arrant asininity crop up to befall me, and I find myself losing my cool and even raising my voice.

Consider the case of one of my colleagues, a Rochester, N. Y., high school art teacher named Mrs. Susan Russo whose sullen silence during her classroom's Pledge of Allegiance was recently upheld by our stalwartly patriotic Supreme Court. Mrs. Russo, it seems, refuses to profess her loyalty to her country because she considers its assurance of liberty and justice for all to be hypocritical."

Similarly, Ohio Rep. Thomas Bell a few months back became the first legislator in that state's history to vote against a routine resolution to have the Buckeye State's House members pledge allegiance to the Flag on the first day of every session. This 24-year-old lawgiver says he's "opposed to making a mockery of my country's sacred documents by continually reciting a pledge that we continue to violate."

Of the two, I consider Ms. Russo's blatherings to be the more reprehensible, if only because one would expect a schoolteacher to have more sense than a state assemblyman, but there's actually not a goat's worth of difference between this precious pair. Granted that an American has the right to hate his country if he has a compelling urge to do so. Granted, too, that each of us sees identical facts in the light of our own experience and personality. Still and all, the iron laws of logic apply to all impartially.

The rationale behind this refusal to express respect for our country is that she isn't perfect. The pledge mentions "freedom and justice for all." We haven't yet achieved perfect freedom, says Mrs. Russo, so such a statement is hypocritical and she won't join her children in expressing loyalty to their common country.

Oh, come off it, Mrs. R. So we haven't attained perfect freedom yet. Your mother didn't give you perfect freedom, did she? But did that prevent you from loving her? And telling her so?

Since when does a goal have to be achieved in order to be pledged?

Then there's Rep. Bell.

To him, ideal justice is still somewhere in the dim future. Tell me, Mr. Bell, does your wife always treat you justly? And if, being human, she doesn't, are you therefore going to stop loving her? Or telling her of your love?

You're going to have a fine, rewarding marriage, my friend. Just as you're going to be a fine, rewarding citizen, I don't think.

Teachers should teach their pupils, and representatives should inform their electorate, that it is always good to seek after perfection. The very search for such a goal cannot but ennoble who take part in it. But they should also teach that to demand divine faultlessness as a prerequisite to love or to public expression of that love—whether of one's mother, one's wife or one's country—is to banish love effectively and completely from human affairs.

America is human, created by humans, populated by humans, not by gods. As such, she will fall humanly short of perfection from time to time. The Founding Fathers never pretended that they were putting into operation a system that guaranteed freedom, justice or anything else; all they did was to provide a permanent hunting license for each succeeding generation in the eternal quest for these elusive goodies.

But with all her faults—and what other

country advertises its faults as compulsively and obsessively as do we?—America is still far and away the fairest and the freest of all the nations of the world. Watergate proved that for all mankind to see, with the stark and public retribution which followed inexorably in its sorry wake.

America needs our love, and she needs to hear about it from us, even as our own loved ones do.

What's wrong with telling her once in a while? Right out loud. (c)

RAILROAD RETIREMENT ACT

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. BROYHILL of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, the Railroad Retirement Act of 1937 includes a longstanding inequity which I hope to correct by today introducing an amendment to that act.

This amendment would provide that a retired worker, receiving annuities under the act, may elect to be subject to a system of deductions from his annuity on account of outside earnings instead of being subject to the prohibition against returning to the service of the railroad or of his last employer.

The Railroad Retirement Board administers the third largest public retirement program in our Nation, after the social security program and the public employees retirement plan. In the year 1972, 1,098,000 retired railway workers received \$208,374,000 a month in benefits.

As we all know, this is a very important program which affects very directly the lives of millions of our citizens.

Since its establishment in 1937, the program has provided partial protection against loss of income resulting from old-age retirement, permanent disability, death, unemployment, and illness for the Nation's railroad workers and their families.

In addition, the Railroad Retirement Board participates in the administration of the new Federal health insurance program for older citizens.

Under the Railroad Retirement Act, benefits are paid to workers who retire on account of old age or disability, to their eligible wives, and to their surviving widows, children, and parents.

Under the related Railroad Unemployment Insurance Act, benefits are payable to unemployed or sick railroad workers. The health insurance program established by the Social Security Amendments of 1965 covers railroad retirement beneficiaries and aged railroad workers on the same basis as other qualified older citizens.

To be eligible for these benefits, a railroad employee must have at least 10 years of railroad service. Full retirement annuities are payable to employees aged 65 and over, and reduced annuities are payable before that age under certain conditions; in particular, disability annuities are payable before the age of 65 if certain requirements are met.

Wives of retired employees are eligible

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for full annuities if they are aged 65 or over, reduced annuities begin at age 62 if the wife so chooses, or have children in their care. Monthly and lump-sum benefits are payable to survivors of deceased railroad workers under certain conditions.

For the past 36 years this railroad retirement and insurance program has been an important part of the lives of millions of our people and has brought increased security and happiness to them.

If this amendment is adopted, I believe the program will be substantially improved and a long-standing inequity corrected.

It seems very unfair to me to prohibit a man who has worked for a railroad all of his life and acquired considerable skills and experience to be denied the opportunity to continue to use those skills in the Nation's service should he so desire. Since the primary purpose of the act is to guard against loss of income after the age of 65 it would seem to me to be equally fair that some adjustment in the annuities to be paid to workers who choose to continue working for a railroad after the age of 65 be made. This is why I have included a provision that a system of deductions from his annuities related to his outside earnings be established.

I am convinced that this amendment will be welcomed by many railroad workers who believe that the present system is unfair to them and results in a loss of valuable skills to the Nation.

FAVORS PARK IN KANSAS

HON. LARRY WINN, JR.

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. WINN. Mr. Speaker, it was in July of 1971 that I first introduced legislation to establish a Tallgrass Prairie National Park in Kansas. Although no action was taken on this bill during the 92d Congress, I have reintroduced the measure again this year.

To refresh the memory of my colleagues, let me say that this bill would authorize the Secretary of Interior to purchase and obtain interests in lands in Kansas which are necessary to preserve portions of the tallgrass prairie. This bill would involve no more than 60,000 acres of land in the Flint Hills of Kansas, and this constitutes less than one-third of 1 percent of the State's grassland.

Moreover, the legislation would create a research area within the park which would prove invaluable to scientists investigating the effects of grazing on our land or searching for new, robust varieties of grasses for cattle.

I realize, of course, that the ranchers in the Flint Hills love their land, and they take care of it. Nevertheless, however sincere their efforts, they have altered by their presence, the grassland ecosystem of flowers and wildlife which met the pioneers. It is this ecosystem

which I would like to restore and preserve for future generations by withdrawing from productive use a small portion of this prairie.

While I recognize that buying up this land could create inconveniences for a few landowners, I believe there is a national interest here in not letting the prairie be lost forever. Already there is too little prairie which has not been damaged or destroyed by pipelines, power lines, roads, water impoundments, or other manmade intrusions. Past prairie park proposals in other States have become dead issues when the remaining prairie simply disappeared while the proposals were being considered. I do not want to see this tragedy repeated in Kansas.

I have received a great deal of mail on this subject—some in favor of the park, some against. At this time, I would like to share with my colleagues a letter written by a young man in my congressional district. His feelings on the necessity for preserving nature deserve serious consideration and attention.

The letter follows:

PRAIRIE VILLAGE, KANS.
September 8, 1973.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN WINN: My name is Jack Hylton. I live in Prairie Village. I'm a boy scout in troop 91 age 11. I'm writing to tell you that I'm in favor of establishing the National Grassland Park in the Flint Hills of Kansas. I love nature all of wildlife is special to me. I think that putting in the park would be a very good idea. Nature I think is a place to feel like your troubles have all gone free just a free mind with nothing to think about. It's a place to open your eyes to see what God gave us. All man has done with nature is to destroy it pollute water and air and our land. They have not opened their eyes to see the world of nature. To me nature is more important than grazing land for cows. We saw a small herd of buffalo near Wamego Kansas. It would really be neat to go and see some that are in their own little pasture but with animals that they lived with before.

Sincerely,

JACK HYLTON.

SENATOR ERVIN AND THE WATERGATE COMMITTEE: A RESTORATION OF FAITH IN AMERICA

HON. BELLA S. ABZUG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Ms. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, I recently read a thoughtful letter which I believe clearly states the conviction that the function of the Select Committee on Campaign Practices is vitally important to the democratic processes of our society. The text of the letter from Hans Steinitz, the editor of AUFBAU, a weekly newspaper published in my district, follows:

AN OPEN LETTER TO SENATOR SAM ERVIN

JULY 31, 1973.

HON. SAM J. ERVIN,
Senator of North Carolina, Chairman, Senate
Select Committee on Watergate, Senate
Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR SENATOR ERVIN: The purpose of this letter which I am taking the liberty of

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addressing to you at this time is to thank you, Senator, for having restored my faith in America. I am doing this not only in my own name but also on behalf of a large number of fellow Americans who feel as I do.

I am the editor of the weekly newspaper AUFBAU, published in New York City, which is the organ of the German speaking Jewish community whose members have immigrated to this country during the thirties and forties as a result of the Hitler persecution in their native land, Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia etc. Being the editor of their own community newspaper, I have been approached by many of them with expressions of admiration for you personally and for the work of your Committee. I, therefore, feel authorized to speak for them and to express their feelings as well as my own. To be sure, I have no formal mandate to do so, but many, I am confident, will wholeheartedly concur with me.

When we first came to this country, our hearts were filled with gratitude. We had succeeded in having escaped tyranny, persecution, thought-control, police states and totalitarian contempt for law and individual freedom. Upon arriving in New York harbor, we greeted the Statue of Liberty with tears in our eyes; we became American patriots over night and willingly and enthusiastically served in the American Armed Forces when called upon to do so in the years of national emergency.

However, as of late feelings of disappointment began to creep into our hearts. To be sure, most of us had acquired a satisfactory standard of living for ourselves and our families, permitting us to live in comfort and security, but the air we were breathing was no longer the air of the 1940s. What had become—so we kept asking ourselves—of the land of the free, of the Home of the First Amendment? Have we really sworn allegiance to a country that is now being run by narrow-minded men without vision who were betraying our hopes and ideals? Do we have to be afraid to speak out loudly while the star-spangled banner is flying over our heads? Do we have to be afraid to cast our vote freely and are we still telling the truth when we say to our children that all is well in America as long as an elected President stands guard in the White House, preserving our laws and traditions?

Many of us were tormented by grave doubts and unanswered questions. But I am happy to say that at last our minds are at rest. Again, we are breathing easier, again we can walk around proudly. Thanks to some honest, courageous, upright and freedom-loving men, our faith in the United States and in all that this country stands for has been restored. Your wisdom and kindness, Senator, your righteousness and your unwavering devotion to the Constitution, your human understanding and respect for your fellow-citizens have restored our faith; and so have all the other Senators, within and without your Committee who feel as you do. So has Judge Sirica and his grand jury, so have some fifty or hundred newspapermen and radio commentators, and so have all the others who helped defeat the sinister attempts to reduce the United States to the stature of a police state.

I have not had the honor of meeting you in person, Senator, but let me repeat in writing with all the warmth and sincerity at my command that I am grateful to you for having given me back my pride of being an American. Please accept the vote of thanks of one who speaks for many and who in all humility wishes to express to you and your associates a boundless gratitude and admiration.

Sincerely yours,

HANS STEINITZ,
Editor of AUFBAU.

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TRIBUTE TO SPENCER H. SMITH

HON. JOSEPH M. McDADE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, just a few short weeks ago there was a ceremony at the Department of Interior to pay tribute to Mr. Spencer H. Smith, who was leaving his post of Director of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife. Mr. Smith was granted the Department of Interior's Meritorious Service Award by the Secretary. That award read as follows:

In recognition of outstanding leadership and significant accomplishments in the field of natural resource conservation.

Mr. Smith's career has been characterized by an extraordinary ability to manage programs and organizations and ingenuity in developing solutions to complex natural resource problems. As Assistant Regional Supervisor of River Basin Studies in Atlanta, Georgia, his effectiveness in negotiating water management and mitigation plans with the Corps of Engineers and local drainage districts commanded the respect of other Federal and State agencies and materially benefited the Bureau's resource management programs in the Southeast. Mr. Smith has capably served the Bureau and the Department as the first Assistant Regional Director—Operations in the Bureau's Atlanta Regional Office, and as Acting Assistant Director—Cooperative Services. He successfully developed criteria for the protection of Alaskan fish and wildlife in conjunction with a Secretarial task force charged with establishing guidelines for the development of Federal lands on the Arctic North Slope, and he has discharged numerous other critical assignments for high level Departmental officials in an outstanding manner. As Director of the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, Mr. Smith has infused new life and direction into the organization and has succeeded in improving the effectiveness of the Bureau's resource management programs by instigating a new system of management by objectives. Under his inspired direction, a new and functional organization has become a program budgeting scheme has been adopted reality. In recognition of an outstanding career in natural resource administration, Spencer H. Smith is granted the Department of the Interior's Meritorious Service Award.

I have known Spencer Smith in his work as Director, and I know few men as deserving as he for such an award for meritorious service. In fact, it was his fourth such award.

Spencer Smith is no bureaucrat; he is a man who gets things done. In every office he has held—aquatic biologist with the Bureau; chief of fisheries with the Mississippi Game and Fish Commission; Assistant Regional Supervisor of the Bureau's Atlanta Office; Assistant Regional Director of the Southeast Region; Assistant Director of Cooperative Services in the Bureau—his whole life has been summed up in action. He found the problems; he faced the problems; he solved the problems.

He had the talent to work with other departments of the Government when there was a crossing of jurisdictions, and he had the capacity to run his own de-

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partment with the intelligence and clarity of vision we all hope to find in our leading civil servants.

I want to pay my own personal tribute to Spencer Smith as he leaves the directorship of the Bureau. I will miss him; I will miss his competence; and the whole Nation will miss the outstanding service he gave all of us in his work.

I do not have to wish Spencer luck in his new work. He does not need luck. To whatever job he will ever choose, he will always bring the same determination, the same talents, the same intelligence, and the job will be done better than any other person could have done it. He is a splendid man. He has served America well. We are indeed fortunate that he will continue to offer his wise consul to the Department of Interior and through it to the people of the United States.

POSTAL RATE INCREASE WAY OUT OF LINE

HON. RICHARD H. FULTON

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, the recent announcement by the U.S. Postal Service that it intends to increase first-class postal rates by 2 cents and rates of other classes of mail by an average of 25 percent is a disgrace wrapped in a scandal.

The disgrace is that these proposed increases are inappropriately inflationary and come at a time when our Government is fighting to keep the Nation's head above very troubled economic waters.

It is a scandal because these increases are further evidence of the failure of the U.S. Postal Service to fulfill its mandated task of providing improved postal service and operating with improved cost efficiency.

Ironically, the Postal Service cites efficiencies employed by second-class patrons as one of its reasons for increasing second-class rates by 38 percent. In his appearance before the National Press Club on Monday, Postmaster General E. T. Klassen said the 38 percent increase in second-class rates is necessary because a number of publications have cut the weight and size of their publications to reduce their postage costs. This, in turn, has resulted in reduced postal revenues.

What is the poor second-class patron to do. If he tries to cut costs by reducing his use of the mails his efficiency is rewarded by financial loss.

If the Postal Service cannot reward efficiency and sacrifice any better than this I believe the Postal Service concept should be declared bankrupt and the Congress should restore it to its former departmental status.

However, the future of the Postal Service is another matter for consideration.

For the present I am going to urge, as others are doing, that the Cost of Living

Council not only hold public hearings on this rate increase proposal but deny them.

The inability of the Postal Service to perform as it has been charged and has promised to do is no excuse for penalizing the postal patrons of America with unwarranted, inexcusable, and inflationary postal rate increases.

MILITARY PAY

HON. ROBIN L. BEARD

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. BEARD. Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, the 16th of September, the Washington Post carried a front page story headlined "GI Earnings Rated Above Civilian Pay." The story was based upon a Library of Congress study done for the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. ASPIN) who labeled the study's findings "a real jolt." I agree with that assessment, and I believe that our distinguished colleague from Wisconsin has highlighted the glaring disparity that continues to exist between military and civilian compensation.

Although the study itself notes that the civilian income figures are "rough estimates" the results still make clear the fact that military compensation trails that which is available in the civilian sector. The study report made available in full in the RECORD for September 19, 1973, discloses that the civilian sector figures were computed based upon "employee compensation per manhour" using a 40-hour week for a total of 2,080 paid hours per year. No comparable manhour comparison was made, used, or attempted by the study's authors for the military.

It is here that Mr. ASPIN has performed a valuable service for all of us concerned with proper compensation for our military men and their families. Any of us who have served in our Armed Forces at any time in the past three decades or so know that overwhelming members of our servicemen routinely experience 50-, 60-, 70-hour weeks, sometimes for months on end.

I probably need not remind any of our colleagues, Mr. Speaker, that these are involuntary hours of overtime. The individual soldier, sailor, airman, or Marine, cannot strike over this issue as the employees of one of our larger automobile manufacturers just have. Perhaps Mr. ASPIN would care to inquire further into the obvious element of inequity between the civilian and military sectors.

There is simply no provision in the pay schedules of our Armed Forces to compensate our military men for anything over the 40-hour week upon which civilian pay per manhour of work is based. In striking contrast every hour over the basic 40-hours work week is fully compensated in the civilian sector usually at a higher rate than that used for the regular 40-hour work week.

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I would urge our colleague from Wisconsin to continue and enlarge his study of military versus civilian compensation. If our goal is reasonable comparability, this first "rough" effort strongly suggests how much remains to be done in this area so vital in an all volunteer era. One additional area of military compensation which could bear much more study than it has received is some way to compensate military families for the long months of separation military service so routinely requires.

Mr. ASPIN's effort is a good beginning. It should be pursued further, particularly at a time when we are all watching with growing concern the obvious faltering of the all volunteer experiment.

HARLEM PREP

HON. CHARLES B. RANGEL

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, as we enter a new school term with schools opening throughout the country, a tragedy occurred in Harlem. Harlem Prep one of our primary hopes for a viable alternative to the public schools which have so badly failed our community was not able to accept students for the new term.

Harlem Prep, perpetually in financial crisis since its beginning, had finally come to the end of its road. Despite many efforts from all segments of the community, including efforts by the Harlem Prep students themselves to keep this vital community institution alive, we were not able to raise enough money and also unable to convince the foundations and corporations who had aided Harlem Prep in the past to continue their support. There is a possibility that Harlem Prep, through associating with the New York City Board of Education, will be able to obtain sufficient funding to remain open.

Association with the board of education however, although it means renewed life for the Prep, means also new restrictions and a basic change in the educational philosophy and concepts which have proven so successful in turning kids who has rejected education into college-bound highly motivated students. The current issue of Time magazine has an article on Harlem Prep's record, its current situation, and future prospects.

I place this in the RECORD for the information of my colleagues in the hope that many of you will become interested in the continued existence of Harlem Prep as a free and independent entity in the Harlem community.

VALE, HARLEM PREP

It was opening day last week at the rehabilitated supermarket known as Harlem Prep, and some 400 would-be students gathered in the auditorium beneath a large sign bearing their African motto: *Moja Logo* (brotherhood, unity). Headmaster Edward F. Carpenter greeted them with a somber announcement—they had come for nothing, no new students would be accepted. "We thought we were producing here, and we

thought we would be rewarded," said Carpenter. "But we have no money. We can't take you."

So ended, apparently, one of the nation's most enterprising experiments in private schooling for the dropouts of the ghetto. Harlem Prep was born in 1967 out of a mixture of inner-city violence, white guilt and black hope. At a time when 65% of New York's black and Puerto Rican students were dropping out before finishing high school, not even the vast promises of Lyndon Johnson's Great Society legislation seemed to be providing enough immediate help. So Eugene Callender, a Harlem minister and local executive director of the Urban League, recruited a white college dropout and three nuns and opened his school in a vacant armory. Within a year, aided by \$350,000 given to the Urban League by six corporations and foundations (which later grew to some 50), Callender had organized 49 students into Harlem's own tuition-free Exeter, complete with blue blazers.

Those were symbols, but the whole idea of Harlem Prep was to alter the basic prospects of ghetto dropouts. Instead of routine vocational courses, half-heartedly taught, Harlem Prep stressed college-level math and English, economics and biology. It did not grant a diploma until a student had been accepted into college.

"We'll help anyone as long as he's not an addict," said Callender's successor, Edward Carpenter, 43, a veteran math teacher. He alternately cajoled, encouraged and threatened his pupils. "Nobody hears the word dropout or delinquent around here," he told them, "but this is a workshop, not a picture gallery. If you don't want to work, don't come."

At the same time, the rules were flexible, the discipline light. "People didn't force you to do anything," recalls Jacqueline Williams, 20, who came to Harlem Prep last year when she was "discharged" from her public school, because, she explains, "I talked back to teachers. Here you don't get suspended if you don't work, but somehow, when it's up to you, you feel a real push to learn and get on." According to Math Teacher Erskine Keary: "We don't give our kids just one chance. We give them three and four—as many as they need."

In six years, 637 of the 1,100 students who attended Harlem Prep went on to college, some to Harvard, Radcliffe, Vassar, Brown, and the University of California. But in those same years, the anxiety over ghetto upheavals has also decreased, and so has the concern of private donors. About half of Harlem Prep's supporters have turned to other programs. Says Exxon's Spokesman Richard F. Nebblett: "Most corporations structure their grants to demonstrate innovation. They can't fund an independent program ad infinitum."

SENSITIVE SPIRIT

After the announcement that the school could take no new applicants, students set out with tin cans to seek donations from the neighborhood. It was a futile gesture (previous drives have raised merely 5% of the school's expenses). The only solution, apparently, lies in the public school system to which Harlem Prep was supposed to provide an alternative. The school board has agreed to take over the school—provided that it obeys the rules. Meanwhile, unpaid teachers are continuing classes for the 180 seniors who hope to graduate this year.

If Harlem Prep survives, after negotiations with the board, there will undoubtedly be changes. Only three of the school's 19 teachers have New York City certification, for example. Carpenter himself lacks the administrative credentials required for principals. If the standard public school rules are applied to Harlem Prep, security guards will

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patrol the halls, absent students will be considered delinquent, and anyone over 21 can be barred (Harlem Prep has taken students as old as 28). While board spokesmen have said that they are sensitive to the spirit of Harlem Prep, one official has already suggested that it might be moved from the brightly lit supermarket to a drab, vacant public school nearby.

To some, these changes seem hardly tragic. If the city guarantees the basic financing, some former donors like Exxon and the Ford Foundation indicate that they would again provide special help. Says Exxon's Nebblett: "It is important that alternative techniques of education be part of the public schools. The system should adapt and incorporate change." Others are less sanguine. "All you need to do is to look at the problem in other schools to know what's going to happen here," says Math Teacher Keary. "The public schools just don't work for these kids."

THE TRAUMA IN SEXUAL ABUSE OF CHILDREN

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, I am encouraged that the social problem of child abuse is receiving public attention. The Senate has passed S. 1191. The House Education and Labor Select Subcommittee on Education has scheduled hearings on this bill and related legislation on October 1 and 5. The District of Columbia Subcommittee on Labor, Social Services, and the International Community is also examining possible legislative responses to this problem.

Monday, September 24, 1973, the Washington Post published Judy Luce Mann's article, "The Trauma in Sexual Abuse of Children." Ms. Mann has thoughtfully explored an aspect of child abuse that is sometimes overlooked. Ms. Mann's piece is a useful starting place for those of us concerned about the abuse of children and the health of the American family.

The article follows:

THE TRAUMA IN SEXUAL ABUSE OF CHILDREN
(By Judy Luce Mann)

Sherry's mother was a prostitute, but in late December she was in the women's house of detention, unable to post \$10,000 bond on a robbery charge. She left Sherry, who was then 4½, in the care of a boy friend and his brother and asked another friend, a cab driver, to check on the girl to make sure she was all right.

Shortly after 5 p.m. last Jan. 4, 10 days after the mother's arrest, the cab driver stopped by the hotel where Sherry was staying. He found her on a bed, whimpering with pain. She had been burned, beaten and raped.

Sherry became one of the 257 children who were victims of reported sex crimes in D.C. during the first eight months of this year, according to police sex squad statistics. There were 242 sex crimes against children under 18 reported to police during the first eight months of 1972.

But police, prosecutors and psychiatrists who deal with the children and the molesters say there are no reliable data available on the extent of the problem. And what data are available do not detail who the child molesters were or where the incidents occurred.

Cases reported vary from on-going incest to single, vicious attacks. Authorities say cases such as Sherry's, which require medical attention, are more likely than others to be reported. Most victims tend to be too frightened or ashamed to tell an adult if they are molested.

"Sexual molestation of children is a lot more common than we believe," said Dr. Harold Eist, director of the D.C. Institute of Mental Hygiene. "A lot more common than we would like to believe."

The cab driver took Sherry (not her real name) to Children's Hospital. Annette Heiser, the doctor who treated her, said there were bruises on the child's thighs, legs, buttocks, and face. "She had a hemorrhage in one eye and was bleeding from the vaginal area. There were scratches on her abdomen and arms. Both palms had blisters on them that appeared to be cigarette burns," said Dr. Heiser.

Sherry's mother, brought from the women's house of detention to the hospital, was visibly upset by what had happened. She asked her daughter who had attacked her, but all Sherry would say was, "A man. A man." Sex squad detectives showed her pictures of her mother's boy friend and his brother and asked which one had done it. She identified both. Then she pointed to a doctor in the room and identified him as her attacker.

No one has ever been indicted in the attack. The U.S. attorney's office took the case to a grand jury, which heard testimony from the mother, the two brothers and another prostitute who lived with one of the brothers. Each brother denied his own guilt and said the other brother did it. Prosecutors who handled the case say they had no credible witnesses.

Sherry's case, while atypically violent, illustrates many of the dimensions present in the sexual abuse of children. Prosecutors, psychiatrists, police and medical doctors familiar with the problem say:

Such cases usually go unreported, especially if they occur in the home. The children are silent through fear, shame or the notion that no one will believe them.

The child is the only witness and is often either too young to describe what happened or too afraid to be a reliable witness.

Indictments are difficult to obtain because of insufficient evidence, but once an indictment is returned the defendant is usually found guilty.

Generally, the victims are girls rather than boys, and their assailants are either their fathers, stepfathers, mother's paramour, or a young male relative.

Physical abuse such as beating often accompanies sexual abuse, especially when the child resists.

The child usually is damaged psychologically, but the extent of the damage depends on the brutality of the assault or the extent of time that the abuse went on.

Nan Huhn, an assistant D.C. corporation counsel who specializes in child abuse and neglect cases, has been meeting with representatives of the police sex and youth squad to tighten procedures for handling such cases and to guarantee greater protection to the children.

The sex squad, she said, will now routinely inform the youth division about a sex case involving a child. The youth division is empowered to investigate the home situation and recommend removal of the child to the court. If the father or stepfather is the suspect and if he is released on bail back into the home the child will no longer be in the home to be threatened.

Mrs. Huhn views this cooperation as symptomatic of an increased awareness among public officials that sexual abuse of children is more widespread than statistics show and that it is distinct in some respects from child battering or sexual assault on an adult.

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"One thing that's bad, though, is we don't keep data," she said.

"Usually, how we get these (cases) has been when the older sister who has been abused by the lover, father or stepfather comes to the police because a younger sister is being threatened. The older sister got out; she is no longer afraid; she is tremendously sympathetic to what's happening to her younger sister. This abuse usually goes on three or four years."

"Then there is the single girl situation—one girl in the family, or one who is much older than the other children. The man has assaulted her. Many times, the girls say they've told their mothers and many times the mothers ignore it or won't believe it. The girl puts up with it. Then, something happens. The girl may attempt suicide, which happened in one case, although it was not a very serious attempt. Or she may run away from home."

Mrs. Huhn told of a 13-year-old girl who had relations with her natural father "over a period of time, until she couldn't take it anymore." The child ran away to a neighbor's house but the neighbor said she would have to notify the girl's parents as to her whereabouts. The girl broke down and told the neighbor why she didn't want to go home. The neighbor called the police.

"The girl told me she had never had relations with anyone but her father. Subsequently, she got promiscuous. It was just a reaction to the fact that her father told her not to mess around with boys, then he did this to her, therefore he couldn't be telling the truth."

"These kids seem not to know who to turn to. One thing that's consistent throughout: the kids are afraid. Physical abuse," said Mrs. Huhn, "goes hand in hand with sexual abuse. In many cases, the girls are beaten when they resist. The fathers say they are teaching them the facts of life."

"A lot of the kids feel no one will believe them, and a lot of people don't. A lot of mothers can't accept it. It forces them to choose between the child whom they care for and the man whom they care for. Also a lot of children are afraid the father will find out they've told and usually there are threats not to tell. That and the fact they fear no one will believe them are the two biggest reasons these kids don't come forth. And the longer it goes on the harder it is for them emotionally."

The children's reactions vary, Mrs. Huhn said. "Some of the younger ones are calm because they really don't understand what's happened. Some of the older girls are very nonchalant. Some kids come in here and go hysterical."

"The youngest case I ever took to trial was a 6-year-old girl who had been raped. She knew something was wrong. She could be very specific right up to the sexual encounter and right afterwards, but she couldn't discuss the encounter. She would start crying. All of them—both the boys and the girls—all seem embarrassed. Like they're the criminals. Fear and shame are the two feelings they all seem to have."

W. R. King, chief of the grand jury section of the U.S. attorney's office, said cases involving sexual abuse of children are among the hardest to prosecute. "The difficulty with sexual abuse is that most are of a fondling nature that don't leave any physical evidence. In child beatings you have scars, which is not the case in indecent liberties."

"The wife is also often the only corroborating witness. She refuses to testify (against her husband), which she can do. These things are weird. They come out of drinking, jealousies between members of a family. You're all right if you've got a child (who is) 10, 11 or older. Then you can communicate with the child. But what if the child is under 10? It's very difficult to use him as a witness," King said.

He said a prosecutor must also consider the damage done to a child who is forced to take the stand. "Is it worth it?" he asked.

King said the "overwhelming majority" of the cases involve "male defendants and female victims, and occasionally an adult male and male child."

They are prosecuted under several laws, including rape, sodomy, indecent liberties with a minor or enticing a minor to a place for the purpose of taking indecent liberties. He estimated that grand juries return "two or three" indictments a month in child abuse cases and "two or three or four" a month in sexual abuse cases. "Not a lot, as you can see," he said.

"Most of them end up in convictions. But that doesn't include all the ones that washed out along the way."

Sexual abuse of children, like child battering, is a crime that crosses economic barriers and the molesters were often victims themselves. The molester can be the senile grandfather, the alcoholic or drug-addicted father or stepfather, a half-brother, a close family friend, the trusted baby-sitter, according to psychiatrists.

Dr. Belinda Straight, a psychiatrist at Children's Hospital, has treated children and adults who were victims as children and said the lack of disclosure applies "even when there is a good parent-child relationship. The child tends to think it's their fault or that they've done something bad. They may also be threatened if they tell anyone."

"I've seen patients from all walks of life—State Department children who have been overseas and in the care of a non-English speaking caretaker where it happened over a period of time without the knowledge of the parents. It happens to middle-class children and children on welfare."

"It can happen anywhere. It can happen from a stranger but more often from the family or family friends," she said. "Obviously, if there is violence, anger or threats involved, it's more frightening. If it's an adult who may be arraigned and the child picks up the fear of the adult, the aggressiveness, the whole experience can be overwhelming and result in severe anxiety."

"The repercussions may be delayed. The child may experience shock and numbness and go about play. Then the depression may set in and last for years and years." She, and other psychiatrists interviewed said such people will often show up in their offices as adults suffering from impotence or frigidity.

"With one girl," Dr. Straight said, "A family neighbor would take her off, give her an ice cream cone and molest her. She felt it would be very unkind to tell on him after he gave her the ice cream cone. Five years later someone exposed himself and she went into a severe anxiety state."

Dr. Straight told of another child who was suddenly and mysteriously paralyzed from the waist down. Six months before she had ridden her bike to a playground and been molested. The child, in thinking about going back to the same place, developed paralysis and wasn't able to ride her bike back."

"Some people who experience this kind of stress situation often have the compulsion to repeat it, even though the experience was frightening," Dr. Straight said.

"Some of the children who've been traumatized this way can become very seductive. They can get others' into trouble. They begin to act out the experience and become very anxious in the process. It can happen as frequently with boys with a homosexual seduction."

Dr. Straight said that if there is a substantial age difference between the molester and his victim, "it can be very disorganizing. The child can't put his mind on learning and becomes prematurely serious. He is caught between two worlds—an adult world and a child's world—at a very young age. Some of

the victims equate sexuality with violence, extreme secretiveness or fear.

"One of the biggest complaints that I hear from adults molested as children or from children is, 'My mother didn't believe it, or didn't do anything about it, or changed the subject.'"

She told of one Foreign Service family with a 50-year-old caretaker who molested the family's 6-year-old daughter. The parents found out what had happened but did not fire the caretaker. "It's a clear message to the child that the child won't be protected," she said.

Dr. Eist said that when the molester is the father, stepfather or boyfriend, "there is often collusion between the mother and the man doing the molesting. The mother, who has the sex hangup, relinquishes her responsibility to the daughter."

"Very often the fathers involved in sexual relations with their daughters are drug abusers or alcoholics. They have a poor relationship with their wife and the wife has a poor relationship with her children."

"The major reason these women keep these men around is that they can't tolerate the dependency demands of the children. They (the mothers) keep him around as a disciplinarian, as a buffer. These parents are very immature people. They turn to their children for their dependency needs, which are often sexual," Dr. Eist said.

Dr. Eist estimated he has treated 100 children who have been sexually abused in the past seven years. "I have not personally seen any child who's been sexually molested or involved in incest who's not been damaged in some degree."

Some of them ultimately turn into child molesters themselves, according to Dr. David Lanham, director of the District's forensic psychiatry office.

"In the history of some of these individuals, you'll find sometimes they have been victims themselves. It is similar to the battered child, but most people have come to believe there is something wrong with people who batter their children," he said.

"Sex offenders cover a whole range and spectrum of humanity," he said. "They range from the mentally retarded, the (person who has) organic brain disease, the psychotic, to the geriatric. Some are under the influence of alcohol and drugs. Just as all human beings are potential murderers, all human beings are potential sex offenders. Obviously, some have the potential closer to the surface."

"There has existed for many years, a category of sexual psychopath. This is what most people think of when they think of the sexual abuser of children."

"Sexual psychopaths are not psychotic, not brain damaged. They are what people generally equate with sexual deviates. He may present himself as a very likeable human being. He may be fairly intelligent, personable, relate well. He may also be a tortured human being, contrary to the portrait painted of them as cold, unfeeling monsters without guilt. That's not necessarily true. The person may be very tortured, guilt-ridden person who wrestles with these impulses, knows that they are wrong, but is pushed by these irresistible impulses."

"A lot of the people we see are extremely dangerous, potential murderers. But not all are. There are sex offenders who are very little likely to be violent with their victims. Some have a more sadistic core."

The child molester, he said, "can become dangerous when he gets scared of being found out and murders the child. These offenses occur in critical times in the individual's life, such as death in the family, separation, severe loss. Anything that will cause depression in another person, may cause him to act it out," by molesting a child.

The molester, Dr. Lanham said, "has poor self concept, immaturity, trouble dealing

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with adult relationships. He doesn't feel competent to approach a mature woman for sex. He fears rejection, so he goes to a situation where he has more control. Deep down these people think of themselves as children. Sometimes when you talk to these people they talk as if they were the victims and the child the aggressor. They feel like they've been seduced by the child."

Sexual abusers of children, he said, often come from "mixed-up families. Some tend to be very isolated individuals, schizoids with big disturbances in relationships all around them."

He and other psychiatrists and prosecutors interviewed knew of few cases in which women were accused of sexual offenses against children. "I suppose they are much less often reported as sexual offenders, probably because there is less aggression involved," Dr. Lanham said. "We occasionally have an alcoholic woman who is charged with seducing boys but that's very rare. There are aggressive homosexual women. These generally do not get reported, but when you talk to women in therapy you find it's happened to them, say, in boarding school."

Both Dr. Lanham and Dr. Eist said the child molester may find himself impotent with adult women and possibly with the child.

"I do know that many of the molesters who are impotent become so enraged at their own impotence that they blame the child," Dr. Eist said. "Then they react violently against the child."

Probably no one will ever know what triggered the violent attack against Sherry. The child remained at Children's Hospital for a month and became aggressive and disruptive, presenting a severe behavioral problem on the ward. Doctors and social workers who treated her had difficulty understanding her speech. They said her articulation was poor although she appeared to be a bright child. They found old, healed scars on her body—an indication that this was not the first time she had been beaten.

Sherry was placed in the custody of the department of human resources and moved to St. Ann's Infant Home in Hyattsville. There, under the care of nuns her speech improved, although she remained an anxious, frightened child. She would sometimes say her mother was dead. Her mother visited her twice a month, always arriving late and always bringing a gift of candy.

On Sunday, Sept. 9, during visiting hours Sherry was kidnapped from St. Ann's by her mother. She has not been found.

ST. MARY'S CHURCH CELEBRATES CENTENNIAL

HON. GOODLOE E. BYRON

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. BYRON. Mr. Speaker, this past Sunday, St. Mary's Episcopal Church in Woodlawn celebrated the 100th anniversary of its founding and its first worship service which was held on September 25, 1873.

I was honored to be among those at the commemoration events which expressed the continuing life in the community for these past 100 years. These events included the Annual Visitation by the Rt. Rev. David K. Leighton, Jr., Bishop of Maryland; a parade through the community; and an old fashion fair including arts and craft displays of yesteryear.

I know you join with me in extending our best to Rev. William H. Fallowfield

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and to all the clergy and laypeople who have served and been served by the parish over the past decades.

THE MILITARY MAW—PART V

HON. PATRICIA SCHROEDER

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mrs. SCHROEDER. Mr. Speaker, more and more is being said lately about Congress' role in reviewing defense requests. An important question, not often asked, is how and by whom the military budget is developed and reviewed within the executive branch.

We seem to assume that the executive process which spawns the budget is rigorous; that policies are sharply debated; options carefully scrutinized; and technological judgments fully tested. More to the point, we act as if there has already been some measure of informed civilian involvement, whether by the Office of the Secretary of Defense or the Office of the President.

In recent testimony prepared for the Senate Armed Services Committee, Richard L. Garwin punctures this illusion. With the forced demise of the President's Science Advisory Committee, he suggests there remains within the executive no independent civilian vehicle to check the technical judgments of the military. This vacuum has broad implications in defining the job we must do in Congress.

Mr. Garwin, a former and distinguished member of PSAC, also explores with a good deal of insight the nature of defense management generally. Relevant extracts from his excellent testimony follows:

TESTIMONY BY RICHARD L. GARWIN

INTRODUCTION

It is a pleasure for me to be able to respond to the Committee's request for comment on the Defense Department budget proposal for FY-1974. On defense-related matters I testified to committees of the Congress in 1972 in support of the SALT Agreements signed by President Nixon, May 26, 1972, and also in support of increased emphasis on Defense Exploratory Development.

BACKGROUND

A brief biography is attached. As a physicist and technical manager, I have worked for twenty years in industry both on basic research, and very broadly on modern technology. I have been Director of Applied Research in the IBM Research Division. For more than twenty years I have worked for one or two months a year or more as a consultant to the United States government or to its contractors on matters of national defense or intelligence, where I have made major technical and programmatic contributions to the design of nuclear weapons, to ABM and air-defense systems, to military aircraft and antisubmarine warfare, to the interpretation of intelligence, etc. My greatest opportunities for constructive interaction with the Department of Defense extended throughout my two four-year terms as a member of the President's Science Advisory Committee from 1962-1965 and 1969-1972. During that time and afterwards, I was a member or chairman of such panels as the Strategic Military Panel, Military Aircraft Panel, Antisubmarine Warfare Panel, Naval Warfare Panel, and of several *ad hoc*

panels dealing with defense problems or opportunities.

The President's Science Advisory Committee and its panels over the years 1957 to 1972 gave a majority of its efforts to the enhancement of national security. It did this in two quite different ways:

1. It assumed a responsibility on behalf of the President to interact continuously with the Department of Defense on technical matters in order to ensure the soundness of the technical approach to the development of new systems and to ensure also that new developments and weapons improvements took advantage of technical opportunities as they became available.

2. The committee assumed for the President the job of assessing technical aspects of U.S. and allied military capability against likely opponents.

It is in this dual role of aiding and assessing military R. & D. on the one hand and assessing military capability on the other that I have spent much of the last fifteen years. The Office of Science and Technology was abolished by President Nixon in a statement of January 26, 1973, and the President's Science Advisory Committee also seems dead. The committee was created in 1957 by President Eisenhower to help him in matters of national security. With the demise of PSAC, the Administration lacks independent technical judgment on military matters. I think it is not generally appreciated the extent to which the Defense Department through 1972 was involved with and to some extent dependent upon the independent evaluations of PSAC. Nor is there a general awareness of the extent to which former and present DOD managers express the need for restoration of a PSAC-like activity in the White House.

In addition to my long involvement in defense matters on behalf of the President's Science Advisory Committee, I have served on the Defense Science Board in the Department of Defense itself, for instance chairing a task force on advanced tactical fighter aircraft which prepared a report for Secretaries Laird and Packard in 1969.

THE NATURE OF DEFENSE MANAGEMENT

The most important questions in defense management are not whether some new weapon system can be built and at what cost. They are rather whether it is worthwhile to buy a certain novel capability which will become effective five or ten years hence, in view of the possible military threats and the technological alternatives on the two sides. Frequently, vast increases in military capability may be obtained by modest modifications of existing systems, while new aircraft or ships in fact offer only mild improvements. In air attack on ground targets, for instance, major improvements of the last decade have come from the incorporation into existing aircraft of LORAN precision navigation systems on the one hand and the use of the laser-guided bomb on the other. However, like any bureaucracy, the Pentagon tends to deny its managers a valid assessment of the options. Even more does it deny such a view to the Office of Management and Budget (OMB), the President, and the Congress. To quote an old friend of mine: "The purpose of a military briefing is not to convey information but to fill time." So long as it remains easier and more productive for the Defense Department to fill the time of the committee than for DOD to volunteer adequate information on its proposed programs and on the *alternatives* to these programs, that is what will happen. Responsible decisions on the major questions of manpower costs, weapon system procurements, phasing down of existing operations, etc., do depend on a presentation of the alternatives, and the same information which is used by the DOD in its decision-making ought in most cases to be available to this Committee. In no sense would this involve the Committee in day-to-day man-

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agement, but it would enable the Committee to exercise its authority more effectively and responsibly.

I support many of the current programs and recent changes in DOD. For instance, the elimination of the draft has increased the cost of manpower to DOD through the removal of an imputed tax on those who were serving involuntarily. Faced with the real cost of manpower, the Defense Department can now make a better choice of weapon systems in order to obtain minimum cost for a given capability. Passage of the Uniformed Services Special Pay Act would give the Department the necessary tools to do this job.

Among the greatest interactions among weapon systems and programs was the *negative* capability contributed by a system with enormous cost overrun. It froze out other systems. It reduced the numbers of aircraft bought perhaps by a factor 2 or 3 or 4 in order to keep the total program cost within bounds, and in many cases provided no net increase in military capability. Thus, "design to a cost" (if it is more than a slogan) can be a significant improvement in the management of defense resources, as can the application of technology "to reduce costs as well as to increase performance."

WHO CRUCIFIED RESPECT?

HON. JOHN E. HUNT

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, the enclosed verse, written by A. J. Dennen, was printed in the most recent issue of *Liberty* magazine. Entitled "A World Calls," it asks questions many of us have been raising for quite some time. I bring it to the attention of my colleagues:

A WORLD CALLS

Who crucified respect?
Who slashed the image of the badge?
Was it an unsuspecting public? shysters?
politics? criminals? police themselves?
the press? novelists? TV? you? me?
Who discovered the intellectual weapon to
accomplish what all brute force could
not—subtle violence to mankind: ridicule planned?
Was it evil's crafty concept to slay the
noble with mud?
What happened to the dream of children long
ago
who wanted to wear the badge of bravery,
to fight for right in the blue of contemporary
life:
good and wise and true, seeking evil to de-
stroy it,
establishing order, making the world a place
to live in?
What happened?
Did infection just slither into the blood
stream?
Wouldn't SOMEman - in - the - world have
stopped THAT?
Who changed "police" to "fuzz"? "officer" to
"pig"?

Who hid the good, wise, true? spotlighted
the stupid, coarse, brutal?

Was it greed? prejudice? apathy? ignorance?
lust? ambition?

Who made him the butt of jokes, dupe of
spies,
fool for seduction and masterminds?

Who nightmares the beautiful?

Aimed the machine-gun at the life line of
order?

Who? What? When? Why?

Will ANYMAN . . . can Anyman . . . re-
store . . . rebuild . . . start over . . . ?

Anyman?

A. J. Dennen

HAPPY BIRTHDAY METROPOLITAN TRANSIT COMMISSION

HON. BILL FRENZEL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. FRENZEL. Mr. Speaker, September 19 represents the third anniversary of public ownership of our bus system in the Minneapolis/St. Paul area and it is indeed a cause for celebration and some well-deserved pats on the back. Our transit agency in the past 3 years has managed to do what few other communities can claim, they have stopped the decline of transit ridership and can point instead to a 16 percent increase in patronage.

In the process, the MTC has nearly doubled its route network and is well along in its efforts to acquire modern equipment. To their credit, the agency has not been afraid to try new approaches including minibus service and free rides for senior citizens in off-peak hours. Probably most important for the long-range success of mass transit in our area, they are beginning to change the image of public transit in the Twin Cities. Prior to public ownership, the stooge system was considered to provide a highly unreliable service. It was an open invitation to take the car. Only the so-called captive riders who had no other options were left to endure the progressively deteriorating service. Today because of the improved service and imaginative marketing, the public attitude is changing and the ridership figures speak for themselves.

Nobody, least of all the MTC, believes that we have won the battle. The mass transit system still carries a miserably small proportion of total trips and the area is embroiled in a controversy now over the direction of future transit development. The recent success of the revitalized bus system have only wetted our appetite. Whatever the decision on long-range transit development, the new bus system is providing a solid foundation upon which to build. Other cities across the country would do well to take a closer look at the transit success story in the twin cities. An article describing our expanded bus service follows:

PUBLIC OWNERSHIP: 3 YEARS LATER

The fabled words of the carnival barker sum up bus riding in the Twin Cities in the late 1960's: "Ya pays your money, and ya takes your chances."

Some aspects of the art of riding the bus in that era were uncertain to the point of a coin toss. Would it be within a few minutes of its appointed arrival time? Would it reach its intended destination, without incident? Would the heater be working?

Other aspects were depressingly certain. The bus would have seen no fewer than six years of service, and maybe three times that. Fewer and fewer locations would have bus service. The fare would be higher next year.

In the late 1960's the bus system was owned and operated by Twin City Lines, a subsidiary of Minnesota Enterprises, Inc. Twin City Lines, like any other private corporation, had to show its stockholders a profit. And black ink alone was not enough; the profit had to be commensurate with the

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return an investor might expect if he took his capital elsewhere.

Consistently delivering such a profit was uniquely difficult in the bus business in the affluent, auto-conscious '50's and '60's. More cars meant more urban sprawl, which meant any bus route would generate less revenue for any given mile. Yet operating over that mile was becoming more and more expensive.

Even with the best of motives, management's options were limited. Unprofitable routes had to be cut back. New equipment was out, and amenities such as bus shelters were unthinkable. As fed-up riders abandoned transit in favor of still more automobiles, higher fares had to be charged to those who remained. Those who remained, of course, tended to be those affected the most by higher fares, people unable to own cars.

The situation was becoming quite intolerable from the standpoint of the quantity and quality of a public service. At the same time heavy reliance on the automobile was bringing with it a whole set of urban problems: periods of traffic congestion, air pollution, excessive freeway construction, poor land use, additional urban sprawl.

It was against this backdrop that the Metropolitan Transit Commission, a public agency established by the Minnesota Legislature, decided in 1969 to acquire the bus system.

By themselves, the words "public ownership" were not magic. Costs to a public agency would rise as fast as to a private corporation. The automobile showed no signs of going away. And a 20-year-old bus with a faulty heater remains so, no matter who owns it.

But when they considered the question of public ownership in 1969, members of the Metropolitan Transit Commission realized there were some distinct advantages to a public agency operating a public service.

Most significant was the ability to shift the emphasis from profit to service. There would be no stockholders demanding the marginal routes be trimmed to protect their return. To be sure, the MTC would be spending public tax dollars, and would need to do so judiciously. But service would no longer depend on profit for its existence.

Moreover, as a public agency, the MTC would be able to apply for federal grants for capital improvements, such as new buses. That the federal government funded such improvements on a two-thirds federal, one-third local basis meant that every local dollar would have three dollars worth of purchasing power.

So, after lengthy legal proceedings, the MTC took the keys of 632 buses and three garages on September 18, 1970. Bus riding was not instantly better. But at that time a systematic program to improve the bus operation was initiated, a program that was to progress steadily into the mid-1970's.

Its objective was to make bus riding attractive again, to lure motorists back into the bus, to reverse an alarming statistic: in the preceding quarter-century transit ridership had dropped to little more than one-fifth of its post-World War II level.

Three years after public ownership began, in September, 1973, the MTC inarguably has a success story on its hands.

That conclusion is inescapable in comparing any facet of bus riding in 1973 with that of 1970.

Take buses, for example. In sheer numbers, the fleet has grown from the 632 buses originally acquired to 710 vehicles. Some 315 of the buses are new replacements for ancient equipment. Making up almost half the fleet, the new buses are all air-conditioned and dependable. By next spring 236 more new buses will have arrived.

Save for the Nicollet Mall, there were no heated passenger shelters in 1970. By September, 1973, 55 had been installed, with 80

more committed. Speaking of the Nicollet Mall, there are now small, QT buses there, as well as in St. Paul and in suburban St. Louis Park, all providing innovative circulation service.

In 1970 there was a sign at each bus stop. It said, "No Parking, Bus Stop." Well and good, if you are driving a car and want to avoid a ticket or a tow, but not very helpful for a bus rider. By 1973 busy downtown corners had signs providing complete route and schedule information for routes serving them. Bus stops served by just a few routes had less elaborate signs identifying the routes by number. All bus stops throughout the metropolitan area were being marked at minimum by the familiar, "T" logo.

Another way bus riders can get information is by telephone. In 1970 the single bus information operator on duty during most periods was only slightly less accessible than the President of the United States. Her nickname was Howard Hughes. The MTC hasn't yet done away with the busy signal, but with additional operators on duty now, an average of 3,500 calls a day are handled, compared with 1,850 in September, 1970.

Besides the physical improvements in the bus system, service itself is much more plentiful today than three years ago. It is also better suited to the needs and desires of area residents.

Today it is a much more accurate generality to assert that you CAN get there from here, and by bus. The system the MTC acquired in the fall of 1970 included 521 miles of bus routes. That figure is well on its way to doubling, now at 930 miles and climbing. Additionally, buses themselves are now logging more miles, reflecting in part greater service frequency.

Express service has been emphasized in the expansions that have taken place, with several hundred miles of express routes now being operated, virtually all of it coming about since public ownership. The fourteen express routes serving the I-35W corridor south of Minneapolis on a demonstration basis are drawing record numbers of passengers, and national attention as well.

The ultimate test of public ownership, of the MTC's improvement program, is the response of the riding public. That is where MTC gains are most impressive.

When the MTC purchased Twin City Lines, ridership had been declining steadily. It had fallen off 13 per cent in the previous year alone, due largely to a strike. Since public ownership, the Twin Cities area has experienced the virtually unique phenomenon of increasing ridership. By the end of 1973 patronage is expected to have climbed 16 per cent over its pre-MTC level.

It is well worth noting that, with all these increases, one factor has remained constant: the fare. There are few things that could be bought in 1969 for 30 cents, which can still be bought for that price. A bus ride is one of them, thanks to a fare stabilization program established by the MTC and the state legislature.

For people over 65, bus fare has actually gone down, they pay nothing during off-peak hours.

So September 18, 1973, is a very happy birthday, for the MTC and for the bus riding public in the Twin Cities area.

CHRONOLOGY

April 22, 1970—Authorization to sell \$6 million in certificates of indebtedness for purchase of bus company.

May 27, 1970—Retention of American Transit Enterprises (ATE) to manage bus line operations.

June 5, 1970—Urban Mass Transportation Administration awards federal grant for up to \$9.7 million for two-thirds of the cost of purchase and improvement of Twin City Lines.

August 19, 1970—Condemnation panel

awards Twin City Lines \$6.51 million for acquisition.

September 19, 1970—MTC takes control of Twin City Lines and begins operating bus system.

September 27, 1970—University express bus service inaugurated.

October 22, 1970—Opening of first bus shelter in Columbia Heights.

December 24, 1970—Award of contract for purchase of 93 new air-conditioned transit coaches with emission-control equipment.

March 6, 1971—QT buses begin operating in downtown Minneapolis.

August 23, 1971—Red Ball Express service started.

January 1, 1972—Free fares for senior citizens implemented.

February 15, 1972—New signing program begins.

June 7, 1972—Award of contract for purchase of 222 new air-conditioned buses.

July 15, 1972—Beginning of second century of public transit in the Twin Cities.

November 24, 1972—QT buses begin operating in downtown St. Paul.

December 11, 1972—I-35W express bus service started.

August 15, 1973—Award of contract for purchase of 236 new air-conditioned buses.

September 5, 1973—Approval in concept of a new fare zone plan based on concentric circles.

ELECTION REFORMS

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, last week, along with my colleagues who serve on the House Republican Task Force on Election Reform, I was pleased to present my views on task force recommendations which I believe will lead to a strengthening of our current campaign laws. With the thought that my colleagues may be interested, I am inserting into the RECORD the text of my remarks on legislative recommendations for reform of campaign financing:

VIEW OF HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN ON ELECTION REFORM

Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join today with my colleagues on the House Republican Task Force on Election Reform for this Special Order to report on the activities of the Task Force. My good friend Congressman Bill Frenzel, who has acted as Chairman of our Study, deserves special credit and commendation for his leadership during the many weeks of hard work which went into the preparation of our recently released Report and Recommendations on Campaign Finance Reform.

While events of the last year have certainly provided sufficient public demand for campaign reform to make our efforts seem selfless, in reality there has also been a selfish motivation in everything we have done. Selfish because no one knows better than a professional politician that the best way to gain reelection is to run an honest campaign. To the extent that we can draw guidelines which help assure that end, we enhance our own careers. Nevertheless, this has primarily been the public's work, and we believe that this Republican Task Force has risen to the challenge with which it was charged—the development of a legislative proposal designed to insure the integrity of our democratic process.

As is true with any effort of this type, our group was not in unanimous support of

every recommendation. Each of us had particular concerns and interest areas which we promoted, and our final product can best be described only as a consensus. None of us favors every proposal made, yet I can safely say we all feel that collectively our report represents as responsible, comprehensive, and aggressive a group of recommendations as has been offered for consideration thus far.

My own greatest efforts as a member of the Task Force were directed towards the adoption of Report recommendations 3, 4, and 5. Briefly, I want to describe and explain these three proposals in hope that better Congressional and public understanding of them will promote their early enactment into law.

Basically these three points address themselves to the problem areas involved in the donation of "group" contributions to a political campaign and the expenditures of "group" funds to influence elections. The key ingredient in honest politics—as in almost anything else—is accountability. If the public knows who gave or spent what on whom, it can be trusted to make rational judgments in choosing its elected officials. But the system breaks down when there are secret supporters and covert lines of influence. The answer, then, is to account for campaign finances.

Recommendation No. 3 provides:

"All campaign expenditures shall be made by the candidate's authorized campaign committee, except that expenditures may be made on behalf of any candidate by political party organizations but such expenditures will be considered as a contribution to the candidate's authorized committee." (and will be subject to the limitations in No. 8). Under existing legislation any special interest group—whether it be business, labor, ideological or otherwise—may spend unlimited amounts of money to influence the outcome of political contests. Sometimes this practice is accomplished openly and the sources are disclosed, but more often than not these expenses are hidden. They take a multitude of forms—free printing, gratuitous telephone banks, and the like. Technically a candidate is presently required to report these services as donations "in kind", but if he or she doesn't know—or chooses not to know about them, they are not reported and accountability is ignored. Recommendation No. 3 would cure this defect in the current law. It would prohibit campaign expenditures by an entity other than a candidate's campaign committee or a political party organization. In either case, the beneficiary campaign committee must make a full disclosure of the expenditures and they become a part of the aggregate spending limitation imposed in Recommendation No. 8.

From a practical standpoint, enactment of this recommendation would result in a comprehensive listing of all campaign expenses in one place—the candidate's campaign committee federal filing form.

In my opinion such complete disclosure will provide the accountability which is presently lacking in our election laws.

Recommendation No. 4 provides:

"No authorized committee may accept contributions from other than individuals or political party organizations. It may receive contributions from other organizations acting as agents of individual contributors provided the individual contributor so designates and the contribution is identified as to the original donor."

It is a known fact in Washington that a small number of business, labor, and professional organizations exert influence on the federal government far out of proportion to the constituency which they serve. The manner in which they accomplish this is through the accumulation of large amounts of cash collected in relatively small donations from their members. By zeroing in on key political

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contests and politicians with large campaign contributions, they are able to keep "friendly ears" in Washington for their parochial interests. While in theory there is nothing essentially wrong with the expression of a common viewpoint through a collective campaign donation, in practice there are serious flaws. More often than not, donation decisions are made by Washington-based executive committees with little or no input from the individual union member, doctor, or businessman who is the original source of the money. In essence these people are asked to pour money into the wide mouth of a funnel without any real idea of where the spout comes out. The only thing they know is that "it will help the cause." This, I think, is wrong—it frequently corrupts the individual's donation in ways which he would never understand or approve, and it makes a mockery of the "informed electorate" concept by encouraging boss-type politics. If funds are to be aggregated for a particular use, it should be the result of a conscious decision on the part of the individual contributor and not a result of the independent machinations of Washington lobbyists.

Recommendation No. 4 therefore provides that group contributions may be accepted by a candidate's committee only if the group's individual contributors have indicated in writing that they wish their money given to support that specific candidate. In essence—it forces the individual to decide how his political donation should be spent.

Summarizing, this provision would thus serve to tighten the group's accountability to its members, and the politician's accountability to the individuals who supported his election.

Recommendation No. 5 provides:

Except in those instances in which a contributor has expressly designated or earmarked a contribution for the benefit of a particular candidate, a political party organization may contribute to an authorized committee without identification of the original contributors.

To those not sophisticated in how the contribution game is played, Recommendation No. 5 may sound innocuous; those who do understand, however, will know that it would end the practice of contribution "washing." Currently it is possible to secretly earmark contributions to a political party. The candidate ultimately receiving the donation merely reports a contribution received from his political party and the original source of the money is lost. This recommendation would not prohibit "earmarking" per se; it would only take the secrecy out of it and, again, provide the accountability in the system which is presently lacking.

Anyone who has studied these three recommendations with any care, will recognize that in my discussion I have left out one point common to all—that is the exemption for political parties. Political parties may make campaign expenditures on behalf of a candidate, but no one else can. Political parties may make "group contributions" without the individual's specific designation, but no one else can.

Political parties may earmark donations, but no one else can—at least secretly. The theory behind these exemptions, and I think it is a good one, is that our two-party system provides for healthy government and should therefore be encouraged. We believe that given the type of responsible freedom which these recommendations provide, party organizations will grow in strength and importance and will become increasingly the forum for political expression. This, of course, means that they will become increasingly accountable for their actions, and that, as I have said before, is our ultimate goal.

In closing I would remind my colleagues, and concerned Americans, that no law—no

matter how tightly drawn—will prevent a willing abuse. All we can do is structure a framework within which honest individuals can function politically without violating the rights of others or the integrity of the system. We are, therefore, not confident that enactment of these recommendations would be a cure-all for the type of political wrong doing we have observed recently. We are confident, however, that they would, in a most explicit manner, put everyone on notice that they would be publicly accountable for their actions. What we are saying, is that an informed public will make wise decisions. We hope that the Congress as a whole can be persuaded to that opinion.

IN SUPPORT OF THE TV BLACKOUT OF PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALL GAMES

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I wish to express my doubts concerning H.R. 9553, overwhelmingly passed by the House, and to report to the House my reasons for opposing it. This bill lifts the television blackout on professional football games. This measure will, I believe, have serious effects on professional football teams and related businesses such as food and parking concessions. At this point, I would like to include in my remarks the following article by James Reston from the September 15 issue of the New York Times:

FOOTBALL AND POLITICS

(By James Reston)

WASHINGTON, Sept. 15—It's an undemocratic thought, but whenever the President, the Senate and the House of Representatives agree on something in a hurry and almost unanimously, with shouts of approval from the people, you can probably be sure that something's wrong and the thing won't last.

The big pro-football decision in Washington illustrates the difference between what is popular and what is sensible. All the big shots in this town who had been disagreeing about Watergate, prices, interest rates, welfare, busing, the dollar crisis, the energy crisis, the pollution crisis and the school crisis have suddenly agreed to resolve the football crisis by passing a law that home games should be televised at home it all the seats are sold 72 hours before kickoff.

It is clearly the most popular decision made here since the repeal of the Volstead Act legalizing booze, and it will undoubtedly work for a year, since all seats in most pro-football cities are sold out, but you'd better enjoy it while it lasts, for next year will probably be different.

Not different for the commercial establishments that buy up blocks of seats at the games for their clients and write off the cost as a business expense, or for the football fanatics who not only love the game but also the emotion and excitement of the crowd. But for the average fan, who probably makes the difference between a full stadium and a half-full stadium or at least a lot of empty seats, next year will be an economic problem.

Even in Washington, where the Redskins are the only winners in town, you have to have your doubts.

On a sparkling September or October day even driving bumper to bumper through the town and climbing to your \$9 seat behind a post can be fun. But in November, when it

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rains, and in December when it's cold, the notion of spending at least \$20 and maybe as much as forty bucks to see a game you can watch free and in comfort at home, could make a wife, or even the football nut she's stuck with, begin to wonder.

Politically, the decision of Congress and the President is a dream. Most of the time, politicians are taxing people for services the people don't get, but in this case, they are giving the people for nothing services that belong to somebody else. They wouldn't ask General Motors or the Metropolitan Opera to give away what these commercial enterprises are trying to sell but they are asking the football owners, who now have to negotiate \$100,000 contracts with the lawyers of quarterbacks, to give away what they are trying to sell, and are asking the customers whether they would like to pay at least \$20 to attend a game they can see on television free.

It is a dicey proposition, but maybe it will work. Pro football is a craze in this country. It is one of the few things left that are really professional. While almost everything else is ambiguous and obscure, without clear rules or "definitive" decisions, even in the Supreme Court, football is as precise as the multiplication table.

It has a beginning, a middle or half-time with pompon girls and music, and it has an end. Also, it has a field of play a hundred yards long, clearly defined sidelines, referees whose decisions are final, instant replays on doubtful points, and you know who has won at the end.

Naturally, all this is very popular because it is dramatic and definite. A quarterback is not like a Secretary of State: he either makes it on third down and four yards to go, or he fails. It takes a generation to find out whether Henry Kissinger was right or wrong, but the judgment on Sonny Jurgenson is clear and on the scoreboard by 5:30 every Sunday afternoon.

In a country where public interest and trust in football is greater than in politics, the Government's decision on televising the games is probably more interesting to the people than its judgment on Watergate or trade with Russia, so maybe there is after all a vast audience that wants to put out the money and energy to attend the games, even if they can be seen free at home.

Outside of places like Cleveland, where they have more empty seats than football nuts, most cities have a long waiting list for season tickets, and it could be that, even with televising of local games, the demand for tickets will still exceed the supply.

But the guess here is that it won't. If anything in America today exceeds the popular interest in pro football, it is not politics, Watergate, Nixon, Agnew or Kennedy, but the cost of groceries and interest rates, inflation in general. And when football tickets cost at least \$9 a throw for something that can be seen, and often seen better, on TV free, the outlook next year, and even this season in bad weather, is for empty seats.

Fortunately, Congress has agreed to review its generous decision after the experiment. If the games don't sell out, there will be no television, and the old system of blacking out home games will, and probably should be revived. Meanwhile, this should be quite a season, and you should probably enjoy it while you can, because it probably won't last.

There are several possible damaging effects of this bill. The most serious is that of increasing the "no-shows", that is a person who buys a ticket but does not attend the game. There were 624,686 no-shows during the 1972 season. There are many reasons why people buy a ticket but do not attend. Weather is probably the main reason for most no-shows. If the weather is bad, the number of no-shows will increase. However, the

temptation not to attend will be further increased if the fan can sit in his warm house and see the game on TV. The effect of the no-show is felt directly by the concessions and supporting facilities such as parking. The revenue to these facilities could be greatly diminished with the lifting of the blackout. These revenues are depended upon to help keep the facilities and teams going. For instance, the Buffalo, N.Y. stadium uses concession revenue to amortize their stadium construction bonds. So a reduction in concession business will reduce their construction bond amortization payments due to increased no-shows.

The televising of home games could also diminish fan participation thus radically changing the game. With the increase of no-shows and lack of interest to actually be at the games, the spirit that is so essential to today's football games will slowly fade away. This could cause the beginning of the decline of football in this country.

Another problem which the bill does not even discuss is those areas where two professional teams are located. For example, in the San Francisco Bay area there are two professional football teams, the San Francisco Forty-Niners and the Oakland Raiders. If the Raiders, for instance, were playing a very important game which had met the 72 hour sell-out rule so that it could be televised and the Forty-Niners were playing an unimportant game, the Forty-Niner attendance would undoubtedly be greatly diminished by the televising of the Oakland game. Fans would not even buy tickets for the San Francisco game if they knew 3 days in advance that the Oakland game would be on TV. However, if the Oakland game were not televised, attendance of the San Francisco game would most likely be higher.

The effects of this bill should be watched very carefully and the results should be analyzed very critically with all sides participating in the discussion. We would be defeating our purpose if we allow the televising of local games but cause the eventual collapse of professional football in the United States.

HEROIC DEED

HON. ROBERT P. HANRAHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. HANRAHAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to bring to the attention of my colleagues, the heroic deed of State Trooper Michael Dobrowolski of Calumet City, Ill.

On June 1, 1973, Trooper Dobrowolski, who is qualified in Red Cross advanced first aid, was informed that a young man, the victim of an apparent heart attack, was lying beside a roadway. When Trooper Dobrowolski arrived, the victim had stopped breathing. He immediately began to administer artificial respiration until breathing was restored; he also directed others present to assist with other resuscitative measures.

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Trooper Dobrowolski continued to assist the victim with breathing in an ambulance while en route to the hospital. Without doubt, the outstanding efforts of Trooper Dobrowolski saved the young man's life.

Because of his noteworthy act, State Trooper Michael Dobrowolski will receive the Red Cross Certificate of Merit. This is the highest award given by the American Red Cross. The certificate will bear the original signatures of the President of the United States, Honorary Chairman, and Frank Stanton, Chairman of the American National Red Cross.

ONE STUDENT—ONE BUS

HON. JAMES G. MARTIN

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. MARTIN of North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, restraining myself from a host of remarks that could be made about the absurd consequences of judicial dictatorship over our schools, I am privileged to share with the Members of Congress the following news article which recently appeared in the Charlotte, N.C. News:

LONER: BILL'S THE ONLY PASSENGER ON SCHOOL BUS NO. 417
(By Brooks McGirt)

The caller to West Charlotte High School wanted to speak to a student: Robert Johnson.

"Oh," said a secretary with instant recognition. "He's Billy McNeilly's bus driver."

And Bill McNeilly is Robert Johnson's passenger—his only passenger.

The one-passenger bus service, which both students say they "don't really mind," is a result of lottery assignment of some 600 white students to West Charlotte this fall.

Shortly before school began Bill's family moved from where it was living when the lottery picked him as a West Charlotte student to Lake Norman and northernmost Mecklenburg County.

The latest desegregation order doesn't permit students who have been assigned to West Charlotte by lottery to transfer—even if they move to another part of town.

And since the school system must provide transportation to students who don't live within walking distance of their school, bus No. 417 was assigned to make the daily trip to Bill's stop off Torrence Church Rd.

"At first it felt kind of funny," said Bill, 17, a junior who didn't attend school for the first two weeks while officials tried to figure out what to do.

"I was kind of worried about West Charlotte at first too, but it didn't turn out that bad," he said.

"I like it pretty good," he said of the "private" bus service.

Bus driver Johnson, who gets up at 5:30 every morning to make the 22-mile run to Lake Norman from his Hidden Valley home, says it isn't that bad a route.

The 17-year-old West Charlotte senior liked his previous route better, one with about 25 passengers. And the fact that most of them were girls didn't hurt one bit.

One wouldn't expect him to miss the racket of a loaded bus. But surprisingly, Robert, who drove buses his sophomore and junior years, says the lack of distraction is distracting.

"It's kind of boring," he said. "There's not anything going on with just one person on the bus."

"He sleeps and I drive," Robert added good-naturedly.

Bill admits he catches 40 more winks during the morning ride: with a whole bus to himself there are plenty of places to stretch out. In the afternoon he could do his homework, but doesn't he added.

"I don't really mind it," Robert said. "I get paid for it and I've got to go to school anyhow."

Still, he misses all those girls . . .

The situation is not unique this year, school officials say.

Similar situations involving about four students and two buses have also arisen at Harding High, also affected by the court order. "We've had several so far," said schools' Transportation Director J. W. Harrison. "I don't know what to expect in the future."

It's not an ideal solution, he said, but it was all they could do for the present. Meanwhile, officials are looking for other answers.

"There are a lot of possibilities," Harrison said, including perhaps contracting another carrier, private or commercial, for the service.

In the meantime, the crew and passenger bus No. 417 are expecting the passenger list on their bus to increase—by one.

Another West Charlotte student is expected to move to northern Mecklenburg County shortly.

REDUCE THE COSTS OF TRAVEL FOR THE ELDERLY

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

MR. BOB WILSON. Mr. Speaker, in our mobile, transient society, families are often dispersed from coast to coast, separated by thousands of miles. Where once grandparents lived in close proximity to their children and grandchildren for most or all of their lifetimes this is no longer the case today. As a result, many senior citizens, living on reduced retirement incomes—often further diminished by the ravages of inflation—exist in isolation and loneliness. The retirement years should be a time to enjoy life and expand horizons, now that seniors are no longer tied to the daily strictures of a job. Unfortunately, this is often not the case.

I am today introducing a bill to make it possible to reduce the costs of travel for the elderly. This bill will authorize the airlines and surface transportation to offer reduced travel fares for those over age 65, the blind, and handicapped during nonpeak times. This measure will work considerably to the advantage of both senior citizens and the transportation industry. With reduced fares, many elderly people would be able to stretch their incomes to purchase a ticket to visit the grandchildren in the Midwest, or sister Sue in Texas, or that old college roommate back East. I have discussed this proposal in my own district and received an enthusiastic response from many senior citizens, who feel they would be able to travel if reduced fares were available.

In addition, the transportation industry would profit as well. Senior citizens would travel at nonpeak times and fill seats that otherwise would stand empty. The Civil Aeronautics Board has per-

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mitted Hawaiian Airlines to offer senior citizen rate reductions and, since the inception of this program several years ago, that carrier has had an enormous increase in senior citizen customers.

The blind and the handicapped, regardless of age, are subject to many of the same problems which afflict the elderly—particularly in terms of fixed incomes which do not keep pace with inflation. For this reason, I am including the blind and the handicapped in the provisions of the bill. If the blind or handicapped person requires attendance, the attendant would also be eligible for the reduced fare.

Retirement should be the "golden years" to relax and enjoy the fruits of a lifetime of toil, not a time for isolation and lonely existence due to the restrictions of the pocketbook. The legislation I am introducing today will not take funds from the Federal Treasury, but it will provide untold hours of pleasure and enjoyment for those in the autumn of life. I hope that the Members of the House will give careful consideration to this proposal and will lend their full support.

RECYCLING WASTE PAPER

HON. DONALD G. BROTHMAN

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

MR. BROTHMAN. Mr. Speaker, the United States is fast becoming one gigantic repository for solid wastes. A tour of the countrysides surrounding our large urban centers reveals acres of land dedicated to the principle of beautiful packaging. The largest single contributor to these monuments of waste is low grade paper of the newsprint and paperboard variety. Ironically, at the very same time, the Nation finds itself with an increasingly serious newsprint shortage. Many small papers must limit the size of their editions because of their inability to acquire adequate quantities of newsprint. Accordingly, I am today introducing legislation that addresses this problem by amending the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide incentives to improve the economics of recycling waste paper. Although the effects of such a proposal are incalculable at this point in time, there is no question of the desirability of recycling used material as opposed to treatment and disposal. It would be a giant step toward cleaner air and water and it would provide a needed holding action against the persistent drain on our natural resources.

In 1972, U.S. consumers used 64 million tons of paper and paperboard. Of this, 37 million tons ended up in the Nation's solid waste system while only 13 million tons were recycled. In 1944, when the country was operating at peak wartime efficiency, 36 percent of the paper and paperboard consumption of the country was filled by recycled waste paper. Despite the new-found interest in ecology, only 21 percent of the country's paper needs came from waste in 1972.

The resulting effect of this backward response to paper needs has been disastrous to our urban centers. Cities throughout the country are running out of adequate incinerator and sanitary landfill space. The Nation's capital is one of the many cities that has run out of landfill space and is in need of new non-polluting incinerators. A few representative statistics from Colorado's Second District, which I am privileged to represent, are also illustrative. In 10 short years, 1960 to 1970, the city of Boulder, Colo., has doubled in population. With this incredible growth has come a waste disposal problem of dynamic proportions. Within 5 years, the landfill capacity of Boulder will be fully utilized. To further illustrate the need for incentives, it has been estimated that recycling of post-consumer wastes has saved municipalities \$160 million per year.

With the obvious economies involved, one must ask why the trend toward efficient paper use was reversed. In the last 7 years 25 companies have shut down 45 paperboard machines with a resulting loss of 1 million tons of capacity. Recycling paperboard, it appears, is a difficult and marginal business. Profit margins are small, equipment is old, and competition with products of virgin materials is difficult. The recycled paper that goes into stationery and tissue products is a high grade waste paper that will never find its way into the solid waste stream because of its value. The problem, then, is to find ways to increase use of the lower grades of waste paper that will go to the city dump if it is not recycled. My bill, Mr. Speaker, will supply the means to that end.

In short, I propose a fixed \$10 per ton tax credit to users of waste paper. Limitations on the credit are imposed to assure against abuse. A tax credit is simple to compute and administer and, it can be as permanent or as temporary as needs dictate. Moreover, a fixed dollar amount places the highest incentive on the lowest grades of waste paper which are the most difficult to recycle and the most likely to end up in the solid waste system.

If thought of in terms of an ecosystem, my bill would provide a needed link in the life cycle of paper. Initially, it would help manufacturers develop new and better methods of retrieving waste paper. Also, those interested in collecting paper would receive a better price for their effort. Further, it would generate the necessary capital for improving the quality of low grade recycled waste paper and defray pollution abatement costs.

A study conducted by the Midwest Research Institute has determined that unless new production facilities are developed, the percentage of recycled paper will drop to 17 percent. If we seize the initiative, however, the rate could conceivably increase to 26 percent by 1985. It is my hope, Mr. Speaker, that a majority of my colleagues will join me in support of this legislation. We can no longer afford to shrink away from those desolate areas of land we call dumps.

ENVIRONMENTAL LABORATORY

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, following is an article from the Wittenberg University Alumni Bulletin concerning a unique study being conducted by the Wittenberg faculty and students under a contract with the Army Corps of Engineers to determine the environmental impact of the Clarence J. Brown Dam and Reservoir located at Springfield, Ohio. This flood control project is one of the first in the United States to provide a public lake and park near a metropolitan area.

The Army Corps of Engineers will use the Wittenberg findings in connection with its environmental impact statement to be issued under the provisions of the 1970 National Environmental Policy Act.

Also, Wittenberg University, which is located at Springfield, will have an unparalleled opportunity to continue over a period of years its studies of the physical, biological, and socioeconomic impact of this 4,000-acre site. These studies will provide invaluable data and material, not only to the Wittenberg faculty and students, but, also, to city of Springfield officials and Ohio State officials to use, if they so choose, in making decisions concerning the Springfield-Clark County area. I commend the faculty and students of Wittenberg University for their interest and efforts.

The article follows:

ENVIRONMENTAL LABORATORY: AN INTEGRATION OF SEEMINGLY UNRELATED INFORMATION

The Army Corps of Engineers concern for environmental changes has opened a 4,000 acre laboratory to Wittenberg students and faculty.

Wittenberg has been contracted by the Army Engineers to conduct an environmental impact study of the Clarence J. Brown Dam and Reservoir site.

Members of at least seven academic departments will have the opportunity to study the physical, biological, or socio-economic impact the reservoir will have on this unusual area.

The C. J. Brown Dam and Reservoir area is unique because it is one of the first large public lake parks in the United States located near a metropolitan area—Springfield.

"We feel it is our obligation to be aware of the environmental changes which might take place because of the construction of this reservoir. It is, therefore, fortunate that we have a university in the area qualified to do the necessary studies," explained Dr. Thomas Eastler, research geologist for the U.S. Army Engineers Topographic Laboratories, Photo Interpretation Research Division, and coordinator of the Wittenberg-Army Engineers contract.

Wittenberg's role in the project will be twofold:

—One of Wittenberg's responsibilities will entail conducting a detailed environmental study and impact assessment of the project and furnishing a draft of an environmental impact statement that meets the requirements of the 1970 National Environmental Policy Act.

—The second requirement calls for Wittenberg to prepare a comprehensive design for a continuing study of the project and its impact. This study will be used, in later years, for monitoring changes and conversions

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which will occur not only in the immediate project area but the area surrounding the reservoir site.

The information gathered will be available to assess what special operating criteria, if any, are required in order to provide proper handling of the resources studied.

This will include an evaluation of the intensity of recreational use the land can sustain without endangering the animal communities and vegetation within the area, according to Dr. Louis Laux, associate professor of biology and project director.

"The fact that the dam and reservoir are situated near an urban area gives the Wittenberg students an unusual opportunity to integrate a wide variety of seemingly unrelated information," Dr. Laux said.

"The students will get a chance to examine more than just the biological and physical changes. They will be able to estimate and, in future years, evaluate how a large state park near a city will affect the population, land values, and secondary economic effects. No other group or university to our knowledge, has had the opportunity to examine such diversified aspects," he said.

Because there is so little precedent for designing a continuing program, Wittenberg must produce a simple and direct program to facilitate accurate monitoring but still make the program flexible enough to respond to unanticipated impacts, Dr. Laux explained. As well as a large amount of physical ground observations, the Wittenberg contracts will also rely heavily on aerial photography and other remote sensing data collection methods provided by the U.S. Army Engineers Topographic Laboratories.

According to Dr. Laux, there is both educational value to the students and an advantage to the community in making the study.

Not only will the project provide a great opportunity for faculty-directed student research and a laboratory for classroom teaching, but the information gathered will also be available to community leaders for aiding in decision making.

"Wittenberg doesn't wish to be and will not be involved in making decisions for the community, but we will be able to provide the data needed to make knowledgeable decisions, at both the local and state levels, concerning the future of the reservoir and its impact on the Springfield-Clark County area," Dr. Laux explained.

The decisions pertaining to the reservoir might range anywhere from zoning ordinances to Springfield sewage system adjustments, he said.

Much of this information for the impact study and "baseline materials" will be collected this summer by Wittenberg students.

Each department involved in the contract has hired a student to work along with a professor. At least ten students will be working on the project this summer. Three geology majors and Dr. Thomas Gerrard, associate professor of geology, gathered baseline data this spring to be used for surface analysis within the reservoir site.

Hundreds of students, either in classes or working on independent studies, will probably find themselves doing research on the various aspects of the reservoir, Dr. Laux said.

The Geology Department will be assigned the task of studying such things as sedimentation-erosion dynamics, substrate conditions, ground water seepage, stream flow trends, and watershed dynamics. The Chemistry Department will study the chemical water quality, while the Biology Department will get into the areas of animal dynamics, vegetation dynamics, aquatic species distribution, and biological water quantity. The Economics Department will look at land use dynamics, economic impact, recreational potential, market drawing power of the reservoir area, and transportation. The geography students will deal with recreational values, climatology, agricultural potential,

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urban-suburban potential, and population dynamics. The Political Science Department is expected to study areas of land use, including industrial zoning regulations, legal aspects, intergovernmental services, and state park-urban area interaction.

COVERAGE OF PRESCRIPTION DRUGS UNDER MEDICARE

HON. JEROME R. WALDIE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, September 26, 1973

Mr. WALDIE. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to provide medicare coverage of certain prescription drugs purchased outside the hospital by aged and disabled beneficiaries of that program. This legislation is similar in its intent to that which I introduced in the last Congress—and which was also introduced in the Senate by Senator PERCY of Illinois. As the Members will recall, the Senate Finance Committee studied the Percy bill and other proposals to cover drugs under medicare and eventually approved a less comprehensive, but still excellent, measure as part of that bill. Although the provision passed the Senate, unfortunately it was dropped in conference. The legislation I am introducing today is almost identical to the provision approved by the Senate last year but without the provision requiring medicare beneficiaries to pay \$1 per prescription.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the adage that a particular idea or proposal or program is one "whose time has come" certainly applies to medicare coverage of drugs. Ever since medicare became effective in 1966, a number of Members of the Congress have vigorously supported extending the program in this regard. We have now reached the point where legislative proposals to cover drugs under medicare have been refined so that the money spent will support those older people who need help the most and the program will cover those drugs which older people absolutely need.

I believe that an outpatient prescription drug benefit is a necessary as well as logical extension of the medicare program. Medicare now covers the cost of drugs given to an inpatient in a hospital or an extended care facility. However, there is no coverage of individually purchased drugs. This is an extremely unfortunate gap in the medicare program for two reasons: First, prescription drug expenses account for a large part of the people on the average spend over \$90 per estimate at least 20 percent. And aged people on the average spend over \$90 per year on drugs and drug sundries. Second, drug expenses are distributed unevenly among the elderly. Those with chronic illness are often faced with recurring drug expenses and there is really no choice involved in their purchasing such drugs—either they are purchased generally at great cost and financial sacrifice, or the older person dies. So this bill is really a lifesaving measure and certainly merits immediate consideration by the Congress.

Basically, this bill would provide medicare coverage of drugs necessary for the treatment of specific diseases such as diabetes, high blood pressure, chronic respiratory and cardiovascular diseases, arthritis, rheumatism, cancer, chronic kidney disease, and so forth. The bill establishes a formulary committee to select the specific drugs to be covered. And, to save administrative costs and the need to handle large batches of paper, the bill provides for payment to be made directly to pharmacies on the basis, generally, of average wholesale price plus a professional fee or other dispensing charge.

In my view, there is simply no justification for asking older people to pay \$1 per prescription. The average cost of prescriptions likely to be covered under the bill is in the neighborhood of \$5. In es-

tablishing a copayment provision, we are really asking an older person with a chronic disease to pay on the average of 20 percent of each prescription. While it is arguable that copayments for other health care services may serve to deter unnecessary use of such services, this is certainly not the case here. A person has no choice in securing a prescription drug; the doctor alone decided that. The \$1 copayment, therefore, serves only to keep the cost of the program down, and I believe that this cost ought not to be borne by people who are living on fixed, low incomes and who are seriously ill. Therefore, I have not included a copayment provision in this bill.

Finally, this bill would prevent any person engaged in the manufacture, preparation, propagation, compounding,

or processing of a drug from being a member of the formulary committee. The committee holds the key to this piece of legislation. It decided what drugs should be included in the formulary and, therefore, to a great extent, what drugs are paid for by the Government under the medicare program. It should be composed of not only people who are expert in the field of health care, pharmacology, or pharmacy but, perhaps more important, individuals who have the consumer foremost in mind and not the massive drug companies. I want the formulary committee to work for the public interest, not the interest of the pharmaceutical industry and to reform current industry-oriented practices, not institutionalize them.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Thursday, September 27, 1973

The House met at 12 o'clock noon. The Chaplain, Rev. Edward G. Latch, D.D., offered the following prayer:

The salvation of the righteous is of the Lord; He is their strength in the time of trouble.—Psalms 37: 39.

"O Thou, in whose presence our souls take delight,
On whom in affliction we call,
Our comfort by day and our song in the night,
Our hope, our salvation, our all."

In this spirit, O God, we begin another day and with those of the Hebrew faith we begin another year. Incline our hearts to read Thy word, to obey Thy commandments, and to keep Thy law. Grant unto us the peace of those who put their trust in Thee, the strength of those who walk in Thy way, and the love of those who live with Thee.

Give to our people the mind to think good about our country, the heart to love her, and the spirit to so live that their conduct may carry with it the accent of cooperation. Keep our attention set upon the tasks of justice, mercy, and peace that working for the common good we may find the joy and satisfaction of a sober and honest life; to the glory of Thy holy name. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

THE SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Without objection, the Journal stands approved.

There was no objection.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Marks, one of his secretaries, who also informed the House that on the following dates the President approved and signed bills and a joint resolution of the House of the following titles:

On September 19, 1973:

H.J. Res. 695. A joint resolution authorizing the President to proclaim the period of September 15, 1973, through October 15,

1973, as "Johnny Horizon '76 Clean Up America Month."

On September 21, 1973:

H.R. 6912. An act to amend the Par Value Modification Act, and for other purposes.

On September 26, 1973:

H.R. 8070. An act to replace the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, to extend and revise the authorization of grants to States for vocational rehabilitation services, with special emphasis on services to those with the most severe handicaps, to expand special Federal responsibilities and research and training programs with respect to handicapped individuals, to establish special responsibilities in the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare for coordination of all programs with respect to handicapped individuals within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and for other purposes.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate agrees to the amendment of the House to the amendment of the Senate with an amendment to a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 7645. An act to authorize appropriations for the Department of State, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate insists upon its amendment to the bill (H.R. 7645) entitled "An act to authorize appropriations for the Department of State, and for other purposes," requests a further conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. FULBRIGHT, Mr. SPARKMAN, Mr. CHURCH, Mr. PELL, Mr. AIKEN, Mr. CASE, and Mr. JAVITS to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

CONFERENCE REPORT ON S. 795, NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON THE ARTS AND HUMANITIES

Mr. BRADEMAS (on behalf of Mr. PERKINS) filed the following conference report and statement on the bill (S. 795) to amend the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965, and for other purposes:

CONFERENCE REPORT (H. REPT. NO. 93-529)

The committee of conference on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses on the

amendment of the House to the bill (S. 795) to amend the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965, and for other purposes, having met, after full and free conference, have agreed to recommend and do recommend to their respective Houses as follows:

That the Senate recede from its disagreement to the amendment of the House and agree to the same with an amendment as follows:

In lieu of the matter proposed to be inserted by the House amendment insert the following:

That this Act may be cited as the "National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Amendments of 1973".

AMENDMENTS TO THE NATIONAL FOUNDATION ON THE ARTS AND THE HUMANITIES ACT OF 1965

SEC. 2. (a) The National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 is amended in the following respects:

(1) Clause (7) of section 2 of such Act is amended by striking out all that appears after "a National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities" and inserting in lieu thereof "or purchase", and by adding at the end thereof the following new sentence: "Such term also includes—

"(1) the renovation of facilities if (A) the amount of the expenditure of Federal funds for such purpose in the case of any project does not exceed \$250,000, or (B) two-thirds of the members of the National Council on the Arts (who are present and voting) approve of the grant or contract involving an expenditure for such purpose; and

"(2) the construction of facilities if (A) such construction is for demonstration purposes or under unusual circumstances where there is no other manner in which to accomplish an artistic purpose, and (B) two-thirds of the members of the National Council on the Arts (who are present and voting) approve of the grant or contract involving an expenditure for such purpose."

(3) (A) That part of subsection (c) of section 5 of such Act which precedes clause (1) is amended by striking out "the Federal Council on the Arts and the Humanities and".

(B) In clauses (1) and (2) of such subsection (c) such Act is amended by striking out "production" each time it appears and inserting in lieu thereof "projects and productions"; and, in clause (3) of such subsection, such Act is amended by striking out "projects" and inserting in lieu thereof "projects and productions".