

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

OUR NATIONAL EPIDEMIC

HON. BILL ALEXANDER

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, in my recent travels and visits to the high schools and junior highs in the First Congressional District of Arkansas, I noticed a growing interest in and awareness of the drug problem by the students themselves. While the use of drugs has not reached the dimensions there that it has in other areas, an increasing number of secondary school students are daily coming into contact with and experimenting with various types of drugs. Because of the students' interest and concern over this problem, I initiated a drug abuse conference in which 175 students, PTA members, teachers, and counselors from various parts of the First District participated.

We were fortunate to have as our keynote speaker, Dr. John Buckman, associate professor of psychiatry at the University of Virginia School of Medicine. Dr. Buckman, a British citizen who is a native of Poland, is a member of the Governor's council on narcotics and drug abuse in the area of social aspects of drug abuse. He is the author of over 20 articles for various medical journals. I, along with the other participants in the conference learned much from Dr. Buckman and in the next 3 days, I would like to share some of his research findings with you:

[From the Washington Star and News, July 16, 1972]

OUR NATIONAL EPIDEMIC
(By Dr. John Buckman)

The individual, family and social problems of the postwar era are crystallizing into three major reactions in the 70s: violence, social disease and drug abuse.

The postwar generation in the western world, born into great enlightenment and wealth, has become more aware of some overwhelming problems such as the population explosion, pollution, starvation in the midst of plenty and international tension.

The wealthy often have found themselves morally and intellectually bankrupt. The young see themselves as disenfranchised and alienated. The poor have found further justification for refusing to work for slave wages and escaped into increasing the size of the family as a means of welfare support and protection against extermination.

Individual and international paranoia has increased with families and nations escalating their armaments.

In short, for a number of poorly understood reasons, the promised age of plenty has brought with its dawn the fear of hydrogen bomb extermination, fragmentation of the nuclear family and a growing inability to cope with individual and group aggressive impulses.

All this is documented by the increase in self-destructive behavior and other attempts to deal with the uncontrolled and uncontrollable impulses by what is called acting out—activity which serves to diminish tension produced by psychological pain.

This acting out may take many forms.

There may be violence towards others or oneself. Sexual freedom may be another form of acting out, in which only during the act of love can the person feel a sense of belonging and lessen the feeling of isolation. For others, sexual union is the acting out of aggressive fantasies, and passing on venereal disease is an aggressive act in disguise.

Other persons may abuse drugs as a form of acting out or as an attempt to achieve a sense of belonging to a group, a subculture or a family of drug users.

Western society as a whole is drug oriented if not actually drug addicted. No one is immune and no one can escape blame.

We have become intolerant of discomfort and pain. We do not accept frustration, depression and disappointment as part of everyday life. We insist on instant solutions, and we find it difficult to postpone gratification.

The pharmaceutical industries have made enormous strides in the past 30 to 40 years, and a number of "wonder chemicals" have eliminated some diseases. By inference, we believe that eventually we will find chemical answers to all human and social problems.

We have invented for ourselves a life style for which neither the human body nor the human mind was designed; and we use chemicals to cope with the unpleasant side effects of this life.

The chemical has become the companion, the panacea but also the instrument of self-deception and the executioner. It also has been a means of expression of individual misery and group conflict. We use chemicals to combat illness, to prolong life, to kill, to promote a feeling of belonging and also to document the claim of being different. We use them to proclaim our freedom and at the same time become slaves. We use them to become more aware and sensitive, but also to numb and to exclude reality. We use them to punish others by provoking guilt, but we also use them to be caught and punished by provoking anger.

But the use of drugs has other, deeper, more primitive and less well understood meanings. Symbolically the drug is a magical substance, often deeply desired but also feared. It is desired for its nutritious and healing properties because often it reduces pain, hunger, anxiety and anger.

By the use of forbidden drugs, some of our early fantasies of omnipotence are revived. We are tempted to see "if we can handle it"—or we play Russian roulette.

Drugs are being used to continue the polarization between the young and the old, the "haves" and the "have nots" and the establishment and the disenfranchised.

There is no simple solution. What is needed is more understanding of the individual and social reasons for drug abuse as well as greater knowledge about drugs themselves.

FIFTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE

HON. BARRY GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that a resolution framed by the Lithuanian Americans of the State of Arizona be inserted in the Extensions of Remarks.

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

RESOLUTION

We, Lithuanian Americans of the State of Arizona, assembled this 11th of February, 1973 in Phoenix to commemorate the 55th anniversary of the restoration of Lithuania's independence, protest—

1. The continuation of the forcible occupation and illegal annexation of the Republic of Lithuania by the Soviet Union, which fact has been officially confirmed by the findings of the Select Committee on Communist Aggression of the House of Representatives, 83rd Congress of the United States,

2. The subjection of the Lithuanian people to alien subjugation, domination and exploitation which constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, contrary to the Charter of the United Nations,

3. The colonization of the land by the Russians and continuation of their efforts to force to change the ethnic character of the population of Lithuania, thereby committing the offence of genocide,

4. The suppression of religious life in Lithuania by closing the churches and persecution and jailing of priests for religious instruction of youth.

We demand that the Soviet Union shall withdraw its armed forces, administrative apparatus and the imported colonists from Lithuania, thus permitting the Lithuanian people to freely exercise their sovereign rights,

We respectfully express our gratitude to the United States Government for the non-recognition of the Soviet occupation and annexation of Lithuania,

We respectfully request President Nixon to direct the attention of world opinion at the United Nations and of the other appropriate international forums on behalf of the restoration of sovereign rights of the Baltic people which policy was recommended to the President of the United States by the House Concurrent Resolution 416 of the 89th Congress,

We urgently request our Government to make all possible efforts to have Simas Kudirka returned to this country with his family.

The copies of this resolution shall be mailed to President Richard M. Nixon, Secretary of State William P. Rogers, to both Senators and all the Members of Congress from the State of Arizona and the Press.

OPPOSITION TO HEW-LABOR CONTINUING RESOLUTION

HON. MARVIN L. ESCH

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. ESCH. Mr. Speaker, last week I cast my vote against passing the HEW-Labor continuing resolution because I was afraid that there were many among us who, in the haste of passing this legislation, had little idea what the consequences were. It is my firm belief that a better course of action would have been to pass a 30- or 60-day resolution, to give the Congress time to think about what it was doing.

Mr. Speaker, it is clear that now that this resolution has passed, it is very possible that those programs which have been zero funded in the President's 1974

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budget proposals will be arbitrarily terminated at the end of this fiscal year. At the same time, it is highly unlikely that the Congress will have developed legislation for the next fiscal year. What Congress has done in passing this resolution, is to have prejudged programs in education and labor for the next fiscal year without making any effort whatsoever to develop any orderly procedure wherein proper analysis and decision-making on priorities can take place.

To me, this has represented the height of irresponsibility.

Mr. Speaker, I concur with the President that this country recognizes a spending limitation; but Mr. Speaker, by taking this action the Congress has admitted to itself that it cannot bear the responsibility for doing so.

This hasty action raises a second, equally important, concern. Many of the departments and agencies will be undergoing major and fundamental changes during the next 2 years, and the country will see an extensive restructuring of delivery systems. We should have been more careful to develop an orderly and smooth transition period. The arbitrary stopping of funds at the end of this fiscal year on some programs I believe will be contrary to past interests of effective management practices.

I am hopeful that my colleagues will recognize the need for more care in the future.

AN OUTSTANDING GENTLEMAN

HON. E de la GARZA

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

MR. DE LA GARZA. Mr. Speaker, the retirement of Mel Laird as Secretary of Defense focuses attention once again on a man who served with distinction in the House before being called to fill one of the highest offices in the executive branch of the Government.

That Mel has many, many friends in this body is no secret. The gentleman from Wisconsin has a knack of making friends wherever he goes. Distinguished by his affable smile and unfailing consideration of others, he is the kind of friend any man would be proud to have.

His outstanding ability is clear to all who know him or have seen him in action. A leader in the House, he never neglected the needs of the people he represented. He contributed to the dignity and effectiveness of this body, being to my mind a shining example of what a Congressman should be like. He continued this dedicated service as a member of the Cabinet and in most trying circumstances in the Defense Department he, in his quiet unassuming manner, again proved his ability to lead and modernize the Government to best serve the needs of the people.

As he leaves Government service, at least for the time being, I know that all Members join in wishing him satisfaction and success in his future endeavors.

LEGISLATION TO EXPAND THE ADVISORY COMMISSION ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to join Congressman BROWN of Ohio in sponsoring legislation to expand the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations from 26 to 30 members, and to include elected school board officials and elected town and township officials. Such a bill will ensure the representation of the two groups of dedicated public officials who have heretofore been neglected.

In Illinois, there are at least 8,000 persons who serve as public officials on local school boards. They have responsibility over 200,000 employees and 2,300,000 students, and approximately 20 percent of the State's annual budget. Yet, despite their responsibility, Illinois school board officials—as well as school board officials from other States—are not represented on the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations.

Mr. Speaker, the education of our young people has always been a matter of deep concern to Americans, but in recent months a number of events have thrust education even further into the spotlight as a topic of national debate and interest. Court decisions questioning the traditional methods of financing education have given impetus of a growing debate over the quality of education in the United States, the appropriate responsibilities of the various levels of Government, and the sources of funds for financing education.

Last month, the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations presented its report, "Financing Schools and Property Tax Relief—a State Responsibility." While I believe this report is worthy of merit, it is unfortunate that elected school board members—who will be affected by the important policy decisions—had no direct representation, and that the members of the Advisory Commission, as they considered various questions, did not have full access to the views and the expertise of the school board members. The legislation I am co-sponsoring will ensure that the interests of education are fully represented in future Commission proceedings. The bill would add two members to the commission, who would be appointed by the President from a panel of at least four elected school board officials submitted by the National School Boards Association.

This legislation also provides for the addition of two new members to the Commission, to be appointed by the President from a panel of at least four elected town and township officials submitted by the National Association of Towns and Township Officials. In 1967, there were 17,105 townships in 21 States. While townships vary greatly in the scope of their governmental powers and operations, they all have one thing in common: They continue the traditions

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of one of America's oldest forms of government. The great value of townships is reflected in Thomas Jefferson's description of them as "pure and elementary republics." Townships keep decisionmaking close to home, insuring greater citizen control over government services which most closely touch their lives.

We hear so much today about the alienation of citizens from their government, their frustrations over government's seeming inability to sense and respond to their needs, and citizens' increasing dissatisfaction as the centers of power move farther from their own neighborhoods. It is especially important then that we maintain and strengthen grassroots units of local governments such as town and townships. The Advisory Commission frequently makes policy decisions regarding the structure and organization of local government units. We must guarantee that the town and township officials have a voice in these decisions. My bill will do this.

Mr. Speaker, passage of the legislation I am sponsoring with Congressman BROWN will enhance the credibility of the Advisory Commission's recommendations and policies. It will also increase the value of the work of this excellent organization. I urge immediate and favorable action.

M. WALLACE RUBIN ELECTED 1973 PRESIDENT OF NATIONAL HOME FURNISHINGS ASSOCIATION

HON. ROBERT N. GAIMO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

MR. GAIMO. Mr. Speaker, a friend and constituent, Mr. M. Wallace Rubin, has been elected 1973 president of the 10,000-member National Home Furnishings Association. I take this opportunity to congratulate him.

Wally Rubin is a conscientious and hard-working businessman. President of Wayside Furniture Shops of Milford, Conn., his business is the largest retail home-working operation in my State and reflects the very finest merchandising in retailing.

In his acceptance speech, Rubin stated his business philosophy:

I happen to run my own business on the philosophy that you can't have any long-term profit without perpetual service. I have always been willing to give up short-term profit to provide customer services. That same philosophy will govern my tenure as your President. The challenge will be to profit while serving—but we will serve.

Rubin became Wayside president in 1966, succeeding his father who founded the business in 1928. Rubin has served as president of the Milford Chamber of Commerce, and is a board member of the distribution education programs for both Milford and the State of Connecticut, and the United Fund. Prior to his election as NHFA president, he has served the home furnishings industry in many capacities including membership on the Home Furnishings Council, representative to the American Retail Fed-

eration, and chairman of NHFA's Government Affairs Committee.

A GUEST EDITORIAL

HON. STANFORD E. PARRIS

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. PARRIS. Mr. Speaker, the subject of Federal aid to impacted areas is of great concern to me and to my constituents. Probably no single proposal before Congress will affect the Eighth Congressional District of Virginia as much as the plan to curtail this much needed program and virtually wipe out this revenue which is badly needed by all school districts involved in the education of children of Federal employees.

I have talked with many of my colleagues about the need for retaining this revenue for local school districts, but to further explain the facts in this case I would like to insert into the RECORD a guest editorial on this important subject which I wrote this past week for publication in the Springfield Independent:

[From the Springfield (Va.) Independent, Feb. 22, 1973]

A GUEST EDITORIAL

(By U.S. Representative STAN PARRIS)

Since the federal income tax was first written into law in 1913, Congress has taken many actions which have directly affected the amount of taxes paid by residents of Fairfax County and of Virginia. However, in my opinion, none of these actions had as much potential for disaster, especially for residents of Fairfax County, as a proposal now before Congress to virtually eliminate the Impact Aid Program.

The Impact Aid Program was begun in 1950. Its purpose is to offset, by direct payments to school districts, the "impact" of federal installations and large numbers of children of federal employees. Under this program in 1972 the school districts in Virginia received \$33.9 million. Fairfax County received \$11.9 million, or more than a third of the state total which was the highest in the nation per capita.

The total amount of federal money distributed to school districts across the nation by this program last year was \$415 million. The proposal now before Congress would reduce this amount to \$41.5 million. The amount of money received by Fairfax County is almost 10 percent of the county's budget and if sharply cut back would almost certainly result in an increase in the amount of taxes which you pay.

The attempt to curtail the Impact Aid Program this year was originated by the Nixon Administration; however, it is not a question of partisanship since both President Johnson and President Kennedy also tried to curtail the program. It is a question of where and how the President can best cut federal spending and, make no mistake about it, federal spending must be cut if we are to have any hope of checking inflation, of holding the line against higher prices and higher taxes.

Through the years the Federal Government has piled commission on top of commission, agency on top of agency, so that now we are saddled with an overlapping, overstuffed bureaucracy which spends your tax dollars both freely and frequently. There are literally hundreds of areas where funds can be cut without increasing the burden of taxes which you pay. But the Impact Aid Program is not one of these areas.

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If the Impact Aid Program is cut back without the institution of an adequate substitute many school systems in Virginia, including the Fairfax County system, will face financial disaster. Because of the phenomenal growth rate of Fairfax County, where the population has jumped from 96,611 at the time the Impact Aid Program was begun to more than 527,000 at present, the county school system is already operating under great strain. The loss of Impact Aid Program funds at this time just cannot be tolerated.

The fight to keep these funds must be fought on several fronts, but the initial effort began this week before the General Education Subcommittee of the House Committee on Education and Labor which held hearings on the matter. In my testimony before the subcommittee, I pointed out that communities which have a high number of federal installations or federal employees are constantly under the gun because of on-again off-again threats of the loss of federal revenue. I pointed out that these threats are even more disturbing because they always come in the middle of a school year after the education funds in question are already committed.

I advised the subcommittee that I cannot and will not support any curtailment of the Impact Aid Program unless other funds have been made available to local school systems. To do otherwise would place an unbearable burden on the backs of the individual taxpayer. I am confident many responsible congressional leaders share my views in this matter.

Further hearings on the Impact Aid Program will be held later this month by the Subcommittee on Labor, Health, Education and Welfare of the House Committee on Appropriations. I intend to testify at those hearings as well and I have invited several county officials to join me in this testimony. There are those who believe the general Revenue Sharing Plan which passed the previous Congress was to replace, in part, the Impact Aid Program. This has never been my understanding and it is not the understanding of the county officials with whom I have talked. I am hopeful our testimony before this subcommittee can clear up this erroneous impression.

In addition to these efforts I am a co-sponsor of legislation which has been introduced and, if enacted, would allow for direct federal payments to local governments in lieu of taxes on federal property located within their jurisdiction. If my colleagues and I are unable to save the Impact Aid Program as it now exists I am hopeful we will be able to institute an alternate program which will provide local school systems with the needed funds.

You, as a taxpayer, have a direct interest in this matter because in the long run it is you who will pay the bill no matter what course is chosen. It is my opinion that, because of the large amount of funds paid directly to Fairfax County, your position will be more secure if we can continue with the Impact Aid Program or with a program that provides an equal amount of federal revenue. If you, as my constituent, are able to correspond with me directly, your views in this matter would be greatly appreciated. Please address your letter to U.S. Rep. Stan Parris, 509 Cannon Office Building, Washington, D.C. 20515.

DONALD W. HURRELBRINK, OF WARREN, OHIO, RECEIVES FREEDOMS FOUNDATION AWARD

HON. CHARLES J. CARNEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. CARNEY of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I want to take this opportunity to extend

my congratulations and best wishes to Mr. Donald W. Hurrelbrink, of 1115 Perkinswood Avenue, Warren, Ohio. On February 19, Mr. Hurrelbrink was honored by the Freedoms Foundation as the 1972 recipient of the George Washington Award, which is the highest honor bestowed upon an individual by the foundation. He received the award during ceremonies at the Valley Forge Military Academy in Valley Forge, Pa. Witnessing the ceremonies were Mr. Hurrelbrink's two daughters, Mrs. Donna Pate and Miss Janet Hurrelbrink, a sixth-grade teacher at Emerson School, Donna's husband, Lee, principal of Horace Mann School, and the Pate's three children.

A native of Toledo, Hurrelbrink studied at Dana Musical Institute, Warren, and the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music. He began teaching in 1930, and for 17 years taught music in five different school systems in Ohio. He retired in May 1971, after serving as band director at Austintown Fitch High School for 24 years. He continues to direct the Warren junior military band, which has won 20 national military championships and was awarded the Freedoms Foundation's George Washington Honor Medal in the community programs category. Under the direction of Hurrelbrink, the Warren band received international acclaim during its 1971 good will musical tour of six European countries.

The Freedoms Foundation selected Hurrelbrink for "exemplifying the meaning of honesty, sincerity, hard work, and pride, and for instilling the values of sportsmanship, teamwork, and love of country among young bandmen." The foundation also cited his "43 years of dedicated and tireless service, and his sterling principles of loyalty and integrity." Members of the Warren junior military band as well as other groups under his supervision have been inspired by the high moral character and patriotic zeal of their outstanding leader.

Mr. Speaker, we are proud to have Mr. Donald W. Hurrelbrink and his family as residents of our community.

ESTHER WALKER HONORED

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, on March 16, 1973, the Heritage Section of the city of Santa Clara advisory committee will honor Esther Walker, women's editor of the San Jose Mercury-News and as I cannot personally be present on this happy occasion, I take this opportunity to add my voice to the many others who will participate in the program at the historic Jameson-Brown House at Triton Museum in Santa Clara.

Mr. Speaker, Esther Walker is an outstanding example of an American who has distinguished herself in her chosen career and through it, has directly affected millions of people during her quarter century plus of reporting. In addition,

as a private citizen she has been a valuable community resource, always ready for participation in local movements for the benefit of the community.

Although not an outright exponent of women's liberation, Ms. Walker's stated goal is to show women doing things, rather than to portray them as mere socialites. Her high standards along this line have set an example for the whole community. Providing vigorous and enthusiastic support and publicity for a host of volunteer efforts, she has been instrumental in the success of many worthwhile community projects. Typical of her down-to-earth, objective approach to news, while student riots were taking place on campuses across the Nation, she chose to publish pictures of local students participating in a blood drive. Similarly, with respect to fashion reporting—her first love—she is always up-to-date, but never flighty or faddish.

While Ms. Walker has received many awards, from national fashion organizations, from Beta Sigma Phi, and from other well-known groups, I feel that the honor she is receiving from the advisory committee is most appropriate for it recognizes and appreciates what she has contributed, daily and unceasingly, to making our area an interesting and challenging place to live and work.

A 100TH BIRTHDAY FOR PHOEBE THEREASA DRUMM

HON. CHARLES H. WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, Henri F. Amiel said:

To know how to grow old is the masterpiece of wisdom, and one of the most difficult chapters in the great art of living.

Phoebe Thereasa Drumm, of Gardena, Calif., celebrating her 100th birthday on March 16 of this year, can look back on a life lived in wisdom and joy. Born in Grossbeck, Ohio, in 1873, Miss Drumm is the lone survivor of the five children born to Caroline and Jacob Drumm, Sr.

Her childhood and teen years were spent in Mount Healthy, Ohio—surely a good omen—and she received her teacher's certificate at age 18. However, she chose to forgo a career in education to expand her horizons as a traveling secretary with a stocks and bonds company. Her travels led her to Los Angeles, and she has resided in Gardena for the past 20 years. Through her active work with the United Methodist Church there, she has made a great contribution to her community.

Although Miss Drumm has been confined to a Gardena convalescent center since she fractured her hip last year, this mishap has not dulled her appreciation of life. Her many visitors report that, with a twinkle in her eye, she tells them:

I'm pretty good and thank God I'm as well as I am.

Her mind is constantly active, and she delights in singing the alphabet in reverse and reciting the names of all the

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Presidents of the United States. Yet she was saddened by the recent passings of Presidents Truman and Johnson.

A merry, tranquil person, Phoebe Drumm is enormously appreciative of every kindness extended to her. And they are many, for she embodies that wonderful optimistic philosophy of Robert Browning's:

Grow old along with me!
The best is yet to be,
The last of life, for which the first was made.

SEARCHING FOR SAGES

HON. PHILIP M. CRANE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, if any event remains singular about 1972 it is the fact that American intellectuals have been shown to have been completely out of touch with the reality of their own society.

All through the 1960's it was popular to say that America was on the verge of revolution. Student rioters and demonstrators met with little opposition on the part of college administrators and faculty members. Somehow, these academicians thought that the demonstrators represented the wave of the future.

Intellectuals who had placed their faith in the world of politics, in creating a heaven on earth through social programs and economic reforms, had no belief in enduring standards—even in standards of form, such as majority rule and a belief in free speech. Thus, when student radicals stormed the barricades of civility and of academic freedom, the intellectuals had no defenses. Instead, many joined in the attack which, although they didn't realize it was, an attack upon themselves.

That they did not understand the political feelings of the American people was evident with the results of the November election. More important than this, however, is the fact that they did not understand what young people were really trying to say.

Joyce Maynard, who is 19 and has written a book which will soon be published, discusses the moral relativism and attack on values which she and her generation endured at the hands of our modern, liberal intellectuals.

Writing in *Newsweek* magazine, she discusses the renewed religious interest of the young. She writes:

Now . . . Jesus has come out of the closet. The disenchanted and the ones never enchanted in the first place are returning to the fold with a passion their once-a-week religious parents never possessed. It is a sign of many things: An attempt to purify the spirit, to be drenched in holy waters after a drug-filled adolescence . . . What's really going on, though, in the Jesus Movement is our search for a prophet, for someone who can, for a change, tell us the answers. (The big line I remember from our school days was, "There is no one right answer. What's your opinion?") After so many profound facts and so much loose, undisciplined freedom, it's comforting to have a creed to follow and a cross to bear.

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Joyce Maynard and her generation have been cheated by our educational system which has failed to transmit the culture and values of our Western civilization and of our Judeo-Christian tradition. This generation sought answers from their parents and their teachers to the ultimate questions about life's meaning and purpose. Too often, all they received was the radical chic pronouncements of men and women who could do little more than condemn their country, their tradition and, in effect, themselves, and had nothing affirmative to give.

Youthful nihilism, however, even as a reaction to modern liberalism, is as dangerous as middle-aged skepticism. The frenzy of the 1960's has, hopefully, come to an end. Perhaps the search for meaning and values will return to a more constructive path.

I wish to share with my colleagues the thoughtful article by Joyce Maynard which appeared in *Newsweek* magazine of December 25, 1972, and insert it into the RECORD at this time:

SEARCHING FOR SAGES
(By Joyce Maynard)

Just about every suburban-born, college-bred boy I know has a hitch-hiking story about "this real great truck driver" he met, the kind of salt-of-the-earth, natural man, who hasn't read a book in twenty years but who, his hitch-hiking passengers tell me, "knows what it's all about." He's usually called Joe or Red, this potato- and beef-hauling Everyman, and his life's a little tragic: he sleeps in the cab of his truck and spends Christmas on the road, staring out at colored lights blinking through frosted windows (he's something of a poet too, Red is) but, tough as it is, his life is simple, honest, free. He is a philosopher of the road who has given the boy—because this boy is special—some parting nugget of Truth as he lets him out at Exit 1 for New Haven or Exit 23 for Cambridge, some words of wisdom the boy now imparts to me, over coffee and deeply inhaled non-filter cigarettes in the campus grill. I don't mean to sound lofty. I've met my unionized Polonius too and left him convinced at least for a half hour that what he's told me (Life is like pizza . . . Love is a merry-go-round . . .) was more profound than anything I'd got at school.

TRIVIA

We're all in search of sages—my generation in particular. Information surrounds us. Facts about the number of North Vietnamese dead and grams of carbohydrate in Rice Krispies and points lost on the stock exchange and figures on TV-star divorces are drilled into us like lists of vocabulary words for college boards. Oh, the new trend in education, while we were in school, leaned toward "concepts" and away from what were called "specifics." Vagueness—we called it bullshitting—was often easy on our high school essay-question exams. But in spite of the generalities we met with at school, there was a feeling of being over-whelmed by details.

Every succeeding generation has just that many more years of history to study—more Presidents, more planets (Pluto had not yet been discovered when my parents were in school. Neither had DNA). We were bombarded outside the classroom most of all by a media-blitz of magazines, TV sets and car radios. (Only when they are turned off do we notice they've been on.) A whole new area of expertise has been developed—some day it will be a college major: the field of trivia. TV game shows, awarding cars and minks and garbage compactors to the ones who know the most cereal-box-type information, have glorified it for us. Watching those shows,

singing along with the car radio (I can recite the ads, even), I am amazed to discover how much I know, without knowing I knew it. I answer bonus questions without thinking, like the reincarnated Bridie Murphy speaking in a dialect she claimed she'd never heard.

All of which cannot help but clutter the mind. It's an unscientific notion that, like a cupboard, the brain has only so many shelves before things start to crowd and fall out, but I often get the feeling that I haven't space left to spread out my thoughts and see what I have. Loose links clanking in my head, and no chain. I long for—capital W—Wisdom. We all do. I think. Teachers were rarely funds of knowledge for us; they seldom knew more than what the textbooks taught, keeping one step ahead, reading the chapters the day before they were assigned. Parents, cautioned in the age of permissiveness not to overburden with advice, and confused themselves, sometimes to the point of despair, could give little. The venerable God died in our youth. (I still remember the cover of Time magazine one week—is God dead?; the phrase and the notion were brand-new then, and though he'd never been alive for me in the first place, the idea of his death, the death of one of the few existing sages—even a mythical one—disturbed me.) Indeed, so many of our childhood authority figures made a point of *not* being profound, wary of being laughed at for seriousness by what they took to be a sharp, tough, unsentimental bunch of smart-aleck cynics.

TEACHERS

Actually, we weren't that way at all. My contemporaries surprise me with what is at times their mushiness—their damp-eyed reading of "Love Story," Kahill Gibran and the thin best-selling books of Rod McKuen's emaciated poetry; their rejection of their parents' Muzak for a just-as-artistically-sweetened kind of pop; their trust in the occult and all things astrological, following the daily horoscope with a faith they never gave, when they were younger and regarded as more gullible, to fortune-cookie prophecies and tea-leaf aphorisms. The absence of true sages—men and women of deep sensibility—leads us to make false gods of rock poets and B-grade philosophers, injecting comic strips and children's books with significance their authors never knew they had. We, who so hated school, are in search now of *teachers*. An apricot-robed, lotus-folded guru with a name too long to fit on one line of a poster, an old man on a park bench (with a beard if possible), a plain-talking, no-nonsense Maine farmer with a pitchfork in his hand, the author of any slim volume of austere prose or poetry (the fewer words he writes, the more profound each one must be)—we attend their words so abjectly, sometimes even literally sit at their feet, waiting for any crumb of what will pass as wisdom to be offered us.

CREED

I remember a show-and-tell day when I was in fourth grade. I brought in a potholder I'd woven, someone displayed a sea anemone and someone else explained the engine of his model car, and one boy brought his rosary beads and his crucifix and took from his wallet a photograph of his priest and himself beside their church. We were all too stunned to laugh at first, but then the giggling started, until we were all hiccupping and one girl had to run off to the bathroom without waiting for a pass, and even the teacher was smiling, because religion was something shameful, the soft underside some of us had, but kept concealed. (Going to church was OK, like going to Brownies. But to speak, as Ralphie Leveque did, of loving God and of the blood of Christ, and Mary's tears and thorns and nails—that seemed almost dirty.)

Now, while the fourthgraders might still

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

giggle, Jesus has come out of the closet. The disenchanted and the ones never enchanted in the first place are returning to the fold with a passion their once-a-week religious parents never possessed. It is a sign of many things: an attempt to purify the spirit, to be drenched in holy waters after a drug-filled adolescence, a form of the new nostalgia, even—almost camp. What's really going on, though, in the Jesus movement is our search for a prophet, for someone who can, for a change, tell us the answers. (The big line I remember from our school days was, "There is no one right answer. What's your *opinion*?" After so many unprofound facts and so much loose, undisciplined freedom, it's comforting to have a creed to follow and a cross to bear.

NEWS TRIBUTES TO LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON

HON. THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, Lyndon Baines Johnson, a leader of unshakable courage and personal integrity, launched our Nation on a course of sweeping domestic reform, but foundered on the war in Vietnam. Now, he belongs to the ages, yet his monumental domestic achievements will endure to posterity.

President Lyndon Baines Johnson did not envision a good society; he enacted a program of social and economic progress that would create a Great Society in which all men were really equal; in which the aged would have proper medical attention; in which the people would have more parks and open spaces for recreation; in which the Government would take the lead to clean up air and water pollution; in which every American would have the essentials of life—enough food, a decent home, and adequate clothing.

Though Lyndon Johnson's dreams of wiping out poverty and social injustice were not brought to fruition in his lifetime, they were realistic goals. His many accomplishments in domestic reform speak fully for themselves and have taken their rightful place in the archives of our Nation.

Mr. Speaker, I place in the Record the following articles which appeared in the Boston Globe and Boston Herald American:

[From the Boston Globe, Jan. 23, 1973]

JOHN McCORMACK REMINISCES ABOUT "A TRUE AND GREAT FRIEND"

(By Lucinda Smith)

John W. McCormack, former speaker of the House of Representatives, reminisced last night about Lyndon B. Johnson, his close friend for 36 years.

McCormack referred to Mr. Johnson as "the President" and "Lyndon" as he told of the years they spent together in Washington, beginning in 1937 when Mr. Johnson took a Texas congressional seat.

In 1964, for the first 14 months of Mr. Johnson's term after President Kennedy's death, McCormack was second in line for the Presidency.

McCormack last night said: "During that

period we were very, very close. The President kept me informed at all times. I sat in on meetings of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, at the President's invitation; and I was constantly briefed by the President on matters of concern."

McCormack added: "Of course we were always very close well before that time. We were friends in the House and Senate, and we would talk over legislation of importance, such as the Civil Rights Bill."

Mr. Johnson, McCormack and the late Sam Rayburn, a lifelong friend to the Johnson family in Texas and Speaker of the House before McCormack, were constant companions in Washington during Rayburn's terms of office.

"The friendship between the three of us was very, very close," McCormack said last night.

He remembered the first meeting between Rayburn and Mr. Johnson:

"The President told me this story," McCormack said, "while he (Mr. Johnson) was sick in the hospital once, an earlier sickness than his heart attacks . . . he was unconscious at one time. On the day he woke up, there was a man sitting beside him, beside his bed, and the man was half asleep himself with a cigarette in his hand—the cigarette all burned out.

"His eyes were closed . . . this is what Lyndon told me. 'When I woke up,' the President told me, 'this man beside my bed woke up too. I said: Who are you? The man looked at me and said, I'm Sam Rayburn. I served in the Texas Assembly with your father. He was my closest friend.'

"If I had a son who was sick in another city, your father would be by my son's bedside. And there was Sam Rayburn beside my bed." Apparently, it was the first time they met," McCormack said. "I think it's a touching story."

McCormack also told of the last time he talked with Mr. Johnson. "About three weeks ago," he said, "I called him, and he wasn't in, and then he called me back. We spoke for awhile, as we often do." The occasion was McCormack's 81st birthday.

Last night McCormack said: "I am profoundly shocked to learn of the tragic death of President Lyndon Baines Johnson. I extend to Mrs. Johnson and his daughters my heartfelt sympathy and sincere condolences in their great loss and sorrow. LBJ was a great American President whose eminent role in the critical moment of the world's history and whose firm determination that peace and justice and honor should prevail in the world will insure his place in history. LBJ will long be remembered, too, as a great legislator and as the President who advanced the cause of civil rights more so than any other American. LBJ's contribution to the field of education was the most remarkable contribution in history."

"Under his leadership greater advances were made in education than under all the other Presidents since our country began. This has been overlooked in my judgment, and his achievement in this field should be recognized. LBJ despite some thoughts to the contrary, had a dynamic and warm personality. He had a true sincerity in his belief, and he had an indomitable will. He led the American people strongly and surely in an unbalanced world. LBJ was a leader who belonged to the American people. Now he too, like President Truman, belongs to the ages. It is with deep emotion that I must say that I have lost a true and great friend. America has lost a great leader."

[From the Boston Herald American, Jan. 23, 1973]

YOUNGEST TO HOLD POST: L. B. J. SKILLED SENATE LEADER

WASHINGTON.—Whatever the verdict of history on the Presidency of Lyndon B. John-

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son, he will be remembered as one of the most skilled leaders ever to serve in the senate.

He was elected minority floor leader by Senate Democrats in 1953 when he was 44, the youngest man ever chosen for the post. He had served just four years in the Senate and 12 in the House.

During the first year he sat across the aisle from "Mr. Republican", Senate Majority Leader Robert A. Taft, another giant in the history of Senate leadership. Taft died in the summer of 1953. The Democrats regained control of Congress in the 1954 elections, and Johnson served as majority leader during the last six years of the Republican Eisenhower administration.

Johnson may have learned something from Taft's mastery of the Senate, but he learned more earlier as a protege of his fellow Texan, Speaker Sam Rayburn, and the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt. He had won White House favor as the only Roosevelt supporter among a number of candidates running for a House vacancy in 1937.

It was in 1955 that he repudiated a fragment of the Taft political philosophy that "The business of the opposition is to oppose" and told fellow Democrats that they must place responsibility above partisanship. And he once wrote that he was an American first, a Democrat second and a Texan third.

As the dominant figures in the Senate and House from 1955 until Johnson became vice president with John F. Kennedy in 1961, the Texas team seemed a strange combination. Rayburn was short, gruff and taciturn. The tall rangy Johnson was talkative, flattering and not disposed to let a potential supporter forget favors.

Despite his skills, Johnson had his critics inside and outside Congress who called him an arm-twister and a wheeler-dealer.

Both Johnson and Rayburn were ready supporters of President Dwight D. Eisenhower on foreign policy issues, although Johnson sometimes grumbled privately that the Chief Executive was responsible for foreign policy and should not ask for a vote of confidence from Congress on some issues in that field. As President, he often resorted to those same tactics himself.

Although there never was a breach between Johnson and Eisenhower, they disagreed on domestic policies and economics, especially after the 1957 recession.

Installed in the Senate leadership with Southern support, it was Johnson who first led the Senate in cracking Southern filibusters against civil rights bills—in 1957 and 1960—that brought the measures to votes without cloture.

Relatively modest measures to break Southern barriers to voting by blacks, they led to passage of the more sweeping civil rights bills of 1964 and 1965.

By Texas standards, Johnson was liberal. The labor movement was eager, when Johnson was the Democratic nominee for president in 1964, to forget his House vote to override President Harry S. Truman's veto of the Taft-Hartley labor bill in 1947.

In private conversations in the Senate, he never seemed to share the dislike of Truman and Rayburn for the then-vice president and now President Richard M. Nixon.

"MY RESPONSIBILITY TO FREEDOM," BY DONALD L. McCAMMON

HON. DICK SHOUP

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. SHOUP. Mr. Speaker, each year the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the

United States and its ladies auxiliary conducts a Voice of Democracy Contest. This year nearly 500,000 secondary school students participated in the contest competing for the five national scholarships which are awarded as the top prizes. First prize is a \$10,000 scholarship, second prize is \$5,000, third prize is \$3,500, fourth prize is \$2,500, and the fifth prize is \$1,500. The contest theme was "My Responsibility to Freedom."

The winning contestant from each State is brought to Washington, D.C., for the final judging as guest of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. The winning contestant from Montana is Donald L. McCammon, 530 Idaho, Helena, and I am pleased to submit the following text of his speech:

MY RESPONSIBILITY TO FREEDOM

A bearded man walks beneath the green branches of a tree. He reaches underneath his dusty leather jacket, takes out a long knife and hacks a blaze on the smooth trunk. He sheaths his knife and silently treads over brown needles. More men follow him; then wagons rumble beneath the large tree. Men, women, and children tread in that explorer's footsteps. Americans moving west carrying their furniture, their clothes, and a vision.

A vision of a land where every person can worship God in his own way. A country where people have a voice in their own affairs. A nation where each man can live without fear of having a government continually watching his tiniest movement.

I am responsible to my forefathers to see that this vision is not dimmed. I must follow in the footsteps of that bearded man and continue blazing trails carrying freedom to every land.

On July 4, 1776, a group of men proclaimed to the world that the thirteen colonies they represented would no longer be ruled by a foreign power. Nearly two hundred years later those small colonies have grown to become fifty states. There are now over 200 million people who call themselves "Americans."

The American people, weathered by many seasons, molded by many races. The eyes are brown, grey, Indian-black, or almond-shaped. But the light in the eyes is the same. A bright light, the light that freedom put there.

It is the responsibility of each individual to keep the light of freedom shining brightly. He must exercise his right to freedom of speech in recognizing problems. He must become involved in government, vote, speak on the issues, and work for the candidate of his choice. He must work to keep freedom alive, for if he sits back in his padded chair and thinks that others will shoulder the load, then the light of freedom will flicker and go out. The nation he lives in will become another Hungary, another Czechoslovakia, a place where freedom is heard only in shadows, whispers, where once were shouts of joy.

You and I are explorers striving to blaze a path encircling the world. A path that would enable each individual to stand forth and proclaim, "I am a free person!"

Franklin D. Roosevelt wrote:

"In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look forward to a world founded upon four essential freedoms. We shall accept only a world consecrated to freedom of speech and expression—freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—freedom from want—and freedom from terrorism."

That was the world our forefathers were seeing. A vision of a world they could be proud of. A world in which they could think

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without interference, freely express ideas to others while striving toward a better tomorrow.

The man in the coonskin cap saw that vision as he pushed through a virgin forest. The pioneers saw that vision as they drove their wagons over a high mountain pass. Statesmen saw this vision while they passed laws expanding civil liberties. Soldiers died for this vision as they defended the rights and dignity of mankind.

I envision free people asking, "What sacrifice can I make to further the future of Freedom?"

This is my responsibility to Freedom. To be like Meriwether Lewis, Daniel Webster, and the unknown soldier and continue to blaze the trail they began. I must envision all people grasping hands and working together, building roads around the world to carry the lamp of freedom to all people.

WASHINGTON REPORT

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. MINSHALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, here is my newsletter for February 1973:

WASHINGTON REPORT OF CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM E. MINSHALL, FEBRUARY 1973

Thrift—or new taxes—which will it be in '73? In the final analysis, the answer may come from American taxpayers. You're the ones who have to foot the bill. Many Members of Congress are angry over President Nixon's proposals to clear away dead wood and underbrush from the forest of Federal expenditures. Others agree with the President that any increase in spending would mean higher taxes and more inflation. Yet a budget that calls for \$268.7 billion for Fiscal 1974 cannot be termed pinch-penny, with 47¢ of each budget dollar earmarked for domestic human resources as compared to 30¢ for national defense. *The lines are being drawn for an historic Battle of the Budget.* It may take an overwhelming expression by the taxpayers—like the avalanche of mail in 1957 that turned Capitol Hill around—to let Congress know whether the line should be held on government spending.

Defense Cuts from \$5 to \$10 Billion may emerge from my Defense Appropriations Subcommittee as we review \$77.1 billion of the total \$81 billion requested for national security. Of that, some \$22.7 billion are locked in for military and civilian pay, another \$4.7 billion for retirement benefits. *However, if we were still at the 1968 manpower peak reached during the Vietnam war, that pay figure would be \$12.2 billion more.* Although the Fiscal 1974 defense request is the largest ever in dollars, it is only 6.2% of the Gross National Product, the lowest level since 1950 and 3.4% below the 1968 high.

"God Bless America," said the first freed American POW to set foot on U.S. soil—and millions of us echoed his sentiments. Release of our men from Southeast Asian prison camps dramatizes the end of our role in the tragic conflict. All of you who stood firm with me in backing President Nixon's efforts during these agonizing years have a share in the letter I recently received from him: "Now that we have finally achieved peace with honor in Vietnam, I particularly want you to know how much I have appreciated the sup-

port you have given during these difficult years to the policies that made that achievement possible . . . in the years to come you can look back with pride on a stern test nobly met."

House Leadership has honored me with appointment to the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution. Chief Justice Burger is Chancellor of the Board which includes in its membership Vice President Agnew, three Members of the U.S. Senate, three from the House of Representatives, and six private citizens. . . I also this year became a member of the all-important House Committee on Committees, in charge of making Republican committee assignments.

To better serve the 23rd District I have opened a new office—in addition to the one in the Federal Building—at 20939 Lorain Road, Fairview Park, telephone 333-9936. I also plan to schedule "traveling offices" throughout the District, times and dates to be announced later.

Minshall bills introduced in this new 93rd Congress cover a variety of subjects. Among them—*Education*: H.R. 814, permit tax deduction of college expenses; H. Res. 69, create a Special Committee on Quality Education; H.J. Res. 95, constitutional amendment banning mandatory school busing; H.J. Res. 93, reverse the Merhige decision by insuring each State's right to control its public schools, including busing . . . *Environment*: H.R. 817, tax credit for homeowners, small businessmen and car owners who install pollution control devices; H.R. 818, tax credits for firms and industries installing such devices; H.R. 2456, include private property under Federal shoreline protection . . . *Foreign Affairs*: H.R. 3916, ban "Most Favored Nation" trade treatment to countries denying right of emigration or charging exorbitant fees from emigrants . . . *Health/Social Security*: H.R. 804, Federal licensing of blood banks; H.R. 820, restore deductions for medical care to persons over 65; H.R. 822, include prescription drugs under Medicare; H.R. 2223, Medicredit, provide medical-dental insurance for all through tax credits . . . *Law Enforcement*: H.R. 807, stronger penalties for use of a firearm in commission of a Federal crime; H.R. 808, Law Enforcement Officers "Bill of Rights"; H.R. 810, create a Federal Judicial Council . . . *Taxes*: H.R. 716, equitable tax treatment of working married couples and single persons; H.R. 812, increase personal income tax exemptions to \$1,500; H.R. 816, permit home repair deductions to \$1,000 . . . *Other*: H.R. 802, Truth in News Broadcasting; H.R. 811, require financial disclosure by Federal judges; H.R. 3269, limit campaign spending. Copies of these bills may be obtained from my Washington office.

THE 55TH ANNIVERSARY OF ESTONIAN INDEPENDENCE

HON. GERALD R. FORD

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, Saturday was the 55th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence of the Republic of Estonia. I am proud to pay tribute to Americans of Estonian descent and to those Estonians now living behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. Speaker, the U.S. Government has never recognized the Soviet takeover of Estonia and, indeed, we never should. The Russian occupation is simply a case of naked aggression.

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As a Congressman, as an American, and as a human being, I share the concern of men and women everywhere for the victims of this tyranny. The spirit of freedom and independence of 1918 lives among Estonians. So long as free men humbly acknowledge their liberties as derived from God and securely rooted in Him, the fire of freedom and independence shall burn until its brightness ushers in a new era of justice, freedom, and peace for Estonia and for peoples everywhere.

WENDY LYNN HELLERSTEDT: "MY RESPONSIBILITY TO FREEDOM"

HON. DONALD M. FRASER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, Wendy Lynn Hellerstedt is a 17-year-old Minneapolitan. She attends Edison Senior High School in northeast Minneapolis. A senior, she plans to attend college and hopes to be a journalist.

Ms. Hellerstedt has already demonstrated that she is a writer of ability. Her script on the theme, "My Responsibility to Freedom" and her delivery of it won for her the Minnesota segment of the Veterans of Foreign Wars 1972-73 Voice of Democracy contest. She will now compete here in Washington for one of the five national scholarship prizes.

After reading her essay, I think she should win. But whether she does or not, Wendy Hellerstedt has represented her State and her city well.

Her observations that freedom must be exercised if it is not to die and that a critical nature is fundamental to freedom's survival are too often ignored by those writing about freedom. I am proud and pleased to place in the RECORD Wendy Lynn Hellerstedt's entry in the VFW contest. I know her teachers, her schoolmates and her parents, Emery D. Hellerstedt and Alice C. Hellerstedt of Minneapolis share with me this pride in Wendy's accomplishments.

MY RESPONSIBILITY TO FREEDOM

(By Wendy Hellerstedt)

Almost all Americans realize their freedom, but few of us have a definition for it. Perhaps we cannot define this thing called freedom because we have never really known its opposite—oppression.

Although it is true we have never known strong oppression in America, it would be false to say that we have never known restrictions. The farmer is restricted by the government to some extent in how he handles the land, the businessman must follow some rules, but these restrictions are necessary. Without some government control, there could be freedom for only the very strong. It is these restrictions that make our many freedoms sweet. When someone grumbles about his taxes or traffic laws or whatever, perhaps he should think of his freedom to believe what he wants to, to say the things he wants to say and his right to dream of dreams for himself and try to make them realities.

One would have to agree that this hard-to-define thing called freedom is a precious

thing. There have been wars to preserve it, poems to praise it and bodies buried for it. If it is a tangible thing, something I could hold in my hand and feel, then I suppose that my responsibility to it would be to lock it up and keep it safe. I should be very selfish and protective of it for fear that I might lose it. But if freedom is more than an object, if it is something deeper, an idea, an emotion, which I think it is, then my responsibility to it is just the opposite. I should do my best to spread this idea of freedom, to keep it alive in everyone. I should realize that it is not a thing to be selfish with, but a thing to share. Freedom is not meant for one man, or for a hundred men, but for all men, for all nations.

In order to keep freedom alive, I must always utilize the freedoms offered to me. I must use my freedom of press to praise my freedoms, to give others in oppressed nations a taste of my freedom so they may dream of it and strive to obtain it for themselves. I must use my freedom of speech to spread this glorious idea also.

Along with praising my freedom, if I truly love it, I am obligated to criticize it. I must realize that nothing is perfect and I must make it my job to search for injustices that may exist under the guise of freedom. When I see a person, or a people, abused by what they may have been led to believe is freedom, I must take action if true freedom is to be kept alive.

Freedom is a demanding thing—it's very existence rests on our being responsible to it. Many Americans are ignorant of this fact. They suppose that since they were born free, they will die free. But freedom is not a gift, it is more like a heritage to uphold. It wasn't given to us by our ancestors, but rather, it is a result, or symbol, of all their toil and frustration to make the dream of freedom come alive. Freedom must always be cared for and used, lest it die and become just a memory. And how sad a memory it would be, and how heartbreaking it would be to tell our children that we lost freedom because we didn't care enough to try to preserve it.

All that we need to do to preserve our freedom is to use it. So simple a task. We must be concerned citizens, keep informed, vote in all elections, let our voices be heard and the voices of our brothers.

In summary, my responsibility to freedom is to regard it as my own child: to praise it, criticize it and recognize it. It is like a child in many ways. It is something new in an old world and like a child it needs to be cared for, to be kept alive for it is still growing. Without this care, without this responsibility we must all feel for it, the child freedom will die.

WE HAVE HAD ENOUGH SHOOTING

HON. WILLIAM LEHMAN

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. Speaker, the recent shooting of Senator STENNIS has shocked and saddened us all. Not only many of our prominent political leaders, but also too many of our private citizens have become victims of shooting.

In light of this, I am compelled to ask why the American taxpayer is asked to support the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice.

Eleven Government employees spend \$160,000 a year to "promote civilian in-

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terest in small arms marksmanship." This activity is deemed so important by the administration that the outlays for this board are scheduled to increase by 44 percent over their 1972 level.

This year Congress must take the lead in reshaping our national priorities. As we pursue this goal, let us consider the nature and the cost of the National Board for the Promotion of Rifle Practice.

LICENSING STEEL SCRAP EXPORTS

HON. H. JOHN HEINZ III

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

MR. HEINZ. Mr. Speaker, as you well know, steel is the basic material in the manufacture of both consumer and capital equipment. In the United States, steel is the fundamental commodity in industries accounting for approximately one-third of all manufacturing employment. The steel industry itself, with more than 250 companies, directly employs nearly 750,000 Americans.

Since approximately one-half of the metals consumed in the manufacture of steel consists of iron and steel scrap, steel manufacturers are heavily dependent upon scrap dealers and other outside sources for supplies of scrap. This dependency is virtually total in the case of specialty steel companies, which utilize electric furnaces whose metallic charge consists of almost 100 percent scrap. Therefore, scrap iron and steel classifies as a crucial commodity in a crucial national industry.

In the past several months, rising world steel production has boosted foreign demand for U.S. iron and steel scrap to a level 65 percent higher than normally experienced over the past 10 years. Approximately 12 million tons of ferrous scrap exports are projected in 1973 compared with 7.2 million tons in 1972 and an average of 7.1 million tons over the last decade. Domestic steel activity is now beginning to reflect the rapid expansion of the national economy, and with domestic production rising, our own mills and foundries requirements for scrap are moving up as well. Present projections show a domestic industry demand in 1973 for 41.5 million tons of purchased scrap, up from 37 million tons in 1972.

Rising domestic and foreign demand has already resulted in a marked increase in scrap prices within the United States. Currently, the composite price of No. 1 heavy melting scrap, the most widely used grade, is \$48.67 per ton, 35.5 percent higher than a year ago. The domestic steel industry projects additional costs resulting from scrap price increases in excess of \$500 million this year. Such jumps in costs will be detrimental to the entire steel industry, and in the case of small, individual specialty

steel companies, who are 100 percent dependent upon scrap for their continued operations, these huge cost increases may very well be enough to price them completely out of a competitive market. Moreover, because of the importance of steel in our economy these costs will be felt throughout the business and consumer sectors, creating additional inflationary pressures.

In response to these dangerous market conditions, I have written the Secretary of Commerce, the Honorable Frederick Dent, urging the immediate adoption of a program licensing scrap steel as a first step in controlling a rapidly worsening and inflationary market condition. The Export Administration Act of 1972 provides the President authority for export licensing and control when there exist strategic or political reasons, or reasons of short supply. Obviously, with price increases of 37 percent in the last year, short supply conditions exist and immediate steps are necessary to rectify this disturbing and inflationary situation.

I include the text of my letter to Secretary Dent below, along with the Secretary's reply. I also include for my colleagues information a copy of a statement by the American Iron and Steel Institutes. This statement corroborates the need for Government action to protect the domestic steel industry and the domestic economy from further inflationary pressures induced by foreign steel producers.

The material follows:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., February 2, 1973.
Hon. FREDERICK B. DENT,
Secretary, Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: I write to ask the immediate adoption by the Department of Commerce of a program licensing scrap steel exports as a first step in controlling a rapidly worsening and inflationary supply situation affecting the entire specialty steel industry.

Recently, foreign steel interests have been purchasing large quantities of American scrap steel. As the foreign demand for this commodity has increased, the supply available to domestic consumers of scrap steel has diminished, and prices have skyrocketed, thereby creating a disruptive market situation.

In the last year alone the Pittsburgh price of scrap has shot from \$38 to \$52 per ton. This sharp increase in price, accompanied by a rapid shrinkage of available supply, has proven particularly damaging to the specialty steel industry, which is so vital a supplier to other industries, including our national defense. This industry's continued functioning is 100% dependent upon scrap steel because of the use of electric furnaces in specialty steel production.

Although the Export Administration Act provides the President authority to impose quotas for strategic or political reasons or for short supply control, I do not seek the imposition of export quotas at the present time. However, I urge the immediate adoption of a system of scrap export licensing as a means to monitor and control excess exportation of this critical commodity. Moreover, I feel the Department should immediately invite comment from all sectors of the steel industry to determine the feasibility

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and desirability of setting actual export quotas.

I might add that I do not lightly take the step of urging export controls on any commodity or product. In general, export controls, particularly if of a permanent nature, can have damaging or costly long-term effects. In the case of scrap steel, however, I believe there are at least two exceptional factors: first, the specialty steel industry, a vital national resource, is totally dependent upon scrap steel for day to day operation, and this constitutes a unique dependence; second, a careful analysis by your department may show, based on my own preliminary evaluation, that export restrictions, in addition to protecting against inflation by reducing cost pressures on specialty steel products, may have the added benefit of reducing foreign steel imports, which cost American jobs and worsen our balance of payments, by forcing foreign steel producers to compete for scrap steel in their own domestic markets.

I urge your closest attention to this problem and immediate steps to rectify a rapidly worsening market condition, and respectfully request an early indication of your department's position.

With every good wish,

Sincerely,

H. JOHN HEINZ III,
Member of Congress.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF COMMERCE,
Washington, D.C., February 15, 1973.
Hon. H. JOHN HEINZ III,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. HEINZ: This is in further reply to your letter of February 2 directing attention to the sudden rise in ferrous scrap prices in recent months and recommending as a first step the imposition of export controls on ferrous scrap.

The Department is following developments in the scrap market very closely. Preliminary discussions have already taken place with representatives of the steel industry as well as with representatives of the scrap processing industry. We met on January 24 with officials of the steel and ferrous foundry industries to hear their request for limiting the exports of ferrous scrap. Officials of the scrap industry presented their views on this important issue on February 7.

We recognize that the cost of scrap represents a significant part of the total cost of producing raw steel. The impact of higher scrap prices is greatest on companies which utilize electric furnaces and are almost totally dependent on scrap as the source of their raw material.

At the same time, we also recognize that exports account for a large part of the total sales of many U.S. scrap processors, and that exports of scrap make an important contribution to the nation's exports. U.S. exports of ferrous scrap in 1972 totaled 7.4 million tons (\$244 million), 17.5 percent greater than in 1971. Record exports of 10.4 million tons occurred in 1970. Both domestic and foreign demand for American scrap have been rising and prices have risen substantially. Estimates of exports for 1973 that have come to our attention range from 8 to 12 million tons.

The Export Administration Act provides authority for controlling exports. The Act states that "It is the policy of the United States to use export controls to the extent necessary to protect the domestic economy from the excessive drain of scarce materials and to reduce the serious inflationary impact of abnormal foreign demand." Now that we have met with both consumers and scrap processors, we shall make a careful review and analysis of available data on trends in

scrap supply, demand and prices to ascertain whether action to control exports is warranted under the criteria of this Act.

Sincerely,

GARY M. COOK,
Deputy Assistant Secretary and Acting
Director, Bureau of Competitive As-
sessment and Business Policy.

STATEMENT OF THE DOMESTIC STEEL INDUSTRY
ON GOVERNMENT ACTION TO LIMIT EXPORTS
OF IRON AND STEEL SCRAP IN 1973 BY THE
AMERICAN IRON AND STEEL INSTITUTE

The domestic steel industry comprises more than 250 companies engaged in the manufacture and sale of steel products. These companies employ over 700,000 persons and operate plants, as well as other mining and production facilities, in 37 states. Annual sales and capital investment of the industry are each in excess of \$20 billion. Steel is basic in the manufacture of consumer and capital equipment in U.S. industries which account for approximately one-third of all manufacturing employment.

Iron and steel scrap comprises roughly 50 percent of the metallic input consumed in the manufacture of steel, with blast furnace pig iron the second principal ingredient in terms of volume. While its own operations generate a large portion of its requirements, the industry is heavily dependent on dealers and other outside sources for the balance of its scrap requirements. This applies particularly to the large number of electric furnace plants throughout the country whose metallic charge consists of almost 100 percent scrap.

Scrap purchases of steel companies, together with those of the foundry industry, totalled more than 37 million net tons in 1972. Based on present projections of industry activity, 41.5 million tons of purchased scrap will be needed in the United States in 1973, of which 25.0 million tons, or 60 percent will be required by the smaller companies without blast furnace (pig iron) facilities.

In 1969 and 1970 the steel industry, together with the foundry industry, went through a period in which abnormally high foreign demand for steel scrap resulted in the sky-rocketing of U.S. exports of this vital material. Between April 1969 and March 1970, short-supply conditions in this country, caused by excessive exports, increased the average price of scrap by 57 percent. This price increase inflated steel industry scrap costs by more than \$277 million in 1970 alone, excluding the millions of dollars spent in locating new scrap supplies and in modifying steelmaking practices to accommodate usage of lower quality grades.

The short-supply and price conditions experienced in 1969 and 1970 will be even more chaotic in 1973, unless the Department of Commerce acts immediately to limit the exportation of iron and steel scrap. Authority for such action is provided to Commerce under the Export Administration Act of 1972 which says in part:

"It is the policy of the United States to use export controls to the extent necessary to protect the domestic economy from the excessive drain of scarce materials and to reduce the serious inflationary impact of abnormal demand. . . ."

The principal lesson learned from the 1969-1970 experience is that the imposition of export restrictions cannot await the availability of final statistical evidence that abnormally high foreign demand has in fact brought about domestic shortages and inflationary prices. By that time the damage to the economy has occurred. There may be, and usually are, several months between receipt of a foreign order, stockpiling of the material, loading and exportation of the shipment, and

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evidence of the transaction in published statistics. It appears obvious that the domestic economy would obtain little if any protection under the Export Administration Act if export controls could not be imposed until after a basic industry had sustained service injury and can set forth the statistical data to prove it.

Facts in support of the steel industry's position that the volume of ferrous scrap exports be limited in 1973 are as follows:

1. *Domestic Scrap Price Increases:* In 1972, domestic scrap prices rising in response to accelerated world demand, increased 35%, with 10 percent of the increase occurring in December alone. Although domestic scrap consumption has risen slightly over the past three months, and will show only moderate upward movement in the next three months, the sharp rise in scrap prices indicates that scrap is in short supply in this country, and that it will be in stringent short supply in the Spring of 1973, as commitments to export heavy tonnages then are filled.

2. *Rising World Steel Production.* World steel production is expected to continue the advance begun this year, increasing from 690 million net tons in 1972 to 735 million net tons in 1973. Japan and other steel-producing nations have made it clear that in 1973 they will import larger quantities of steel scrap from the U.S. to maintain or expand their share of world steel trade. Depriving the U.S. industry of this needed material, thereby diminishing its ability to be competitive with other steel producing nations, is not consistent with our national steel trade policy.

3. *Scrap Export Policies of Major Industrial Nations:* The embargo prohibiting the export of iron and steel scrap from the United Kingdom after August 31, 1972, confirms the rising world demand for scrap. More important, countries previously dependent on the U.K. for scrap have turned to the United States, the only major industrial country now permitting free exportation of these valuable iron and steel units. Other Western European countries and Japan do not permit the exportation of scrap, except under rare circumstances, and then only if home demand is at relatively low levels.

4. *Projections of U.S. Scrap Exporters:* Leaders of the domestic scrap industry openly project that scrap exports will rise to an annual level of 12 million tons for the first half of 1973, including a 150 percent increase in exports to Japan.

Based on economic projections, the domestic steel and foundry industries will need a record level of 41.5 million net tons of purchased steel scrap to sustain the expansion in the economy. Exports of 12 million net tons would require the total delivery of 53.5 million net tons to both domestic and export markets by the scrap industry, an impossible accomplishment in light of recent history. Deliveries at annual rates of 46 million tons in 1969, and during the first half of 1970 created chaotic short supply conditions and inflationary prices. At that time steel mill scrap inventories were reduced to their lowest levels in the decade (see table attached).

During the 1969-1970 period, ferrous scrap exports equalled 22 percent of the total available supply in this country. This data alone does not measure the full impact on domestic consumers. For example, in the 12 months between August 1969 and July 1970, the height of the two-year cycle, exports of 4.1 million tons of No. 1 heavy melting scrap, the key industry grade, were only slightly lower than the 4.4 million tons delivered to the entire domestic steel industry.

Scrap prices rose an average of \$13.00 per ton in 1969-1970. Such an increase, applied to 12 million tons of scrap exports would increase foreign scrap acquisition costs by \$156 million this year. Yet this same increase applied to the 41.5 million tons of domestic purchased scrap requirements we anticipate this year would raise our costs by \$540 million in 1973. This is a measure of the potential impact on the domestic industry, and the basis of our concern.

Exportation of iron and steel scrap in 1973 significantly above the 1972 level of 7 million tons will adversely affect domestic consumers and ultimately the national economy, this year, and in years following. If we cannot obtain our 1973 purchased scrap requirements, our lessened ability to satisfy expanding domestic and export requirements may also produce an increase in the U.S. steel trade deficit, which was over \$2 billion in 1972.

The domestic steel industry therefore urges the Department of Commerce to impose limitations on scrap exports under the authority conferred by the Export Administration Act, restricting the exportation of iron and steel scrap in 1973 to 7.0 million net tons, and limiting exports in either half year to not more than 50 percent of total exports for the full year.

ETHNIC POLITICS

HON. JAMES V. STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. JAMES V. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, it is now obvious that there will be no Government funding, either in fiscal year 1973 or fiscal year 1974, of the ethnic heritage studies program that was authorized by Congress as part of the Higher Education Act of 1972. The fact is, members of my staff have made inquiry of officials at the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and we have been told that the Department did not even submit a request for funds to President Nixon's Office of Management and Budget. Now, I realize that the President is proposing to drop a number of excellent programs already in existence and, therefore, the prospects of winning funds for a new program such as this are slim indeed. I do not intend, despite my longstanding interest in this program, to fight a battle which inevitably I will lose, in the face of heavy resistance from White House budgetmakers. However, I do want to say—for the RECORD, and so that the public might know—that I take an exceedingly dim view of any administration that speaks frequently and volubly in an election year about the merits of an ethnic studies program, only to fall silent once the election has successfully been concluded in favor of the administration. I will conclude by assuring my colleagues that, as soon as there are realistic prospects for success, I shall renew my efforts on behalf of this program, which I feel is so much in accord with American precepts, and which has so much to offer to our young people.

SELECTED DATA ON IRON AND STEEL SCRAP, SHOWING VOLUME OF PURCHASED SCRAP REQUIREMENTS RELATIVE TO TOTAL SCRAP CONSUMPTION AND THE IMPACT OF SCRAP EXPORTS
ON SCRAP SUPPLY AND PRICE

	Thousands of net tons							
	Total scrap consumption	Less mill scrap production	Change in mill scrap inventories	Purchased scrap requirement	Scrap exports	Total purchased scrap requirement	Exports as percent of total requirement	BLS scrap price index, 1967 = 100
1962	66,160	40,645	-352	23,163	5,014	30,177	16.6	95.2
1963	74,620	44,655	-526	29,439	6,217	35,656	17.4	91.7
1964	84,626	52,262	-518	31,846	7,766	39,612	19.6	109.4
1965	90,359	55,213	+215	35,361	6,129	41,490	14.8	112.6
1966	91,583	55,463	+546	36,666	5,774	42,440	13.6	106.6
1967	85,361	52,312	-395	32,654	7,506	40,160	18.7	100.0
1968	87,060	53,545	+89	33,604	6,565	40,169	16.3	93.0
1969	94,816	56,287	-1,330	37,199	9,037	46,236	19.5	110.5
1970	85,559	52,575	+1,116	34,100	10,648	44,748	23.8	138.9
January-June	(45,152)	(27,125)	(-192)	(17,835)	(5,351)	(23,386)	(22.9)	(146.5)
July-December	(40,407)	(25,450)	(+1,308)	(16,265)	(5,297)	(21,362)	(24.8)	(131.2)
1971	82,567	49,169	+826	34,224	6,478	40,702	15.9	114.6
10-year averages	84,271	51,213	-33	33,025	7,113	40,139	17.7	107.3
1972 estimate	91,000	53,500	-194	37,306	7,200	44,506	16.3	122.1
January-June	(45,259)	26,125	(-121)	(19,013)	(3,292)	(22,305)	(14.8)	(117.0)
July-December	(45,741)	27,375	(-73)	(18,293)	(3,908)	(22,201)	(17.6)	(127.3)
1973:								
Estimate A ³	100,000	58,500		41,500	^ 7,000	48,500	14.4	
Estimate B ⁴	94,000	55,500	-2,000	36,500	12,000	48,500	24.7	

¹ Actual.

² Based on 10 percent increase over 1972.

³ Based on government controls limiting exports to 7,000,000 net tons.

⁴ Based on no controls on scrap exports. The lower levels of domestic scrap consumption and purchased requirement shown in estimate B result wholly from lower scrap availability to domestic consumers due to expansion of scrap exports.

Source: 1967-6 months 1972 tonnage data, Bureau of Mines, covering steel mills and foundries in the United States.

HEARINGS ON CLEAR AIR ACT

HON. PAUL G. ROGERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. ROGERS. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, February 28, the Subcommittee on Public Health and Environment will conduct hearings on H.R. 4291, which would extend the funding provisions of the Clean Air Act for 1 year, through fiscal 1974. I believe it would be useful to advise interested Members of the purpose of the hearings.

The hearing is intended only to develop data surrounding the necessity to continue the funding provisions of the Clean Air Act. It is not intended that the regulatory provisions of the act will be under consideration during the hearing or during the subcommittee executive session following the hearing.

Mr. Speaker, the Environmental Protection Agency is presently involved in two complex and controversial proceedings under the act. One proceeding involves implementation of a State plan for California which includes a proposal for gasoline rationing. A second is a proceeding to consider requests of the automobile manufacturers for a 1-year delay in implementation of the 1975 emissions standards. Both proceedings are now in the hearing stage, the latter as a result of a remand from the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit.

Principally for this reason, I believe it is in the best interests of all concerned that the hearing be limited to matters other than these two proceedings.

ANNE JANSS MOURNED

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, on January 22 while helicopter skiing, Anne Janss was killed by an avalanche at Sun Valley, Idaho, and the West lost one of its most talented and remarkable women. Mrs. Janss was a personal friend of mine and of many hundreds of other ski and outdoor enthusiasts. Her death is a huge loss to people who love mountains, rivers, trees, and indeed all of the great outdoors of the Mountain States and Pacific Coast.

Despite the tragic circumstances of her death, I recall Anne, not as the victim of a meaningless accident, but as a fearless challenger of the best that life has to offer. Aware of the dangers involved in helicopter skiing and insistent that the many technical requirements of the sport be met, she introduced many qualified friends to the exhilaration of this experience.

But skiing was only one of many new challenges she ventured to explore and then introduce to others. An enthusiastic outdoors woman, she encouraged and was often the leader in backpacking, camping, and mountain climbing expeditions. Her love of art and music led to the establishment of the Sun Valley Creative Arts Center. Taking up ice skating only 9 years ago, her children almost grown, she became a qualified figure skater. Always she felt that participation in these activities offered both intellectual and emotional benefits far more than the mere achievement of physical skills and she successfully im-

parted those beliefs to those who came in contact with her.

I know that many people share the feeling of loss that I experience, and will miss her enthusiasm, encouragement, and always helpful participation in the life of Sun Valley. My sympathy goes to Anne's husband, William C. Janss, owner of Sun Valley and to her two daughters and son.

A VERY GOOD YEAR FOR AGRICULTURE

HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, many times I have addressed this body on the serious and difficult problems which beset the American farmer. Often, I know, I have been quite pessimistic about his future, and showed disappointment in the lack of commitment on the part of our leaders in assisting him with his problems.

Last year my pessimism was reversed and I was encouraged by the remarkable progress that was shown by increases in farm prices, cash receipts, and net farm income. At that time, I inserted an article in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD entitled, "Agriculture—Midyear Review and Outlook." The article had been issued by the Federal Reserve Board in their excellent publication Business Conditions and reviewed this encouraging situation. I expressed then my personal hope that this trend would continue.

Now it appears that 1972 was indeed a very good year for farmers—the first good year in fact since the Korean war

years. A followup article by the same publisher entitled, "Boom Year for Agriculture" summarizes the Midwestern farm situation, farm finances, and the outlook for agriculture in a most optimistic manner. I am pleased farmers were able to enjoy a satisfactory degree of prosperity in 1972, and am hopeful 1973 and future years will be as profitable for them. I include in the RECORD the article "Boom Year for Agriculture":

BOOM YEAR FOR AGRICULTURE

American farmers in 1972 enjoyed a degree of prosperity unknown since the Korean War years. Output of major commodities was at, or near, record levels. Sharply higher prices and increased government payments combined to boost gross farm income in 1972 to a new high of \$66 billion, up more than \$5 billion from 1971. Despite rising production expenses, realized net income of farm proprietors rose about 17 percent to almost \$19 billion, nearly \$2 billion above the old record that had stood for a quarter of a century!

About four-fifths of the increase in gross income reflected higher prices. The weighted composite of agricultural commodity prices received by farmers averaged about 12 percent higher in 1972 than in 1971. Stronger domestic demand associated with rapidly rising disposable personal income was primarily responsible for boosting prices, especially for meat animals. Outlays on food by U.S. consumers rose 6 percent in 1972. In the second half of the year, record grain exports and weather-caused harvest delays exerted upward pressure on crop prices.

Food prices averaged sharply higher at the retail level in 1972. Unprocessed farm products have been exempt from government price controls since ceilings were imposed in 1971. In June 1972, however, the Price Commission established maximum profit margins on sales of various raw food products after the first sale. In addition, the Administration suspended quotas on meat imports. These government actions may have had only marginal effects on supplies and prices, but the rise in food prices did slow in the second half of 1972.

Large foreign purchases of grain in the second half of 1972, together with uncertainties over the yield of U.S. harvests, pushed grain and soybean prices up further. Unprecedented Soviet purchases of grain were the major factor in the export market. These purchases totaled more than \$1 billion in 1972, thereby exceeding the minimum purchase of \$750 million of grain over a three-year period stipulated in the grain agreement between the two nations negotiated at mid-year. Demand for U.S. grain was stimulated by poor crops in several foreign countries, including the Soviet Union.

Direct government payments to farmers exceeded \$4 billion in 1972—up \$1 billion from 1971 and a new record. Payments under the feed grain program totaled \$1.9 billion—nearly double the 1971 amount. (Feed grains include corn, sorghum, oats and barley.) Payments under the wheat program also increased, but at a much slower pace. Higher government payments reflected both a larger acreage "set-aside" and higher rates per acre.

Crop acreage planted in 1972 totaled less than 300 million acres, down 9 million from 1971. Although adverse weather prevailed during the main harvesting season, increases in yields per acre resulted in record harvests for many commodities.

MIDWEST FARMERS GAIN

Cash receipts from farm marketings rose 10 percent or more in 1972 in each of the

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states of the Seventh Federal Reserve District. Income from each of the major Midwest farm commodities—beef, hogs, dairy products, corn, and soybeans—increased substantially in 1972. Government payments to district farmers were up 60 percent from 1971.

Hog slaughter was down about 10 percent in 1972. But hog prices averaged more than 40 percent above 1971 levels, reflecting both the reduced supplies and a strong consumer demand. Despite rising feed costs, especially late in 1972, profit margins on hog feeding showed marked improvement from year-earlier levels. The ratio of the price of hogs to the price of corn, a rough measure of profitability, was near record levels through most of the year.

Cattle feeders also prospered in 1972, especially in the first half. The slight increase in beef production did not match the substantial gains in consumer demand, and cattle prices averaged appreciably higher throughout the year. Prices of high quality fed cattle reached a record \$39 per hundred pounds in mid-1972, up 18 percent from a year before. As beef slaughter increased, prices of fed cattle declined through most of the second half of 1972, but then rose sharply again in December. Feeder cattle prices reached a record high of \$50 per hundred pounds in the fall months, up 25 percent from a year before. Higher prices of feeders and feed and lower prices for fed cattle reduced cattle feeder's profits in the second half of 1972.

Dairy farmers' cash receipts rose about 4 percent in 1972. Although milk production increased, strong demand pushed milk prices to an average of \$6 per hundred pounds, up about 3.5 percent. Per capita consumption of dairy products rose in 1972 for the first time since 1955. Wisconsin remains the nation's leading dairy state with 14 percent of total output.

Corn and soybean farmers' profits were generally favorable in 1972, a year of unusual developments. Corn supplies were burdensome at the start of the year and prices were depressed. Soybean supplies were moderately smaller than a year earlier, and prices were about the same.

Increased demand for corn and soybeans boosted prices in the first half of 1972. This trend strengthened further during the second half of the year with the announcement of the Soviet grain agreement, and the adverse weather conditions which delayed fall harvesting. In mid-December the soybean price topped \$4 per bushel, up \$1 per bushel from a year earlier. Corn hit \$1.60 per bushel, up 40 cents from the year before.

FARM FINANCE

Rising farm income in 1972 was reflected in large increases in farmers' investments in land, machinery, motor vehicles, home furnishings, and other consumer goods. Purchases of farm tractors rose 20 percent over the year-earlier level in retail unit sales. The desire to increase farm size in order to achieve economies of scale in purchasing, production, and marketing activities also encouraged aggressive bidding on available tracts of land.

The gain in investments resulted in increased farm borrowings from commercial banks and other lenders. With loan funds more readily available than in recent years, and with a good record of repayments on existing loans, lenders actively sought farm loans of all types. Farm debt totaled about \$71 billion at the end of 1972, up 9 percent from a year earlier. Non-real estate loans made up 60 percent of the increase; the remainder was secured by farmland.

THE FARM OUTLAND

As 1973 begins, the farm economy seems poised for another year of high income. Cash

prices of livestock and grains remain near record levels, and trading in futures contracts suggests continued high prices for most commodities. Maintenance of current price levels, however, depends in large degree on continued strength of demand—especially foreign demand. Moreover even if prices remain high, climbing operating expenses and expected sharply lower government payments indicate that net profits may decline from the advanced levels of 1972.

Production plans suggest record output of beef and turkeys in 1973, and output of pork and milk is expected to rise. A survey taken in December showed that farmers intended to farrow 6 percent more sows in the December-May period than a year earlier. If hog producers carry out these intentions, pork supplies during the latter half of 1973 probably will rise by a similar amount. Marketings of fed cattle probably will rise in the first half of 1973, as the increased inventory of cattle on feed reaches marketing weights. If sufficient feeders are available in early 1973, increased marketings likely will be maintained throughout the year.

Because of high prices and modifications in government programs, grain production should expand in 1973. About 12 million fewer acres of land are expected to be set aside in the feed grain program. A large portion of this will be planted to soybeans and corn, particularly the former.

Prospects for rising consumer income in 1973 indicate another large gain for consumer purchases of food. Foreign demand for U.S. agricultural commodities is widely expected to be very strong again next year, but supplies in other major agricultural nations will largely determine whether this occurs. Russia was able to boost grain output sharply following short crops in the mid-1960s, and this could occur again in 1973. In six of the past ten years, Russia has been a net exporter of grain. Other grain-exporting nations will also attempt to boost production.

On balance, the farm sector is expected to record a generally favorable year again in 1973. Production of most major commodities is almost certain to rise. Expected strong demand, both domestic and foreign, probably will offset much of the price-depressing effects of larger supplies. Expanded production, coupled with favorable prices, should boost gross farm income to another record in 1973. The combination of lower government payments to farmers and the persistent rise in production expenses, however, will likely reduce net farm income from 1972's record level.

POLL CONDUCTED BY WISCONSIN DIVISION OF AAA

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Mondy, February 26, 1973

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the officers of the Wisconsin division of the American Automobile Association have called to my attention a poll conducted by that organization in June 1972. The purpose of the poll was to determine the position of the members of the Wisconsin division of the AAA on highway matters. The results while not surprising, nevertheless are of interest.

I would like to insert the following

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summary of the poll showing the questions, number of responses, and the answers tabulated as to percentages:

HIGHLIGHTS OF WISCONSIN DIVISION AAA MEMBER TRANSPORTATION POLL CONDUCTED IN JUNE 1972

Wisconsin AAA members have shown strong support for improving public mass transportation, but a poll of the 300,000 members demonstrated equally strong opposition to raiding highway user tax revenues to provide aid to public transportation.

General state or federal funds were favored by 72 percent of the voters as the primary source for mass transit subsidies.

While 68 percent favored improving public mass transportation, only 31 percent approved the use of existing highway funds for mass transit.

Stuart B. Wright, AAA general manager, said the poll reaffirmed that the majority of AAA members want the Highway Trust Fund at the federal level and the segregated highway fund at the state level maintained for highway purposes only.

The AAA polled one percent of its master members in a special mail poll late in May and offered all its members a chance to vote by printing the official ballot in the June issue of the Motor News. Results of both polls were similar.

Wright said the 25-question poll was "the most complete, most definitive opinion sampling on transportation issues ever conducted by the Wisconsin AAA."

Peripheral parking lots designed to aid public transportation gained support from 57 percent of the respondents, but only 43 percent approved the use of highway funds to pay for the lots. On financing, 48 percent opposed the use of highway funds and nine percent had no opinion.

Improving existing streets and highways was favored by 85 percent of the AAA members while 68 percent approved constructing new streets and highways as traffic needs dictate.

WISCONSIN AAA MEMBER TRANSPORTATION POLL (JUNE 1972) TOTAL BALLOTS—2,475 (1,853 VIA MOTOR NEWS, 622 VIA DIRECT MAIL)

1. For each item in the list below, will you please check whether or not you think highway funds (gasoline taxes and registration fees) should be used to pay for that item? (Please check 1 box for each item.)

	Yes	Yes (per- cent)	No	No (per- cent)	No opin- ion	Percent		Yes	Yes (per- cent)	No	No (per- cent)	No opin- ion	Percent	
Should highway funds be used for—														
(a) Removal of billboards from highways.....	729	30	1,612	65	134	5	(g) Public mass transportation research and experimental projects.....	812	33	1,490	60	173	7	
(b) Control of junkyards.....	698	28	1,657	67	120	5	(h) Purchase of equipment and facilities for public mass transportation.....	601	24	1,711	69	163	7	
(c) Replacement housing for people displaced by highway construction.....	1,255	51	1,024	41	196	8	(i) Operating expenses of public mass transportation.....	489	20	1,842	74	144	6	
(d) State patrol (salaries, equipment, etc.).....	1,458	59	830	33	187	8	(j) Construction of parking lots at the perimeter of the city, where motorists could park their cars and ride downtown via public transportation.....	1,049	42	1,201	49	225	9	
(e) Motor vehicle air pollution enforcement.....	1,357	55	936	38	182	7								
(f) Driver education.....	1,411	57	916	37	148	6								

2. Following is a list of proposals made in connection with local transportation problems. For each one, will you please check whether you favor it, oppose it, or have no opinion about it?

	Favor percent	Oppose percent	No opinion	Percent		Favor percent	Oppose percent	No opinion	Percent				
(a) Improve existing streets and highways.....	2,012	85	224	9	149	6	(e) Improve public mass transportation.....	1,679	68	563	23	233	9
(b) Construct new streets and highways as traffic needs dictate.....	1,665	67	608	25	202	8	(f) Increase gas tax to provide more money for highways.....	494	20	1,763	71	218	9
(c) Stop building streets and highways to encourage use of public transportation.....	709	28	1,445	59	321	13	(g) Build parking lots at the perimeter of the city, where motorists could park their cars and ride downtown via public transportation.....	1,437	58	775	31	263	11
(d) Increase downtown all-day parking fee to discourage use of automobiles.....	771	31	1,458	59	246	10							

3. For each item in the list below, will you please check whether or not you think the item should be used as a source to help finance the cost of public mass transportation. (Please check one box for each item.)

	Yes	Percent	No	Percent	No opinion	Percent		Yes	Percent	No	Percent	No opinion	Percent
Should aid to public mass transportation be financed from—													
(a) General State or Federal funds.....	1,777	72	540	22	158	6	(d) Increased gas taxes.....	396	16	1,932	78	147	6
(b) Existing highway funds.....	760	31	1,561	63	154	6	(e) Funds provided by the communities served by the system.....	1,719	69	488	20	268	11
(c) Sales tax funds.....	676	27	1,554	63	245	10	(f) Increased fares.....	839	34	1,280	52	356	14
							(g) Other (please specify).....						

4. Which of the items listed under 3 do you think should be the primary source for any subsidies for public mass transportation? (Please indicate by writing in the letter preceding that item in 3 Primary source should be item lettered (a)).

AMNESTY

HON. K. GUNN MCKAY

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. MCKAY. Mr. Speaker, with the war drawing to a close, we again face the question of amnesty for those who chose not to serve in the Armed Forces. Even though conditions in this country are changing, the consideration of unconditional amnesty is premature.

Hundreds of thousands of American young men accepted military service as an obligation of their citizenship. Over 55,000 of those who agreed to serve gave their lives in the course of the conflict. I believe it would be unfair to these young men if we were to extend amnesty un-

conditionally to those who have illegally avoided their obligations.

There probably are some cases which, upon review, would disclose that repatriation would be justified after certain compensatory duties had been fulfilled. After World War II, President Truman established a special commission to review cases on their individual merit, and a similar solution might hold promise for dealing with the present situation.

But I get the feeling that many who left the country now want to return with a clean slate, with no obligations of any sort to the United States. I cannot support this concept, nor can I rationalize granting repatriation for service in the Peace Corps or other volunteer service. I am unable to equate fighting in Southeast Asia with service in any of the civilian organizations.

The right to choose is an intrinsic part of our heritage. Those who choose to leave the country rather than serve may have been within their rights to make that decision, but they now must live with the consequences. Currently, the consequence is a criminal penalty.

MAN'S INHUMANITY TO MAN—HOW LONG?

HON. WILLIAM J. SCHERLE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. SCHERLE. Mr. Speaker, for more than 3 years, I have reminded my colleagues daily of the plight of our pris-

oners of war. Now, for most of us, the war is over. Yet despite the cease-fire agreement's provisions for the release of all prisoners, fewer than 600 of the more than 1,900 men who were lost while on active duty in Southeast Asia have been identified by the enemy as alive and captive. The remaining 1,200 men are still missing in action.

A child asks: "Where is Daddy?" A mother asks: "How is my son?" A wife wonders: "Is my husband alive or dead?" How long?

Until those men are accounted for, their families will continue to undergo the special suffering reserved for the relatives of those who simply disappear without a trace, the living lost, the dead with graves unmarked. For their families, peace brings no respite from frustration, anxiety, and uncertainty. Some can look forward to a whole lifetime shadowed by grief.

We must make every effort to alleviate their anguish by redoubling our search for the missing servicemen. Of the incalculable debt owed to them and their families, we can at least pay that minimum. Until I am satisfied, therefore, that we are meeting our obligation, I will continue to ask, "How long?"

IN MEMORIAM: ASA SMITH

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, with the passing of Asa J. Smith of Indianapolis, the Hoosier State lost one of its finest and most colorful individuals.

The following tribute was written to him by Mr. Irving Leibowitz, former managing editor of the Indianapolis Times and now editor of the Lorain, Ohio, Journal.

The tribute follows:

WILL WE BE ALWAYS FAITHFUL TO MEN WHO SERVED?

(By Irving Leibowitz)

Asa J. Smith hated fake patriots. He did not like guys who wrapped themselves in the flag for political purposes.

Asa was my hero. He fought the good fight.

A Methodist, he battled the Ku Klux Klan in Indiana in the 1920s. A Republican, he was deputy prosecutor who did much to expose the Indiana highway scandals and convict powerful politicians in his own party. A citizen, he took the dying declaration of a pretty Statehouse secretary and used it to convict Ku Klux Klan Grand Dragon, D. C. Stephenson of a nasty, brutal and sadistic sex murder.

Asa Smith was a conservative Republican, a lawyer, a writer, a politician, a historian, a gentleman and one of the proudest members of the United States Marine Corps, in which he was a private during World War I and a lieutenant colonel in World War II.

You never knew Asa. And you won't now. Asa died in a nursing home in Indianapolis Monday night—the day our prisoners of war returned.

Asa would have loved the simple but eloquent and informal homecoming at Clark Air Force Base we saw on television. No victory parades. No blaring bands.

Just the men walking heads erect down the ramp of the big flying hospital, saluting

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the admiral, a firm handclasp, saluting the colors, the cheering crowds, the singing children, the unofficial signs, "we love you" and "welcome home, beautiful men," and the words of the first man off the plane, Navy Capt. Jeremiah A. Denton of Virginia Beach, Va., with tears in his eyes, and a choke in his voice, saying: "God bless America."

Some of the men hobbled. Three were carried on stretchers. Some were on crutches. One sick man with a raging fever left his stretcher and marched proudly off the plane.

The sight tore your heart out. The tears we all shed were genuine. Asa Smith would have approved their discipline because it was in the "one for all and all for one" tradition of his beloved United States Marines. Part of the pride of the Marines is that they never forget their men. Semper Fidelis—"always faithful"—is more than a slogan to the Marines. It's a way of life.

Asa Smith felt pretty much the same about the Vietnam War as he did the Korean War—in the end the men whose captivity was caused by the war had become the only reason for continuing the war.

Asa Smith did not believe in sending American men to fight unless and until the country was under attack—or if dictators and bullies were killing innocent people.

Asa believed in the hopes and dreams of America. The America of equality—equality of opportunity, equality before the law, equality of education. But he also believed in another equality—equality of sacrifice.

If America did go to war, he thought the sacrifice should be spread around. He did not like businesses or people prospering while others suffered and sacrificed.

Asa did not understand or appreciate why poors kids were sent off to Korea and Vietnam while so many better off kids were exempt by virtue of going off to college or getting married and living off poppa.

If Vietnam was right, only a relatively few were called in the eleven long years. If Vietnam was wrong, it was a cruel hoax on the men who went.

It is impossible to describe the real Asa J. Smith. He was different things to different people. To women, all women, he was a courtly gentleman. To Marines the world over who served with him, or under him, he was a gutsy, crusty character who would promote a private on the spot for challenging a particularly stupid order. To a reporter like me, he was an honest public official with a fantastic sense of humor who once crashed through my editor's door and demanded (as a joke) that I be fired—"for telling the truth."

Once, when I called Asa Smith a conservative in the paper, he phoned and roared: "I order you to print a retraction. I'm not a conservative, I'm a reactionary."

But he wasn't. He roared like a lion. But he was gentle and kind and had compassion for all people and an appreciation for what America was all about.

The mustard gas attack he suffered at Belleau Woods in World War I finally blinded him for a few years before he died. But he didn't think of himself in those lonely years he spent with his gracious and long suffering wife, Tweedy. His concern was of other men in other wars who came home with psychological and physical wounds.

Asa wanted all of us to keep the faith with these men. He didn't want them to be forgotten, to be considered suckers, to be left alone after the shouting and tumult of homecoming had died down.

He felt that serving your country in war was an extraordinary sacrifice that all of us should remember with more than just sympathy. There just isn't enough you can do. Asa believed, for the men who were prisoners of war, or for the families (especially the sons and daughters and wives), of the men who did not return.

The ecstasy—the pure joy—of seeing the return of our prisoners will soon wear off. We'll turn, naturally, to our routine tasks. But will we forget?

The character of America is embedded in men like Asa Smith, who never forget the men who went, the men who came back and the men who never got back.

The test of a country is how it values its people. Asa would say that for now we have passed with "flying colors." But what about tomorrow? Will we be like Asa Smith—"always faithful"?

THE 500TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF MIKOŁAJ KOPERNIK

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, this past week, Americans of Polish descent paid tribute in honor of the 500th anniversary of the birth of Mikolaj Kopernik.

To millions of Polish-Americans, Kopernik represents one of the most distinguished figures in Polish history. The theories and works of this priest-astronomer started a revolution of scientific ideas which remains relevant to our contemporary understanding of nature.

The Kopernican concept of the sun-centered universe sparked the kind of thought and reexamination of nature that made modern science and technology possible and has influenced the arts, religion, literature, and the social sciences for the past 500 years. It is fitting that we should honor this great scientist. I have, as you know, introduced a joint resolution in the 93d Congress requesting the President to proclaim the week of April 23, as "Mikolaj Kopernicus Week" marking the quinquecentennial of his birth. National recognition of Kopernik would be an expression of sentiment apropos of a nation whose own brilliant strides in space began with this man's discovery.

As we pay tribute to Kopernik in this 500th anniversary year, let us also praise the generations of scientists inspired by him, who through the creative and disciplined exercise of the human mind, have contributed significantly to a half-millennium of progress in understanding the physical universe.

Yesterday the people of the metropolitan area of Milwaukee paid tribute to Mikolaj Kopernik. The 500th anniversary committee of Wisconsin under the direction of the able and untiring efforts of the general chairman, Dr. Edward J. Tomaszik, chairman John A. Jukubowski, and cochairman Harold J. Jankowski arranged a most fitting ceremony, banquet, and program. The theme of the evening and of events scheduled throughout this year was embellished even in the entertainment provided by two Polish cultural groups: the Krakow Polish dancers directed by Miss Annette M. Kuligowski and the new life choir directed by Prof. Janusz Oksza-Czechowski.

The president of Polish American Con-

gress and Polish National Alliance, Attorney A. A. Mazewski presented a "Message from Polonia"—to the People of Poland via Radio Free Europe.

The principal speaker, Prof. Edmund Zawacki, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, stirred the audience with his commemorative message entitled "The Modernity of Mikolaj Kopernik." While pointing out the many problems and difficulties Kopernik encountered in the 16th century, Professor Zawacki eloquently emphasized that the efforts and achievements of Kopernik should be emulated by all of humanity in coping with our most difficult problems and tribulations of the present day world.

I commend Professor Zawacki's well-researched and prepared remarks to the attention of our colleagues:

THE MODERNITY OF MIKOŁAJ KOPERNIK
(1473-1543)

(A lecture by Edmund Zawacki (University of Wisconsin-Madison) at the Copernican Banquet in Milwaukee, commemorating the 500th anniversary of the birth of Poland's great mathematician-astronomer—Pfister Hotel, Feb. 25, 1973)

Among a great many people in America the name, Copernicus, is rarely if ever associated with Poland or Polish culture. Copernicus seems to be some mighty figure of Latin or Greek antiquity in the misty regions of legend. Yet Copernicus, legend that he has become, was real, was Polish by birth, education, and cultural heritage, and, to a Pole today speaking of Mikolaj Kopernik in his own language, the Latin form, *Nicolaus Copernicus* would sound strange. No one in America speaks of DesCartes as *Renatus Cartesius* for we know he was a Frenchman—and we pronounce his name in French. Perhaps if we all knew that Copernicus was a Pole, his Polish name pronounced in Polish would be standard, too. In any case, given the title of my short lecture tonight, the modernity of the great Polish genius will only be enhanced if we call him consistently by his name in Poland today. It is not a difficult one for American-English habits of speech—Mikolaj Kopernik (pron. Mee-koh-wigh Kohh-pehr-nik)

When in 1543 Mikolaj Kopernik published his masterpiece, *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium* (On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies), he established a concept of the universe so tremendously simple that he literally transformed reality for all mankind.

But what changed in Nature when a Polish churchman-astronomer after a lifetime of mathematical labors in pious pursuit of truth, stopped the sun and hurled the earth spinning on its axis around it? Nothing changed in Nature. The change was in men's minds, in man's new understanding of himself, of Nature, and Nature's God. The cosmology not only of medieval Europe but of all preceding ages and the habits of thought, philosophical, scientific, religious, about man, the earth, and God, which had grown up through tens of centuries on the belief that the earth was the special and immovable center of God's Creation, were dealt a genuinely pious and, therefore, mortal blow. The startling new world of modern science was born.

The new Copernican cosmology was, of course, hard to believe. The very idea was ridiculous, contrary to common sense and the testimony of one's own eyes. Even the stupid could see that the sun rises in the east in the morning, sets in the west toward evening, then circles the earth to repeat the process endlessly. At Mikolaj Kopernik's expense it even occasioned the first scornful "Polack joke" of historical record.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Since the jibe was in Latin, a modicum of skill in classical languages is needed to understand it now. But it is a historical *curiosum* interesting enough to explain.

The *Narratio Prima* (First Account), a survey and summary of the principal features of Kopernik's new astronomy had been written and published with his permission by his pupil, Joachim Rheticus, in 1540, three years before the full work reached print. It excited comment and discussion as might be expected. In 1541, Martin Luther, for example, wrote to a friend, "Der Narr will die ganze Kunst Astronomiae umkehren" (the fool wants to upset the whole art of astronomy), but it was Luther's friend and counselor, the great German theologian and scholar Philipp Melanchthon who, writing to Burcardus Mithobius in the same year, made a now historic Latin jibe in order to illustrate an absurdity (It must be said that the Latin itself is elegant): "... rem tam absurdam ornare, sicut ille Sarmaticus astronomus, qui movet terram et fit Solem (to adorn such an absurd thing, like that Sarmatian astronomer who moves the earth and stops the sun).

In Melanchthon's scorn the barbed word is *Sarmaticus* used in place of *Polonus*—like "Polack" in English today instead of "Pole". Melanchthon knew the word *Polonus* for a Pole just as well as he knew the scholarly distinction of the University of Krakow in all Europe at the time. And he also knew that the *Sarmatae* were barbarians, described by Herodotus (5th century B.C.) as nomads akin to the Scythians, roaming the southerly lands between the Volga and Don rivers. Dispersed later by the Goths and the Huns, they were long thought erroneously to have been the ancestors of the Slavs and hence of the Poles.

The jibe would have been resented by Kopernik. Conceivably it might even have reached his ears. Many disparaging remarks certainly did, for in his letter to Pope Paul III which he used as the preface to *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium*, he deplores the *morsus calumniatorum* (the sting of the calumniators) and, using a Greek word for emphasis, characterizes as "mataiologoi" (babblers) those, "who knowing nothing of mathematics presume to pass judgments about it and, by reason of some passage in Holy Scripture badly twisted out of its real meaning, attack and insult my work. I disregard them even to the extent of despising their judgments as uninformed." Obviously, Kopernik felt insulted as a scholar more deeply than as a *Polonus*, but the restrained anger of his riposte is not that of a barbarian.

Still, although Melanchthon wrote in scorn, never has anyone more succinctly described exactly what Mikolaj Kopernik did. In a later century a Polish adage turned the scorn into glory:

Wstrzymal słońce, wzuszył ziemię,
Polskie wydalo go plenie.
He stopped the sun and moved the earth,
The Polish people gave him birth.

Kopernik's scientific genius—like all genius, perhaps—had something of poetry in it, an intuitive grasp of the simplicity and grandeur of truth. Toward the end of Book I, chapter 10, of *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium*, we see it glowing in his thought:

"For who could in this most beautiful temple (*in hoc pulcherrimo templo*—our solar system) place this lamp (the sun) in a different or better place than that from which it be at one and the same time illuminate the whole? * * * So, indeed, the sun, as if sitting on a regal throne, governs the family of revolving stars."

And Kopernik concluded the chapter in wonder as fervently pious as it is scientific and poetic: "How perfect in every truth is the divine work of the Best and Supreme Maker!"

Distance in time perhaps obscures the

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curious truth that it was Mikolaj Kopernik in 1543 who gave to the cosmos of his age the basic structure and dynamism that we recognize today also in the atom. In our young atomic and space age the cosmos and the microcosmos are thus scientifically interlocked by the continuity of Kopernik's tremendously simple concept. It would not be far from the truth to say, in fact, that the 400-year process whereby man interlocked himself scientifically with both the universe and the atom, began with *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium* in 1543 and culminated in 1951 with another mathematical treatise entitled *Initiation of Thermonuclear Reactions*. The latter is still a top-secret U.S. document.

In 1951, it was an American citizen, Stanislaw Ulam, who perhaps also intuited the cosmic poetry Kopernik found in genuine science. Like Mikolaj Kopernik, Stanislaw Ulam, too, was born in Poland and acquired his mathematical insights at a great Polish university. His *alma mater* was the Jan Kazimierz University at Lwów. It was Ulam in his treatise on thermonuclear reactions who made the imaginative mathematical breakthrough that solved the mystery of atomic fusion, the process that goes on inside the sun. By mathematically demonstrating the dynamics and energy of the fusion process, Stanislaw Ulam more perhaps than any other single person ushered all mankind into the glories or the terrors of man-made thermonuclear power.

In our transient 20th-century modernity the prime new scientific fact is that the orderliness and energy of the microcosmos has been revealed and demonstrated. The atom is no longer a philosophical fancy as it was in ancient Greek philosophy. Nor is it a chemical particle as it used to be in our recent pre-atomic physics. The atom is now a knot of energy in space—like our solar system and our whole galaxy. Being so, it is immeasurably more significant for the future of man on this planet than just a new form of gunpowder.

Man suddenly finds himself standing midway between the atom and the universe, interlocked with both. Some of us stand somewhat aghast at the destructive power of the atom—as well we might. The implications—technological, ecological, economic, political, social, moral, philosophical, religious—are, of course, shattering to our previous 20th-century scientific wisdom.

But—as in 1543 when Kopernik published *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium*—what has changed in Nature?

In the atom as in the universe, nothing. The change is again taking place inside the minds of men, in man's new convulsive reassessment of Nature, himself and God.

With the formula $E=mc^2$, our whole concept of matter has changed, and, by the same token, our concepts of materialism, realism, idealism must also change—particularly and most urgently in political science or political ideology, or whatever else one chooses to call our human fallibility in political habits of thought. Habit and truth are not the same thing. What used to be called *Realpolitik* is turning (by reason of atomic "overkill" capability) into anachronistic folly, while what used to be political idealism is beginning to look like a deeper more genuine realism. In philosophy and religion, the Naturalistic approach (i.e. on the premise: "There is no God the Creator") is finding itself hamstrung intellectually by self-contradiction, a truth demonstrated with remarkable simplicity by J. B. S. Haldane in his book, *Possible Worlds*:

"If my mental processes are determined wholly by the motions of atoms in my brain, I have no reason to suppose that my beliefs are true . . . and hence I have no reason for supposing my brain to be composed of atoms."

Obviously, Haldane's own position is that

human reason is the pinpoint on which the image of God the Creator is focused in man, for unless this is true, no genuine insight into the universe is possible. Even in a 500-year retrospect it is much harder to regard Mikolaj Kopernik, for example, as benighted with religious superstition when he exclaimed in pious scientific wonder: "How perfect in very truth is the divine work of the Best and Supreme Maker!"

It bears reminding ourselves—from time to time, at least—that the cosmic glare of the man-made hydrogen fireball is not the divinely made and warmly luminous Copernican sun by which all life on this tiny planet is sustained. Still, Kopernik—were he alive today—would perhaps be the first to acknowledge as the sagacious statesman he also was, that the manmade $E=mc^2$ remains inexorably the light by which peoples and their governments must make moral sense on the planet, earth, from now on, in their behavior toward fellow-peoples and fellow-creatures. Thermonuclear power cannot be compressed back into scientific non-existence, nor can it be caged by man like a beast. It will be with mankind as a blessing to all eternity—or to Doomsday as a curse. Such, *sub specie aeternitatis*, is our new modernity. It began with Mikolaj Kopernik.

What manner of man was Mikolaj Kopernik?

I am not going to trace his life in detail. Suffice it to say that he was a genuine example of the ideal man of the European Renaissance and its Revival of Learning—a man genuinely expert in many fields. For one thing, he was a highly educated man—in mathematics and astronomy at the Jagiellonian University of Krakow; in canon law at Bologna; in medicine at Padua. For another, he was a creative man, extremely busy all his life—simultaneously an efficient administrator of extensive church lands and properties, a skilled artist-painter, a poet and translator, a practicing physician, a soldier of proven courage, a sagacious statesman, an economist blazing modern trails in that social science. Above all, he was a mathematician and astronomer of earth-shaking significance. He was no secluded bookworm.

It is perhaps hard to imagine—given the multitude of activities and daily responsibilities, great and small, occupying him throughout 40 years of intermittent war and peace in Warmia—that Mikolaj Kopernik was simultaneously making carefully selected astronomical observations, testing and refining his postulates for a revolutionary new astronomy, working out the complex mathematics of their proofs, and painstakingly systematizing them into the tremendous simplicity of *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium*—an opus which, as the great French scholar, Alexandre Koyré, observed, "he presents to us . . . in a state of perfection that is the despair of the historian." Truly, one wonders at the power of the man's concentration. Yet he was also, as the Polish peasants of Warmia knew, a warm compassionate healer and friend always accessible to them.

All the accomplishments of this remarkable Canon of Warmia as a churchman-administrator, physician, economist, soldier, statesman, scholar and civic-spirited Polish citizen were on a level that may justly be called great. But as a scientist-astronomer all these qualities of mind, heart and spirit were intensified a thousandfold. The very vastness of the mathematical problem in Kopernik's conception of the heliocentric system would have stunned mere intellect alone. Fortunately, in Mikolaj Kopernik, intellect was sustained by the benign cultural traditions of Poland's Golden Age and a quiet heroism of his own, and in pious pursuit of truth, he dared to undertake that scientific labor. In good conscience and with scholarly calm he challenged the triple tradition, philosophical, scientific, religious, of tens of centuries about

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the earth and the universe, a tradition he was aware was supported by the universal church of which he was a faithful member.

When he had finished, it is no wonder he could despise the uninformed "critical" judgments of "mataiologi" like Luther and Melanchthon about his work, and politely but firmly assert in his letter to the enlightened humanist Alessandro Farnese (Pope Paul III) that "*Mathemata mathematicis scribuntur*" (Mathematics is written for mathematicians). Not until almost 70 years after his death was the Catholic Church to make its first move against his book, on the grounds that the relations between man and God were also involved.

As we look back upon Kopernik's scientific achievement today, what we must recognize, of course, is that *sub specie aeternitatis* (under the aspect of eternity) it was more than the culmination of his own career as a mathematician and astronomer; more, too, than a priceless gift to the world of the learning Poland had fostered in the culture of her Golden Age—her laws, her university, her institutions for freedom of person and conscience under law, her Christian neighborliness in the religio-political tradition of her history as a state. In very truth it was a *pulcherrima lampada*, a most beautiful lamp for all mankind.

Today in our atomic age, as mankind stands somewhat aghast midway between the universe and the atom, interlocked with both, there is need for another idea equally simple, dynamic and tremendous—the idea of peace among nations *sub specie aeternitatis*, conceived and elaborated in political science as the *opposite* of war, not its mere absence. Eternity is the new dimension imposed by the atom on political science in our day. Only when this plain truth is accepted and taken into account will the power of the atom become a blessing on this tiny planet, and the cosmic glare of the man-made hydrogen fireball become one and the same with the warmly luminous Copernican sun. The task is no more—but also no less—formidable than the one Mikolaj Kopernik five hundred years ago undertook and accomplished.

WTTW-TV RECIPIENT OF ONE OF 16 HIRING GRANTS

HON. MORGAN F. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I received notification today that station WTTW-TV—Channel 11—in Chicago has been selected as the recipient of one of 16 minority hiring grants awarded by the corporation for public broadcasting. The notice mentioned the very real commitment on the part of the station management to make this new program meaningful. I have no doubts that WTTW-TV will use this grant to continue its policy of providing opportunities for job advancement of minority employees.

I am not unfamiliar with the workings of this station. I have been impressed time and again with the timeliness and professionalism of its broadcasts. WTTW provided uninterrupted coverage of the Select Committee on Crime's Drugs in the Schools hearings last September 21, 22, and 23.

Admittedly, the hearings had all the makings of a TV extravaganza—engaged politicians, concerned school ad-

ministrators, reformed drug addicts reliving their painful descents into the drug culture. But WTTW's overriding concern for dignity and calm prevailed. No theatrical touches were added. The station managers did not deliver academy award performances; they merely provided the facts for public consumption.

At the time of the hearings, one critic commended WTTW for its coverage but expressed the fear that the Chicago hearings would not have concrete results. He feared that the net effect on viewers would be exasperation and frustration.

Five months have lapsed since these hearings and I am pleased to note there have been local as well as national results. For the benefit of my colleagues, I submit a copy of my February 15 letter to the executive vice president and general manager of the station, Mr. William J. McCarter, which details these results:

FEBRUARY 15, 1973.

Mr. WILLIAM J. McCARTER.
Executive Vice President and General Manager WTTW/Channel 11, Chicago Education Television Association, Chicago, Ill.

DEAR MR. McCARTER: Prior to the airing of the Select Committee on Crime's September hearings by Channel 11, there was little citizen awareness of the seriousness of the drug problem. Additionally, the Board of Education had never had an opportunity to enumerate its personnel and monetary shortages for the community.

Channel 11 not only devoted air time for the hearings but further contributed by providing a synopsis of the proceedings in the evening for those persons unable to watch television during the day.

Many Chicagoans had read of drug use in the schools and watched isolated television programs about the need to combat it. But never before had persons been exposed to uninterrupted days of testimony by school administrators, law enforcement officials and students enrolled in drug treatment programs.

Chicago parents watched 18 year-old Leona Schlaiss tell of hustling drugs to afford them for herself and Jeffrey Parks remember his combination of dangerous drugs which led to overdose and hospitalization. They told of dealing in lunchrooms, lavatories and on school grounds. Their testimony could not have been more explicit. All admitted their backgrounds were middle or upper middle-income.

As a result of the televised hearings, the Chicago Board of Education spent three months preparing drug proposals for submission to the State Superintendent of Schools. The seven proposals involve curriculum development, staff development and implementation of programs.

All proposals have built-in evaluators to provide periodic checks for effectiveness and possible improvements. The September hearings indicated that the ratio of drug counselors to students was appallingly low. They further highlighted the fact that in-service training of teachers was desperately needed.

The results of the Chicago hearings in fact go beyond the confines of the city. Crime Committee members introduced legislation to amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to provide for drug abuse therapy programs on a national basis.

Action to combat drug abuse in Chicago schools would have come eventually without benefit of the televised hearings but the sense of urgency and community awareness would have been lacking. Channel 11 appreciated the need for city-wide exposure of the drug problem in the schools and volunteered their

facilities for the hearings. Much of the credit for the results rightfully belongs to the station.

Sincerely,

MORGAN F. MURPHY,
Member of Congress.

A TIME FOR WORLD AND NATIONAL RECONCILIATION

HON. DONALD W. RIEGLE, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. RIEGLE. Mr. Speaker, recently Dr. Walter Adams, professor of economics at Michigan State University, presented the following editorial. I would like to share Dr. Adams' view of the significance of the ending of the war and am submitting his editorial for insertion in the RECORD.

EDITORIAL

Much of the commentary on the Vietnam cease fire has taken the form of self-justification, recrimination, or uneasy apprehension. Some observers boast that the United States has forged a peace with honor, and that this constitutes a victory. Others claim that the settlement is little more than a sell-out to communism, and believe that we should have fought on to total victory. Still others voice the fear that the cease fire is temporary and unstable—that the Vietnamese will be locked in a bloody civil war for years to come.

As I see it, these observers miss the main point. They ignore the central significance of the settlement, namely that the longest war in American history is finally over. The last of our servicemen are being withdrawn; our prisoners are coming home; and the United States will no longer be bogged down in a bloody and unproductive adventure in the distant jungles of Indo China. Given a similar cease-fire in Laos and Cambodia, this nation—for the first time in more than a dozen years—will be at peace.

Peace in Indo China, however belated and however tenuous, cannot be minimized. Nor can the achievement of the Nixon Administration in negotiating the detente with the Soviet Union and the reconciliation with the People's Republic of China. It means that we can get on with the difficult task of co-existence—the art of living side by side in the same world with nations holding different values and believing in different ideologies. It signifies a recognition that in the atomic age, no nation—however powerful—can afford to strive for victory over its rivals. The only alternative to co-existence is mutual annihilation.

This recognition that co-existence is the basis for national survival in the world arena also has profound domestic implications. The time has come, I think, to achieve a similar co-existence among rival groups here at home—between black and white, young and old, the haves and the have-nots. Now is the time to fight the disease of polarization among our own people—to combat the divisiveness which leads to escalating extremism—to heal the conflicts which threaten to turn America into another Northern Ireland. With malice toward none, with charity for all, with mature understanding that a house permanently divided against itself cannot stand, we must find the road toward reconciliation and tolerance which alone can assure the survival of all that is great in the American dream.

At least, that's the way I see it.

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SESAME OIL

HON. EDWARD I. KOCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, the following is the third in a series of excellent articles from the New York Daily News which I recommend to my colleagues as an indication of the very serious abuses of New York's medicaid system:

HOW MEDICAID PAID \$457,000 FOR SESAME OIL

(By William Sherman)

A 76-year-old Romanian-born physician, Emanuel Revici, announced to the world more than 20 years ago that he had developed a cancer drug. Since then, the doctor has claimed to have invented other drug remedies for alcoholism and narcotics addiction.

His remedies have never received approval from the federal Food and Drug Administration.

So, city officials were dismayed last fall to discover they had paid out \$457,000 in medicaid funds for his panacea for drug addiction—injections of sesame oil, sulphur crystals, and other still unidentified compounds at a voluntary hospital here.

The funds went to Trafalgar Hospital, 161 E. 90th St., where Dr. Revici, a short, stout balding man, is a trustee and the director of internal medicine.

There, on the third floor, between 1970 and 1972, according to the records of the Health Department, about 900 medicaid patients were injected with substances bottled variously under the names "Bionar," "Perse," and "425-Rex." The drugs were touted by Revici as a cure for heroin addiction.

Joseph A. Cimino, commissioner of the City's Health Department, said yesterday that the city had been unaware of Revici's activities at the hospital for two years. Dr. Cimino called the experiments "unlawful, potentially dangerous, and inadequately controlled." He added that use of a new drug without FDA approval is a violation of the city's Health Code.

The city had no way of knowing what was going on, Cimino said, because the hospital made no mention of the use of the drugs on addicts.

The Health Department, in its audit last November, was also surprised to find that the city had paid for experiments on 260 addicts who were hospitalized several days each with common colds.

These disclosures came as part of THE News' continuing Medicaid Probe series, an in-depth investigation into abuses in the city's \$1.3 billion medical assistance program.

Last Oct. 11, Jerome E. Driesen, the Health Department's director of psychiatry, visited Trafalgar Hospital, and, in a report, said the addicts were admitted for diagnosed diseases they did not have, and that even when a disease was appropriately diagnosed, it was not properly treated in many cases.

"In effect," Dr. Driesen wrote in his official report, "they were all brought in for withdrawal from physiological dependency on narcotics, barbiturates, or even alcohol. Then they were returned to the community without after care."

Recently, a reporter visited Dr. Revici at his office at the Institute of Applied Biology, 144 E. 90th St. He is the scientific director there in addition to his position at the hospital, and it was there that he developed the drugs.

TYPE A BORSCHT?

When asked under what sanction he conducted his experiments, since he did not

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have FDA approval, the doctor replied, "A state health official told me I could inject borscht into my patients if I wanted to. That was between me and my patients." He declined to identify the official.

Referring to the development of his latest drug, "Bionar," used in experiments on addicts at the hospital, Revici said, "This produces the most amazing results of anything I have developed so far."

Caressing a bottle of one of his drugs in his left hand while he spoke, Revici said, "After several injections, the addicts sat up and said, 'My God, I feel normal again.'"

WORKS 18 HOURS A DAY

He would not disclose the contents of Bionar except to describe it as "butyl-oxyphenol . . . a combination of ether and other things in an oily substance."

The doctor, who lives at 1111 Park Ave., insisted, "I'm not in it for the money. I work 18 hours a day to help people."

Revici, a naturalized American citizen who was licensed to practice medicine in New York in 1947, was born in Romania in 1896. His father was also a physician.

From 1921 until 1941, he said, he participated in research experiments in Bucharest and later in hospitals in France. In 1941, he fled from the Germans to Mexico, where he organized the Institute de Biologica Aplicado in Mexico City, the forerunner of his institute on E. 90th St.

In addition to those offices, the institute also occupies a laboratory at 161 E. 91st St., where experiments in cancer research and other diseases are carried out on white rats and mice.

"My theory of addiction treatment is that withdrawal pains are caused by an imbalance of fatty acids in the body," Revici said. "Too much fatty acid with no heroin to balance it off during withdrawal, and the addict feels pain and the need for the narcotic."

"Once we inject something that will neutralize the fatty acids," he said with a gleam in his eye, "the addict feels no pain and loses his need for heroin."

WORKS ON TWO ADDICTIONS

His theory of acid and alkaline imbalance as causing disease and pain has also been applied in his drugs for cancer and alcoholism. In fact, he said, his drug called "Perse" was used to cure both drug addiction and alcoholism.

Several years ago, he injected several thousand addicts with Perse, he said, "and we achieved remarkable results."

The FDA denied him "investigational drug approval," because Perse contained selenium, a metal which is harmful when taken internally. Still, Perse was used in experiments on addicts at Trafalgar Hospital.

"Once we took the selenium out of Perse, we had a drug similar to Bionar, but I didn't perfect it until about a year and a half ago," Revici said.

"After three days of treatment with Bionar, the addict is completely free of any pain and any need for heroin."

Again the doctor emphasized that he would realize "no financial gain" from the drug's sale, and said that he did not even have the patent rights to the drug.

An investigation of Health Department records and the interview with Revici revealed the existence of the Bionar Corp., with an address at 505 Park Ave.

The Bionar Corp., it turns out, is connected with Compudat Scientific Systems and another company called Camin Industries. All three are presided over by Benjamin Payn, a 58-year-old businessman.

A News reporter and a photographer found Payn in his offices at the Park Avenue address.

A smooth-talking, well-dressed man, Payn said that Camin Industries "is a firm in electrocoating and mechanical forming of

metals." The company earned \$2,449,390 last year, according to its financial statement.

"I met Dr. Revici two years ago and was impressed with his experiments," Payn said.

"He needed money, and we gave him about \$100,000 for his research. In return, he assigned us the patent rights for Bionar."

"We took over the financial and commercial interests in the drug, and quite frankly, we did see a large profit potential in it. It is much cheaper than methadone to produce and does not have methadone's addictive qualities."

"I don't expect to make any money out of the drug for awhile," Payn concluded, "and maybe it will never earn any money."

SULPHUR TREATMENT

The treatment of addicts with Dr. Revici's experimental drugs has been stopped at Trafalgar Hospital, according to the Health Department.

But not before an exhaustive investigation by that agency showed that \$457,000 in medical funds was paid out.

Investigators for the Health Department found that most of the addicts were "walk-ins off street," and that others were referred to Trafalgar by doctors at Beth Israel Hospital.

Dr. Revici told THE NEWS that in addition to patients treated with Bionar, and a similar drug he called "425" or "425-Rex", 3,000 other patients were injected with sulphur crystals.

"We achieved marvelous results with the sulphur, but then the patients started getting stomach aches, so we had to discontinue it," Revici said.

Among the other drugs found in the third-floor medicine cabinets of Trafalgar by Health Department investigators was a drug labelled "Sleep in Water." Nurses who administered the substance intramuscularly said it was "used for sleep."

Another drug found was "F C-12." Mrs. Alice Scott, a registered nurse who works at the third-floor station, said it was "put on bread and then given to a patient to eat to stop abdominal pain."

The nurses said that the drugs, including the Bionar and "425-Rex" solutions, were ordered by Dr. Revici.

Nine nurses on three shifts injected the drugs into the patients last September, two years after the hospital started billing medicaid for the experiments.

An analysis of patients' records by the Health Department last October revealed that several addicts treated with 425 Rex, a drug the Health Department found to be identical to Bionar in composition, exhibited nervousness, insomnia, and vomiting, right up until the time of their release.

FUNDS TRANSMITTED

On Oct. 30, Revici, Payn and the hospital administrator, Leo Lazarus, were called to the Health Department office at 330 W. 34th St. for an informal hearing.

At the meeting, Steven Rosenberg of the Health Department charged that the patients were treated with experimental drugs, and that under city medicaid regulations, the hospital could not be paid for such a program. By then, however, the \$457,000 had already been paid to the hospital.

Dr. Rosenberg also charged that the patients were given Bionar before they received treatment for the ailments cited on the bills submitted to the hospital.

On Dec. 12, a second hearing was held, and this time a representative of the city Corporation Counsel's office concluded that the \$457,000 should be returned to the city.

PROCESS OF RECOVERY

Now, the city begins the long and arduous task of trying to recover the medicaid money.

Last week, Trafalgar Hospital was quietly suspended from the Medicaid Program, and Health Department officials are still unable to determine the effect of the drugs on the addicts.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

"We haven't been able to track down the addicts to find out what happened," said Dr. Cimino, the Health Commissioner.

CONGRESSMAN LES ASPIN MAKES "THE CASE AGAINST ROY ASH"

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, our colleague LES ASPIN has written an article for the February 26, 1973, the Nation which speaks to the question of confirmation of the Director of the Office of Management and Budget. The article follows:

THE CASE AGAINST ROY ASH

(By Representative LES ASPIN)

One of the top items on the House of Representatives' current agenda is a Senate-passed bill to require the confirmation of Roy Ash as director of the Office of Management and Budget. The legislation, sponsored by Democratic leaders in both houses and supported by House Speaker Carl Albert, was passed by the Senate on February 5 by a vote of 64 to 17.

House passage is likely, but President Nixon has already let it be known that he will veto the measure. It is not yet known whether the House and the Senate will have the muscle to override the President's veto, which is designed to protect his new budget director from the Congressional scrutiny that the Administration undoubtedly fears. While there is general agreement within the Congress that the OMB director should be subject to Senate confirmation, it is particularly important for Congress to examine the public and private record of Roy Ash. Other new Nixon appointees have been subject to hearings before relevant Senate committees, and to confirmation votes by the Senate itself, but Ash has never been asked to explain a myriad of alleged frauds, lawsuits, insiders' stock dealings and apparent conflicts of interest between his new position as the nation's budgetary czar and his earlier career as founder and later president of Litton Industries.

Litton, once one of America's most prosperous conglomerates, has been sliding steadily downhill since 1967. From an all-time high in October 1967, of \$120 per share, its stock has slumped to \$10. When problems first cropped up in Litton's business machine division, profits dropped an incredible 56 per cent from the first quarter of 1967 to the first quarter of 1968. But in the face of adversity, Litton always seems to have an "everything's coming up roses" public attitude.

Ash told *Forbes* magazine in 1968, "We've already proved and we'll prove again in the future the virtue of our type of operation." He predicted to *The New York Times* that the firm's growth trend "should resume in fiscal 1969 at the level where it stopped at the end of the first quarter of 1968." Ash's predictions were unfulfilled. Total profits declined in 1970 to \$67 million and in 1971 Litton's net earnings sank to \$50 million.

But corporate optimism presumably helped the company convince the job-hungry state of Mississippi that it should float a \$130 million bond issue to finance what Litton described as "a shipyard of the future" in Pascagoula, Miss. [See "The Litton Ship Fiasco" by Rep. Les Aspin, *The Nation*, December 11, 1972.] Despite Litton's customary euphoria, the shipyard has been nothing less than a disaster. Given the military's habit of fouling up weapons contracts, it comes as no surprise that the Navy poured \$3 billion in shipbuilding contracts into Litton's new

and untested shipyard, even though the yard was employing a concept of construction (i.e., modular) never before used on warships. The rest of the story is well-known—mammoth cost overruns, long delays, and now a series of negotiations between Litton and the Navy involving \$400 million worth of bailout funds for the five-ship Landing Helicopter Assault (LHA) contract. Litton also hopes to produce thirty new destroyers at the so-called "shipyard of the future"; in which case, the LHA farce promises to repeat itself. The Navy is already attempting to cover up \$100 million in cost overruns on the new ships and more cost problems are expected.

With its shipbuilding contracts in deep trouble, Litton's 1972 net earnings dipped to a new low of only \$1.1 million and the firm's claim to even that amount is suspect. The company, in its annual report, includes as part of its assets an undisclosed sum which it anticipates that the Navy will pay to Litton in claims. The Navy brass thinks Ash and his crowd don't deserve one thin dime; in fact, the Navy is filing its own counter-claims against Litton. The Navy charges that Litton collected excess overhead at the Pascagoula shipyard and temporarily held 10 per cent of Navy payments that were due Litton subcontractors, in order to keep a few extra bucks in Litton's near-empty coffers. In total, the Navy says Litton owes the smaller fry \$8 million.

More important than any questions that may be raised about Ash's managerial skill is the conflict between Ash's job as overseer of the Navy's budget and his former position as Litton's chief officer during the time of a tangled and complex series of disputes involving the shipbuilding contracts. The *Washington Star-News* Pentagon reporter, Orr Kelly, recently obtained a copy of the minutes of a meeting between top Navy personnel and Litton officials, including Ash. According to this record, written by an admiral in attendance, Ash threatened—as part of Litton's attempt to heist approximately \$400 million in bailout funds which the company needs to pay for its miserable performance on the five-ship program—to go over the heads of Navy officials and take his case to John Connally and the White House. With Litton still trying to grab \$400 million in bailout funds, and Ash its former chief executive publicly expressing an interest in the Navy's budget, Ash's conflict of interest is hard to ignore.

Of course, Ash has agreed to sell all of his Litton stock and convert it into a blind trust, but even if he intends to act in the most honorable and upright way, the appearance of potential conflict of interest will still exist. With a founder and former president of Litton Industries controlling the purse strings, no sane Chief of Naval Operations or Secretary of the Navy would impose on Litton a contract settlement which is not acceptable to the company.

But Ash's managerial failures at Litton and the conflicts surrounding Litton's disputes with the Navy are really less important than the serious questions that have been raised about his personal integrity. Allegations of fraud, several lawsuits, a questionable land-swapping deal with the federal government, and insider stock trading all add up to a picture of dubious personal conduct. Each of the incidents described below has received wide public attention recently, with *The Washington Post* taking the lead in exploring Ash's earlier wheeling and dealing.

While working at Hughes Aircraft along with Charles (Tex) Thornton from 1949 to 1953, Ash was involved in what Morton Mintz of *The Washington Post* described as an "epic executive suite struggle" over a series of allegedly irregular accounting practices at Hughes Aircraft Division. The result of this dispute has been two major lawsuits—one of which probably will be retried this spring.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

Ash's troubles began during the summer of 1951 when one of his subordinates, James O. White, began to notice irregularities in the Aircraft Division's accounting system. White eventually confronted Ash with the irregularities, which Ash had allegedly ordered. Ash, however, temporarily convinced White that the procedures were, in fact, perfectly proper. "Ash is one of the world's great talkers. . . . He will go into oratory . . . that we really weren't cheating the government . . . and that there were even times when I went away believing it," White reportedly said.

Eventually, the disputed accounting methods, involving an Air Force contract, broke into open warfare between Ash and White's immediate superior, C. E. Ryker, manager of the Aircraft Division's accounting. Ryker was upset because Ash was apparently ordering the Hughes accountants to overcredit certain inventory accounts. Simply put, the accountants recorded larger withdrawals of material from the inventory than actually occurred. Hence, Hughes could claim that it was using larger amounts of material to complete its work for the Air Force than was the case. Since Hughes's contract called for the payment of all costs plus 10 per cent profits, Ash's overcrediting of the inventory accounts permitted Hughes to collect extra cash. Ash wasn't kidding—his allegedly phony accounting methods enabled Hughes to collect an extra \$43 million on the Air Force contract!

One would expect a corporate executive accused of collecting excess payments from the government to deny the allegation. But not Roy Ash. He conceded to *New York Times* reporter Wallace Turner that he had allowed the collection of \$43 million more than Hughes was entitled to receive. But, he claimed, doing so did not violate the terms of the contract; he had set up the special fund simply to hold the extra loot until a contract renegotiation had been completed. (Eventually an embarrassed Hughes Aircraft Company did repay the \$43 million to the Air Force.)

Surprisingly, Ash's allegedly devious accounting methods were designed not only to hoodwink the Air Force but also the home office of the Hughes Tool Company. According to White, in preparing monthly reports to the home office, Ash again ordered that the books be juggled to cover up the alleged overcrediting and also to make the Aircraft Division's profits look brighter. "They were entries that were just false entries," White said. "I have heard Roy Ash say, 'make an entry debiting so-and-so and crediting so-and-so,' and half an hour or two hours later or so the entry was in my hand and there were just the figures needed to balance the predetermined profits." Ash ignored White's numerous protests by saying, "You've got to make them. Thornton promised the Tool Company so much money this month and we'll make it. So here's the entry . . . you put it in the book."

Eventually the dissatisfaction among White and other executives in the accounting department was brought to the attention of Noah Dietrich, executive vice president of Hughes Tool and for many years a personal confidant of the tycoon recluse, Howard Hughes. According to Dietrich, Tex Thornton acknowledged the alleged book juggling, explaining that the accounts were adjusted to reflect the 10 per cent profit allowed by the Air Force. Dietrich expressed total dissatisfaction with the Ash-Thornton operation by charging, "You are improperly borrowing money from the Air Force on which you are not paying interest."

When all the top accountants of the Aircraft Division of Hughes Tool threatened to quit, Dietrich summoned Thornton for a showdown. Dietrich quotes Thornton as saying, "Noah, I want to tell you in confidence that we are actually making more than 30

per cent on this contract, and, in order to keep it we are going to hide it some place and the best place to hide it is in the inventory accounts."

In 1962, in connection with another lawsuit, Dietrich provided a deposition to an attorney in which he described the entire accounts' revolt and the alleged irregularities encouraged and managed by Ash and Thornton. In a December 1962 press release, Thornton charged that Dietrich had been "maliciously defamatory" and filed a \$40 million slander suit. Twelve thousand Litton employees were informed in a letter from the company that Dietrich had made "irresponsible and malicious attacks" on Thornton (Thornton, with Ash, was a co-founder of Litton). The giant conglomerate declared that the accusation that the Air Force had been overcharged was "completely false."

However, Thornton's slander suit was rejected by a Los Angeles court in September 1966. On the basis of Litton's letter and Thornton's public statements, Dietrich filed a \$1 million countersuit accusing Litton and Thornton of libel. After a two-month trial in early 1968, Dietrich was awarded punitive damages of \$5 million against Thornton and \$1 million against Litton.

After a great deal of complex legal maneuvering, a new trial was eventually ordered. It will probably begin some time later this spring and once again all of the ins and outs connected with the Ash-Thornton scandal at Hughes Aircraft should be aired publicly.

Commenting on Ash's activities at Hughes, one veteran Washington reporter said that "the record, which has never been persuasively refuted, is one of knowing, active falsification of records with the purpose of defrauding the government" by Ash while at Hughes Aircraft.

After Thornton and Ash left Hughes Aircraft in 1953, they went on to found Litton Industries, which would grow to the multi-billion-dollar, yet troubled, conglomerate that it is today. They brought along with them two other men—Hugh W. Jamieson, a former Hughes Aircraft engineer, and Emmett P. Steele, who had been Hughes's lobbyist at the Pentagon. In 1959, Steele sued Jamieson, Thornton and Ash, charging that they had deprived him of his rightful share of Litton stock. Claiming that he was a cofounder of the company, Steele alleged that he was entitled to some of the stock at a price of 10¢ a share—which stock had been sold to Thornton, Ash and Jamieson. The 10¢ stock was now worth hundreds of dollars per share.

The chief issue in the Steele trial, which opened in October 1964, was whether or not Steele was a cofounder of Litton. Charles V. Litton, the owner of the tiny electronics firm which was the first building block of the mammoth empire, testified that he had sold his company to four individuals, one of them Steele. The majority of a California jury that heard the evidence voted to award Steele \$7.6 million. But since the jury's vote was 9 to 3, the minimum number permissible under California law, the judge accepted a motion for a new trial.

The new trial, set for September of last year, was delayed when Steele died several weeks before it was scheduled to open. On October 5, a week after President Nixon announced Ash's appointment as director of the Office of Management and Budget, Thornton and Ash agreed to settle out of court for \$2.4 million. When questioned about the quick settlement after his appointment to the directorship of OMB, Ash told *The New York Times* that he feared a jury might return a verdict for a still larger sum. "I think when one comes up against a widow and an orphan case as this is, the defendants just have to look at the experience others have had in similar circumstances," Ash told the

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Times. "This is quite a different issue than the merits or the justice of the case."

Ash's problems with the government have not been confined either to the Defense Department or the courts; they also include some questionable wheeling and dealing with the Interior Department's Bureau of Land Management. In late 1969, Ash and Thornton paid \$142,000 for 22 acres of land in Point Reyes, Calif.—an area that the Park Service was attempting to acquire as part of a 55,000-acre National Seashore. On December 6, 1969, Ash and Thornton swapped their 22 acres of potential seashore land for 14,145 acres of ranch land in Nevada, adjoining the T-Lazy S Ranch which the two men already owned. While Ash and Thornton thus acquired the Nevada land in 1969 for about \$10 an acre, less than a year later land in the immediate area sold for \$15 an acre. According to Jerry Hendershot, a Bureau of Land Management official in Nevada, such ranch land is commonly selling today for \$25 to \$30 an acre. While no one necessarily condemns Ash and Thornton for their clever business dealing, it is interesting to note that of thirty-seven proposed land swaps in Nevada, only one—Ash and Thornton's—was actually permitted by the Interior Bureau of Land Management. (It comes as no surprise that reports are still circulating that Ash and Thornton used a great deal of their considerable political leverage on the Interior Department to force the swap through.) In fact, it is now reliably reported that the Bureau of Land Management no longer permits interstate land swaps. Ash and Thornton were extremely lucky to get in just in time; they appear to have tripled their money in five years.

Since assuming the office of director of Management and Budget, Ash has been slapped with another civil lawsuit, charging him and Thornton with defrauding the owners of some of the businesses Litton acquired during its spectacular growth in the late 1950s and 1960s. While Litton claims that the suit has "no merit," if the massive class action is successful, judgment could result in the awarding of more than \$100 million in damages.

The suit has been filed by the estate of John B. Rauen, a Los Angeles industrialist whose Chainveyor Corporation was acquired in 1967 in exchange for Litton's convertible preference stock. The suit charges that Litton manipulated its business to drive up the price of the special preferred stock, thus permitting Ash and Thornton to acquire various new companies for a relatively small number of shares. If the stock had been traded at its alleged "true value," those selling out to Litton would have acquired a larger bloc of the shares.

Ash and Thornton are also charged with breaking a pledge to redeem 3 per cent of the 7 million shares of the convertible preference stock annually. The suit alleges that this was to be done on a graduated price schedule, beginning in 1967 at \$51 per share. Unfortunately for businessmen who gave up stock in companies that Litton absorbed, the convertible preference shares are now worth only \$15 a share.

To top off Ash's sundry legal problems, disputes with the Navy and questionable land swaps, he may have violated the Securities and Exchange Commission regulation on stock trading by insiders. Federal law prohibits any individual to trade stock on the basis of so-called "insiders' information" that is not available to other stockholders or the general public.

The facts of this case are quite simple: between March and December 1970, according to Securities and Exchange Commission documents, Ash sold 86,797 shares of common stock. At the time Ash was selling these large amounts of stock, evidence was already available—privately but not publicly to the stockholders—that Litton's shipbuilding program in Pascagoula was in trouble.

In May 1969, Litton was awarded the \$1.3 billion contract to build nine landing helicopter assault ships. By early 1971 a confidential General Accounting Office staff study based on 1970 data revealed that the LHA program was behind schedule, and at the same time the Navy was also considering canceling four of the nine ships. The cancellation eventually did occur, thus considerably boosting the price per remaining ship. Based on its 1970 findings, the GAO warned that "close surveillance should be maintained over oncoming shipbuilding programs, such as thirty DD963 destroyers, which are scheduled for production in the same shipyard."

As the shipbuilding program slowly sank, Ash was unloading stock rapidly. His largest sales occurred the month before and the month after Litton was awarded a \$2.1 billion contract to build the thirty destroyers. Stocks valued at approximately \$2.6 million were sold at an average price of \$19 a share—higher than the current \$10 per share value.

While Ash was unloading huge amounts of stock and problems were mounting on the LHA program, Litton lowered its bid \$262 million for the thirty destroyers. Litton's sudden reduction of its bid may indicate that the company was involved in some sort of buy-in. A buy-in, simply stated, is a silent deal between the military and the contractor to sign at a price that they know perfectly well is too low and then eventually renegotiate a higher price at a later date.

During this whole period Ash was painting an optimistic picture of the company's defense business in his annual report to the stockholders: "Our marine operations became profitable in fiscal 1970 and we look forward to continued profits and increased sales during the 70's. We begin fiscal 1971 with long-term contracts in excess of \$3 billion for work to be performed in Litton's newest and the world's most automated shipbuilding facilities. . . . The management, scientific, engineering, production and marketing talent now assembled at Litton is the strongest we have ever had."

While no one has accused Ash of dishonesty in the stock sales, his trading deserves to be investigated by the SEC for possible violation of federal law. SEC Chairman William J. Casey has agreed to begin a preliminary inquiry.

In sum, the case that Mr. Ash should not be the director of OMB is impressive. President Nixon, however, chooses to ignore Ash's conflicts of interest and is apparently unconcerned about the serious allegations which have been leveled against him—some of which he freely admits are true.

Mr. Ash's activities obviously deserve additional study by Congressional investigators in an attempt to resolve the validity of many of the accusations and allegations that have been made. If such an investigation were held, it is much more likely that the full and true story of Ash's activities would come to light. Undoubtedly Ash deserves an opportunity to explain to the Congress and to the American people his rationale for many of his questionable actions. It should be an interesting story.

HUNGARIAN POET

HON. GILBERT GUDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. GUDE. Mr. Speaker, this past January marked the 150th anniversary of the birth of Sándor Petőfi, the great Hungarian poet. A fine program was held last month at Trinity College in the District of Columbia in commemoration

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

of this event. As an honorary patron, I take pleasure in inserting in the RECORD the inspiring invocation of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Zoltan Béky, bishop emeritus, and chairman of the board of directors of the American Hungarian Federation. Bishop Béky, a constituent of the eighth district, Maryland, is one of the foremost civic and religious leaders of the American Hungarian community.

INVOCATION

Almighty God, Creator and Lord of Nations, who have given us this great and good land to live in freedom and prosperity, we give Thee thanks for the precious gift of your love and mercy, the shining star of our Hungarian heritage, the great poet Sándor Petőfi.

We have convened here today to commemorate the 150th anniversary of his birth, to revive in us the gratitude for this great gift of Thee, to us and to our beloved nation of our forefathers, and to all nations of this world, all of which have been created by Thee, God Almighty, Creator and Lord of all Nations, to be free and equal, predestined for freedom, independence and progress.

Thy mercy, o God Almighty, formed many souls and minds in Hungary long before the birth of this young genius, so as to eradicate a warm climate of humanitarian and democratic ideas in the midst of the best of the old country, true love for the common man, acceptance by the great and rich of new responsibilities toward the masses of the poor and lowly. This memorable generation of the Era of Reform, as known in our nation's history, educated the minds and souls in our Hungarian nation, so as to make them ready for the acceptance of even more powerful ideas of the young and courageous men and women who have fully dedicated their lives to the cause of Thy Divine will that men, all men, whom Thy love created to live in freedom, shall not be enslaved by any man, nation or other oppressive power on earth.

Thy Divine love gave the talented child to good and loving parents, opened to him the doors of the ancient educational institutions of Hungary, surrounded him with good friends, teachers and benefactors, who, in spite of all vicissitudes of the time, helped Sándor Petőfi to grow into what is recognized today as the most typical and universal expression of the poetic talents of the Hungarian nation.

We thank Thee, o God Almighty, for the moral courage and intellectual power, for the warmth of the heart and the brilliance of the mind, for the many fine qualities in the poetry and prose of our greatest Hungarian lyricist, Sándor Petőfi. By the power of his pen, the devotion of his soul, his self-dedication to the cause of freedom,—not only of the Hungarian nation but, as he said, to all nations in the world—Petőfi has been all his lifetime Thy true servant, o God Almighty, the only lord whose authority and power has ever been recognized by him above himself. After his death, he became the guiding light for the millions of oppressed Hungarians, the warm and intimate flame deep down in the heart, rekindled secretly by daily ministrations of the faithful.

We convened here today, o God Almighty, as did several generations of our Hungarian forbears, every year, on the 15th of March, to commemorate also the ideas of the first March 15th in 1848, when Petőfi's brave spirit and unfailing genius carried the day for the cause of freedom, equality and fraternity, and for the hopes of a nation. In that day, in 1848, his great poem, the *National Ode*, became the true reflection of Thy work among the nation of Hungarians. And since that day, the 31st of July, 1849, when Thy Divine will, o Lord, made him to sacrifice his young life on that battlefield in his beloved

Transylvania, Thy powerful hand opened the hearts and minds of our grandfathers and fathers to accept him and his poetry as their treasured heritage, and so have learned we too, and will, through us, many generations to come, learn the words of the poet, the man and the patriot.

We have been led by Thy great hand, o God Almighty, to this beautiful and free land of ours where we have laws guarding our rights to express our thoughts freely, in speech and writing, as he, Sándor Petőfi demanded in his times. The laws of this country permit us to be mindful of our heritage, and instrumental in the promotion of the causes of freedom, independence and progress not only in our own country but far beyond the borders of these United States of America. Thy laws, God Almighty, have been recognized as the guiding ideals and principles of the constitution and laws of this great country, and they enable us to live and work as servants of the common causes of all mankind,—as Thy true servant, Sándor Petőfi has envisioned the mission of all men on earth.

In these times, o God Almighty, when the beloved country of our Hungarian ancestors is still so far from enjoying the blessings of freedom, when human thought, creativity and the hopes of millions of innocent people are kept under the prohibitive vigilance of the military and political might of an oppressive foreign power, we are grateful to Thee for the many gifts in the poetry of Sándor Petőfi, the ideas of true love, patriotism and self-sacrifice and progress and freedom for all.

As did earlier generations of American Hungarians who joined their forces in the American Hungarian Federation, in churches of various denominations, in cultural and social associations, to be more effective in doing Thy work, o Lord, among Americans of Hungarian descent, we have convened here today in Thy name and Thy service, our God, Lord of all Nations.

Guide us, we pray, o God Almighty, help us to follow the example of this human genius, Sándor Petőfi, in turning his ideas into ripe fruits in your vineyard. For the promise which Thou have given us in the great gifts of the life and art of Thy son, Sándor Petőfi, we praise Thee God Almighty, and Thee alone. Amen.

THE 55TH ANNIVERSARY OF LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE

HON. CHARLES W. SANDMAN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. SANDMAN. Mr. Speaker, on February 16, Americans of all nationalities joined with the American Lithuanians in celebrating the 55th anniversary of their proclamation of independence. However, in Lithuania itself, the celebration is not so joyous. Although February 16, 1918, marks the date of the Lithuanian Proclamation of Independence, these courageous people are again living under the suppression of the Russians.

The free world must not rest until the Soviets withdraw their army, police, and ruling apparatus from Lithuania, so the people of Lithuania may freely elect a government of their own choosing.

On this historic occasion, the most fitting commemoration we can offer to the brave citizens of Lithuania, the heroes who have died in the quest of Lithuanian liberty, and the countless relatives

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and friends of Lithuania in the United States, is the reaffirmation that the cause of Lithuanian freedom has not been forgotten and the struggle for it will continue until won.

It is my privilege to share with my distinguished colleagues the resolution adoption at a meeting of Lithuanian-Americans of New Jersey, sponsored by the Lithuanian Council of New Jersey, held on Sunday, February 11, 1973, in Newark, N.J. in commemoration of the 55th anniversary of the establishment of the Republic of Lithuania on February 16, 1918:

RESOLUTION

Recall: That the sovereignty and independence of the Lithuanian State, which was restored by the act of the Lithuanian Council on February 16, 1918 and protected by the bloody sacrifice of the Lithuanian people, was recognized by the international community.

That in 1940 the Soviet Union occupied and incorporated Lithuania into the USSR in violation of international law;

That this occupation resulted in acts of genocide, deportation to Siberia, and extermination of about one million Lithuanians;

That these illegal acts still continue to this present day as witnessed by the following acts which received worldwide attention;

The defiant courtroom speech of the sailor Simas Kudirka, following his unsuccessful attempt to escape to the free world on November 23, 1970, and his condemnation in May, 1971 to ten years in forced labor prison;

The self-immolation of Romas Kalanta, a young student and worker, in May 1972, which symbolized the Lithuanian people's protest against the occupying power and their demand for freedom;

The petition of 17,000 Lithuanian religious believers in 1971-1972 to Leonid Brezhnev and Kurt Waldheim, protesting the denial of religious freedom in Soviet occupied Lithuania, under the risk of their personal freedom.

We resolve: to request the President of the United States of America to instruct his delegates at the Conference on European Security and Cooperation in Helsinki to demand the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from the Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and permit these people to exercise their sovereign rights in their own lands;

To ask the Congress of the United States for their support of this request.

GRAND AWARD IN THE NATIONAL DEALER SAFETY AWARDS PROGRAM

HON. JAMES M. COLLINS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. COLLINS. Mr. Speaker, the grand award winner in the 1972 dealer safety awards program for outstanding support of traffic safety was Melvin Roberts, president of Roberts Buick of Dallas, Tex.

Melvin Roberts accepted the award during the 25th annual dealer highway safety luncheon of the National Automobile Dealers Association convention in New Orleans on February 19. Roberts Buick won out over more than 600

dealership entries from every other State.

The top award was presented because of Roberts' comprehensive consumer protection program, which includes 230 human, electronic, and mechanical checks on every new car before delivery, for safety and performance.

In addition to performing the make-ready checks with its extensive diagnostic equipment, Roberts Buick conducts free evening courses in "Mechanics for Moderns," primarily for women, and produces a traveling display on "International Symbols for Safety" for shopping center malls.

Constructed at the dealership, in cooperation with the city of Dallas, Department of Traffic Control, displays of new traffic symbols and signs were presented by Roberts Buick in nine major shopping center malls last fall before an estimated audience of over 850,000 shoppers.

Mrs. Renee Phillips, vice president, and other officials of Roberts Buick conducted safety programs for 42 civic organizations in the Dallas area last year.

A 20-foot-tall "talking" Frosty the Snowman, immediately outside the suburban north Dallas dealership, broadcasts recorded safe winter driving messages, as suggested by the National Safety Council.

In November, Roberts Buick conducted the Texas introduction of the service interval computer, which is programmed to notify motorists when a lubrication or tuneup is needed.

In addition, Roberts Buick's 84 employees are involved in a continuing monthly program of personal and departmental awards for safety and performance. "Buckle Up," speed limit, and other traffic safety signs are prominently posted throughout the dealership's driving areas for both consumers and employees.

All of the Roberts' neighbors in Texas are proud of this new recognition of progress. Roberts Buick of Dallas continues to be the pacesetter for greater service and better safety for our automobile industry. I am proud of Melvin Roberts and each and every one of his fine associates.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

HON. GEORGE M. O'BRIEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. O'BRIEN. Mr. Speaker, I am concerned with maintaining the freedom of the press. While there have been those who have abused this freedom, it is necessary that this freedom guaranteed to our newsmen in the Bill of Rights be upheld. For those who abuse this freedom, punishment under the law is essential just as it is for anyone who violates any of the rights granted to us in the Constitution.

But, the majority must not be punished for the minority, and the press must be

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allowed the freedom to gain information.

One of the newspapers in my district, the Kankakee Daily Journal, wrote an editorial on Friday, January 26, 1973, regarding the court ruling that a reporter must provide names of confidential sources or go to jail.

The newspaper editorial follows:

SHOULDN'T YOU KNOW?

"Why shouldn't you guys obey the judge just like everybody else" is the reaction of many readers when a court orders a reporter to provide confidential information or go to jail.

Editors and reporters are astounded at their inability to convince a doubting public as to the validity of their stand against the court's using the contempt power to force newsmen to disclose confidential sources.

Most editors quickly point to the U.S. Constitution and its guarantees of free speech and a free press and stand behind reporters who go to jail rather than identify their confidential sources or provide names of their news tipsters.

But the Gallup Poll indicates that 43 percent of the American public think that a reporter should have no "special rights" of immunity.

One reason that some Americans have not been alarmed at the court gag put on the nation's press is that "we have not always explained ourselves in less than abstract terms," says William F. Thomas, editor of the Los Angeles Times.

"Why are we (the press) so special?" Thomas asked in a recent speech. He suggested that the public information media might get a better hearing at the start by admitting to some imperfections.

"As all the world knows anyway, we have booted some beauties," Thomas said. "Pomposity ill behoves us and detracts and deflects attention from our cause."

Instead of newspapers making "eloquent and penetrating references to the Constitution, to appropriate utterances to the great and famous, and to the public weal," Thomas says the press should remind readers that "we are the public's only source of information, for all practical purposes, except for agencies and people directly involved in whatever it is you want information about."

Thomas suggests:

"If you want to know what the governor did today—without us—you will have to listen to the governor himself, and his friends and opponents.

"If you want to know what happened in the courtroom—without us—you must rely on the judge to explain and evaluate his own actions, and each attorney to do the same—providing the judge will allow you to hear anything at all.

"Without us, if you want to know what happened in city council, you will need press releases from the party involved.

"And so it goes. With all the press' faults, it's hard to visualize an American public that would knowingly permit the stifling of the press, whose main purpose is to inform it, no matter how imperfectly, and leave itself in the position of making judgments on information by press release."

The Los Angeles Times, where Thomas is editor, has won Pulitzer prizes in recent years for stories concerning racial and school problems. If reporters had been forced in those days to reveal the names of informants, these journalistic contributions toward making Los Angeles a better place might never have been written.

"At the time of the riots, can you imagine the people of Watts talking frankly with us about their troubles with the police, or educators talking candidly about the schools there, to mention only a few, if they knew

the reporters might be forced to publicly identify them?" asked Thomas.

"The same goes," he said, "for the many businessmen and public officials who provided the leads for stories on the city commission which resulted in indictments, convictions and—we hope—some changes and attitudes there."

Thomas revealed that The Times had fought 30 subpoenas involving its people or information and "staved off" 50 other attempts to obtain Times material.

He said that imposed gag orders from the courts to the press got so bad in California that an appellate court judge was moved to comment:

"It is startling to see the evils of secret proceedings so proliferating . . . that the court could reach the astonishing result of committing a citizen to jail in secret proceedings, could contemplate inquisitorial proceedings against the newspaper reporter for reporting this commitment, and could adopt the position that the district attorney, the chief law enforcement officer in the county, was prohibited upon pain of contempt from advising the public that someone had been sent secretly to jail."

Our point is: each time a judge is able to silence a reporter, the citizenry's right to knowledge is chipped away. Americans have a right, even a responsibility, to know what is going on.

We are not asking for special privilege for reporters, but we do insist that the public has a privilege—a right, if you please—to enter the councils of government. The reporter is no more and no less than the people's representative.

If the people remain mute while their right to information is being curtailed, there is little doubt the fetters will grow tighter.

It is not a matter of "you guys" at the newspaper; it affects all Americans.

BUTLER UNIVERSITY'S GAMMA CHAPTER OF PHI DELTA THETA: A PROUD RECORD OF SERVICE

HON. WILLIAM G. BRAY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. BRAY. Mr. Speaker, it is gratifying and heartwarming in the extreme to receive letters like the following. It speaks for itself, and I am proud to include it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

INDIANAPOLIS, IND.
February 3, 1973.

DEAR MR. BRAY: I am a sophomore at Butler University and a member of Phi Delta Theta Fraternity. The press and many people in the news media only seem to recognize and mention the radical and violent actions by students on campus. I would like to tell you, sir, how members of Indiana Gamma of Phi Delta Theta have gone out into the community and helped their fellow man.

Three years ago, David L. Shore, a fraternity brother, died of cancer. Brother Shore came from Rochester, Indiana and was an outstanding football player for Butler as well as an excellent student. In memory of him, we started the David L. Shore Memorial Cancer Fund. The money the Phi's collect goes into Dave's private fund and serves a two fold purpose. Ninety percent of the money goes toward the research of cancer and the other ten percent toward education and advertisement. At the Butler vs. St. Joseph football game, the Phi Deltas

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collected a grand total of \$323.23. We have received a certificate from the Cancer Society for outstanding work in the fight against cancer. We have just finished a neighborhood drive and still planning to collect at a basketball game.

The Phi Deltas felt a necessity to get involved in the 1972 election. Being new voters and enthusiastic about the 1972 Presidential and Gubernatorial elections, many of us campaigned for Mr. Nixon and Otis Bowen from mid-October to election day. We worked throughout Indianapolis and even made trips to Terre Haute (Indiana State University) and Muncie (Ball State University) to take campaign materials to these headquarters. On election night to mid-afternoon the next day, many Phi's worked down at the City County Building tabulating votes. Our fraternity house, on election day, was used as a voting precinct.

One Saturday, we went out to the Little Sisters of the Poor or otherwise known as the St. Augustine's Home for the Aged. During the morning we put to use some of our talents by painting lawn furniture, cleaning rooms, ceilings, light fixtures, walls, and anything else that was dirty. We even cleaned the kitchen from top to bottom and even straightened the pantry and rearranged all the canned goods in their proper places. In the afternoon, we hosted a Bingo game for the old folks in Lanagan Hall. All the old people, who were present in the house (more than 100), came down to play Bingo. We played twenty-five games with the winners receiving cash gifts and merchandise. It was quite satisfying to see the old folks be so happy knowing that someone cared and was interested in their well-being and that there was not a generation gap.

To beautify the neighborhood around Butler University, the Phi Deltas have gone out and raked leaves several times. To help the ecology minded people and fight air pollution, we have had neighborhood drives collecting leaves so that they would not have to be burned and clutter up the air with debris and smoke.

We have worked with Walker Research participating in consumer market studies. We have tested orange juice, hamburgers, carbonated beverages, and aspirin. By participating in these studies and giving our opinions, I feel that we have helped the manufacturers of various products determine what the consumer really wants.

We have held a public survey for the Department of Public Safety. We took a survey to help determine how drinking and driving contribute to traffic accidents.

The Phi's have hosted an Orphan's Christmas Party. We invited children from the Indiana Methodist Children's Orphanage over to the observatory. They learned how the telescope worked and had an opportunity to look out of it. They also took a trip to the planetarium where they learned about the planets in our solar system. That night they ate dinner at our fraternity house. While many of our brothers were playing with the kids, Santa Claus made a surprise visit and gave the kids their presents. The only sad moment came when they had to leave and there were tears in their eyes.

The Phi Deltas, just recently, gave money to the Cathy Strange Fund and M.S. Fund.

What lies ahead in our future? The members of Indiana Gamma Phi Delta Theta hope to work down at the juvenile center, have a retarded children's track meet, work with the inner city children, collect for the Ruth Lyons Fund and our own David L. Shore Memorial Cancer Fund, and do anything else that would better our community where we live.

Sincerely,

JAMES BAGNOLI,
Phi Delta Theta, Butler University.

WE MUST BE FAIR TO OUR VETERANS AND TO THEIR DEPENDENTS

HON. TOM RAILSBACK

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. RAILSBACK. Mr. Speaker, last month I was pleased to join Congressman HILLIS and nearly 60 of our colleagues in sponsoring H.R. 2687, a bill to improve the pension system for veterans and their dependents. This legislation provides a \$600 increase in their maximum income limitation, so that no veteran would be forced off the pension rolls because of the recent 20-percent increase in social security benefits.

The social security increase was designed by the Congress and signed into law by the President to compensate for increases in the cost of living. I fully supported the increase because I have many senior citizens in my district who need such assistance.

Unfortunately, however, provisions in our current law prevent veterans from benefiting fully by that social security increase—for veterans, benefits are based upon income limits. Thus, when social security benefits are increased, benefits for veterans are decreased. Unless the bill I am cosponsoring is enacted, everyone who draws social security will receive a substantial increase except our veterans. That a social security increase could so adversely affect the pension system now in existence is unworthy of the Americans who have contributed so greatly to our country. We cannot allow this injustice.

If we do not act immediately, over 1.3 million veterans and their widows will have a reduction in their veterans' pensions because of the increase in social security benefits. Another 20,000 will be dropped from the pension rolls entirely unless remedial action is taken.

The bill I am cosponsoring will not only increase the income limitation, but will also liberalize the formula for computing veterans' pensions. The base for veterans with no dependents will be increased by \$18 monthly to \$148; for veterans with a dependent by \$18 monthly to \$158; for widows with no children from \$87 to \$93 monthly; and for widows with children from \$104 to \$110 monthly. Certainly we cannot deny our veterans and their dependents this minimal monthly increase in their well-deserved pensions.

I have also introduced a second bill which is directed exclusively to World War I veterans. Most of these individuals are now living on very limited incomes and are especially vulnerable to cost-of-living increases. Therefore, my bill H.R. 2400, provides that they receive \$125 each month. In addition, the legislation provides that certain retirement income—such as social security benefits—shall not be counted as income when veterans' benefits are computed, and that pensions of World War II veterans who have served overseas shall be increased by 10 percent.

Mr. Speaker, our veterans have served the country faithfully. We must let them know we deeply appreciated their services in the past and are now concerned about their continuing welfare. I urge early and favorable consideration by the Congress of these two veterans' bills.

ENERGY PROBLEMS CLEARLY DEFINED

HON. ROBERT E. JONES

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, the energy problem facing our Nation tends to be spread among several agencies and areas of private responsibility with result that it is sometimes difficult to grasp the seriousness of the situation.

Our energy problems were recently brought into very clear focus by Chairman Aubrey J. Wagner, of the Tennessee Valley Authority, in an address in Knoxville, Tenn.

Because of the importance of Mr. Wagner's comments, I include them as a part of my remarks at this point, so that all my colleagues may benefit from his excellent statement:

ENERGY AND THE FUTURE

(By A. J. Wagner)

Energy is vital to man's survival on earth. His ability to command and use energy, in one form or another, more than anything else has lifted him from a starvation existence in the swamps and caves of pre-history to the comfortable life we know today.

Oil and gas shortages of recent weeks have underscored our dependence on energy and created fresh interest in what is commonly called "The Energy Crisis":

In Denver, Colorado, high schools were on a three-day week to conserve fuel. One plant sent its 700 employees home when it ran out of fuel in bitter cold, even after operating for weeks with 45° temperature in the plant in an effort to conserve gas.

In West Virginia, Illinois, Mississippi, and elsewhere factories were shut down when fuel tanks went dry.

Jet fuel became so scarce at New York's JFK airport that some planes couldn't make scheduled nonstop flights across the country.

Towboats with barges of coal were docked for days because there was no oil to run their diesel engines.

Atlanta's ice storm, earlier this month, at its peak knocked out electric service in nearly 150,000 homes, leaving them without light, heat, or power.

These and similar incidents serve as reminders of our dependency on energy—and the threat of national impotence without it, even for a short while. But it is much more consequential, much more far-reaching than the inconvenience and discomfort that accompany such brief and temporary interruptions.

Last year Britain's coal miners struck for six weeks, shutting off coal supplies to her power plants. As the strike wore on, 15 percent of her electric generating capacity had to shut down. Entire residential and business districts were blacked out for as much as nine hours a day. Homes and businesses went dark and cold. Industries curtailed production, then closed. By the sixth week, three million Britons were out of jobs. It was calculated that if the strike had continued two weeks longer, 20 million workers—two-thirds of the entire work force—would have

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been idled. England's industry would have been stopped dead.

Yet even a near-disaster such as Britain experienced is little more than a hint of our total dependence on the heavy use of energy—as gas, oil, coal, or electricity. Virtually everything we do, everything we use is touched by our use of energy in one way or another. The walls of our homes and the roofs over our heads needed electric power to manufacture and to construct. Our homes and our morning coffee are heated with electricity, or gas, or oil, or coal. Gasoline drives us to work in an automobile that required great quantities of energy for its manufacture.

There are countless illustrations of this energy-dependence. But it is brought home most forcibly in an example cited by scientist-authors Lawrence Rocks and Richard Runyon in their new book, *The Energy Crisis*. They point out that only 1 percent of this country's industrial energy is expressed on the farm; yet that 1 percent of our energy permits us to feed 100 percent of our population. Then they calculated that "The energy output of all 200 million Americans as biochemical energy is equal to the energy now employed on the farm."

In other words, it would take the muscle-power of every man, woman and child in the Nation to replace the work of tractors, harvesters and other energy users that now produce the bountiful food supply of our farms. There would be no one left to build our homes, make our clothing or anything else. Even worse, there would be no one to manufacture the chemical fertilizers and insecticides we now use. And without them farm food production would be cut in half.

I have dwelt at such length on the essential place of energy in our lives because we all—every one of us—need to be aware of the consequences of running out. And, as I will discuss later, we can run out. It is not inevitable, but it is possible. And if we do run out of energy, any life worth living will run out, too.

This is why Rocks and Runyon introduce their book with these words:

"The most profound issue we face today is an impending power shortage. Most other environmental problems are theoretically solvable: Pollution can be largely abated by the same science that created industry, and substantial percentages of materials can be recycled, and thereby held in perpetuity. But energy cannot be recycled."

"Our energy deployment capabilities and their consequences will supersede all other environmental, economic, and political issues before this decade has passed."

A realistic appraisal of the future must also recognize that the need for energy, the public demand for it, will continue to grow both in this Nation and around the world.

For a good many years, now, our use of energy in the United States has doubled about every 10 years. Our living standards—the quality of life we read so much about today—are a direct reflection of that growth. In this country, for example, the energy used in industry amounts to about 10,000 watts per person, the equivalent of 100 slaves working for each of us continuously. In India, by contrast, the figure is 500 watts—or five slaves. Our living standards reflect the difference.

Energy use will continue to grow in this country primarily because I do not believe Americans will readily accept lower living standards. Quite the contrary! We strive continually for more, not less, quality in our lives.

In addition, the cleaner environment we all want will require more energy for such purposes as to recycle materials, run waste treatment plants, and to make the equipment used in pollution control facilities.

The citizens of India, China, Africa and the many "have-not" nations around the

world are all seeking better food, clothing, shelter, education, and health. All of these basics require energy.

Quite apart from our increasing *per capita* demands, there are more people on the earth every year and these new families want warm homes, refrigerators, washers, driers, televisions, automobiles and all the other things we have. While population growth rates are declining, in the United States, our total population is still increasing about 1 percent every year. Worldwide the figure is higher.

So we are faced with a world full of more people every year, each one using more energy than the year before. And, as you read and hear daily, energy use, even in present-day quantities, is presenting us with serious problems of air and water pollution that must be corrected.

Some are suggesting that we solve this dilemma by cutting back on our use of electricity. They often illustrate by pointing out that we could do without electric toothbrushes, electric carving knives and other similar gadgets. True, we could. But that wouldn't even scratch the surface of the problem. For example, a whole family can run its toothbrushes for a year on the electricity generated by less than a pound of coal.

If we really want to make significant cutbacks in electricity consumption, we will have to take more drastic actions, such as do without hot water, live in colder homes, stop production of aluminum and many chemicals basic to our economy. We will have to close down or slow down the industries and businesses that give our people jobs. These are the really heavy users of electricity.

Any wasteful uses of energy—electric or otherwise—should, of course, be abandoned. And we could do much with better insulation and improvements in other building and industrial practices. But I believe that if all such actions that the public can accept were taken, it would result in a saving of less than 10 percent. This is little more than one year's growth, and then we are right back where we started.

Thus it is clear as crystal that if we want to maintain anything approaching our present living standards, we must find ways to provide increasing amounts of energy in the years ahead. The question is: "Where will it come from?"

At the present time the United States gets about 40 percent of its energy from oil, 31 percent from gas, 25 percent from coal, 3 percent from water power, and 1 percent from nuclear plants. (These, of course, are the *basic sources*. About 9 percent of this energy is used by the consumer as electricity, a proportion which is increasing rapidly. But it must be recognized that electricity is a form of energy, not an original source.)

How well can these basic energy sources meet our needs in the years ahead? While estimates vary widely, depending on assumptions made as to future rates of use and as to undiscovered reserves, the figures for fossil fuels run about like this, for reserves in the United States, matched against our national needs:

Oil—15 to 20 years.

Gas—30 to 40 years (some estimate as low as 12 years).

Coal—200 to 300 years (if used to synthesize oil and gas at present growth rates).

Note that while 40 percent of the energy we are now using comes from oil, we have only enough in this country to last another 15 or 20 years. Of course that period can be extended, as could others, by imports from foreign countries. And, as you know, some of this is being done. But it is probably not in the national interest to depend on foreign sources for something so vital to our national well-being as our energy supply.

In any case, one fact is clear and incontrovertible. Fossil fuels, both in the United

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States and in the world, are finite and limited in their amount. When they are used up, they are gone forever. Respectable estimates forecast that, if we continue to increase use of fossil fuels at present rates, all of the coal, oil and gas will be gone by the middle of the next century—just a lifetime away. (Because of the valuable chemicals they contain, we will ultimately need them for other purposes and we ought not to use them for simple fuels any longer than is absolutely essential.) We simply must have other energy sources—and time is running out!

Water power, even if it were all developed, could supply only about 5 percent of the world's present energy needs. Tidal power, wind power, and geothermal power could not provide significant help by presently known technologies. The same is true of direct solar energy.

Nuclear fusion, the power of the hydrogen bomb, could solve the world's energy problems virtually for all time. But the technology for harnessing it still eludes us and no time-forecast for success is possible.

As you have perhaps observed, the energy problem really breaks down into three time periods: First, the period covering the next decade or so; second, the period reaching into the beginning of the next century; and, finally, the long-term future.

In the near term, we must continue to rely on fossil fuels. We simply have no workable alternatives yet available. There will be problems of supply, of price, of air and water pollution—all severe and all interrelated. We will have to solve them as best we can. But we can't continue indefinitely because we will run out.

Through the balance of this century and into the next, it seems clear to me that we have no choice but increasingly to turn to nuclear fission reactors—the type that we and others are now building—to meet our energy needs. They present us with problems too, but I believe they are being solved. Even here, the kinds of reactors now being built would exhaust this Nation's economically recoverable uranium supply within a few decades.

That is why President Nixon, looking to the long-term future in his Energy Message in June 1971, proposed a program to build this Nation's first breeder reactor. And that is why we in TVA, backed by the utility industry generally, have committed ourselves fully, along with the AEC and Commonwealth Edison Company, to its construction and operation here on the Clinch River, near Oak Ridge.

The breeder reactor, utilizing uranium and plutonium in its fuel has the unique ability to produce more fuel than it consumes! It can extend the life of our uranium reserves by about 100 times, solving our basic energy source problem for many centuries and giving us time to perfect nuclear fusion technology or perhaps something even better.

Truly, as the President has said, the breeder is "our best hope today for meeting the Nation's growing demand for economical clean energy . . ." It must be developed for safe, dependable, economical operation, compatible with a clean environment. This is the purpose of our demonstration plant.

The problems of energy supply are not easy for the layman to understand. They are so highly technical and so far-reaching in their implications and interrelationships that even few "experts" can fully grasp them in their total scope. But we all need to, in fact we must, understand their essentials because our survival depends on energy—in tremendous quantity, at prices we can afford, and produced without significant damage to our natural environment.

These are the essentials:

Energy is vital to our survival.

The amounts we need and use will con-

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tinue to grow, and more and more of it will be used in the form of electricity.

Its cost will go up but we must hold its price at a level we can afford.

Fossil fuels must serve as our major source in the near-term future. But our fossil reserves are running out and we must find alternates.

The only feasible alternative presently available is nuclear power.

Light water fission reactors must continue to be built, to serve into the next century.

The breeder reactor must be perfected to conserve our available uranium. It will replace the present types of nuclear reactors, and it will solve the problem of basic energy source for many centuries.

At the same time, we need to push research on fusion reactors, direct solar energy and other even better methods for meeting our energy needs far into the future.

These are some of the critical issues that the public must understand. These are the courses of action we must support and follow. Life depends on it.

LITHUANIA—WE WILL KEEP OUR PLEDGE

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, as the years pass in the life of a nation—a nation whose dreams of political, cultural, and religious freedom have been stifled, a nation who, for 55 years now has experienced only oppression and domination, the thirst for peace and for the basic rights so long denied grows ever stronger in the hearts of its people. There is no turning back, no disillusionment, no acquiescence.

The people of Lithuania demand an end to the Soviet violation of their sovereignty. They have never stopped fighting for the right to their territorial integrity and they refuse to cease believing in the justice of their cause. Individuals do not stand silent but continue to risk and sacrifice their lives in defiance of the Soviet regime. We cannot easily forget the unsuccessful escape attempt of the Lithuanian sailor, Simas Kudirka, the self-immolation of Romas Kalanta, and the subsequent demonstrations by thousands of young Lithuanians, and the petition of 17,000 Lithuanian Roman Catholics to Kurt Waldheim at the United Nations.

On July 22, 1922, our Government recognized the independence of the Lithuanian people—an independence which lasted only until 1940 when the Soviet Union invaded and occupied Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and forcibly annexed these Baltic States, placing them firmly under her yoke. We in the United States have never recognized this incorporation and have continued to maintain diplomatic relations with the representative of the former independent Government.

In 1958, at a meeting of the Lithuanian World Congress, we, along with all free nations, were asked "not to be party to any agreement or treaty that would confirm or prolong the subordination of the formerly sovereign Lithuanian state." Today, 15 years after this request and on

the 55th anniversary of the establishment of the modern Republic of Lithuania, I want to assure the Lithuanian people that I will extend every effort to honor our commitment.

On February 11 the Lithuanian Americans of New Jersey gathered in my hometown of Newark to commemorate this 55th anniversary—so dear of all who believe in their homeland. The following resolution was adopted, which I would like to share with you at this time:

RESOLUTION

We, Lithuanian-Americans of New Jersey, gathered in Newark on February 11, 1973, to commemorate the 55th anniversary since the restoration of Lithuania's independence.

Recall: That the sovereignty and independence of the Lithuanian State, which was restored by the act of the Lithuanian Council on February 16, 1918 and protected by the bloody sacrifice of the Lithuanian people, was recognized by the international community;

That in 1940 the Soviet Union occupied and incorporated Lithuania into the USSR in violation of international law;

That this occupation resulted in acts of genocide, deportation to Siberia, and extermination of about one million Lithuanians;

That these illegal acts still continue to this present day as witnessed by the following acts which received worldwide attention:

The defiant courtroom speech of the sailor Simas Kudirka, following his unsuccessful attempt to escape to the free world on November 23, 1970, and his condemnation in May, 1971 to ten years in forced labor prison;

The self-immolation of Romas Kalanta, a young student and worker, in May 1972, which symbolized the Lithuanian people's protest against the occupying power and their demand for freedom.

The petition of 17,000 Lithuanian religious believers in 1971-1972 to Leonid Brezhnev and Kurt Waldheim, protesting the denial of religious freedom in Soviet occupied Lithuania, under the risk of their personal freedom.

We resolve: To request the President of the United States of America to instruct his delegates at the Conference on European Security and Cooperation in Helsinki to demand the withdrawal of the Soviet Union from the Baltic States of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia and permit these people to exercise their sovereign rights in their own lands;

To ask the Congress of the United States for their support of this request.

Thus, let you once again say to the Lithuanian people, we have heard your protests, we have recognized your courageous stand, and we will continue to support you in your difficult struggle to bring freedom, justice and dignity to all your brethren.

OBScene RADIO BROADCASTING VI

HON. JAMES V. STANTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. JAMES V. STANTON. Mr. Speaker, over the past several weeks I have inserted into the RECORD several items relating to my efforts on the subject of obscenity in radio broadcasting. The letter to Mr. Frederick M. Coleman, U.S. attorney for the northern district

of Ohio, which follows is self-explanatory.

Previous material on this subject appeared in the RECORD on February 5, 6, 7, 8, and 21:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., February 21, 1973.
MR. FREDERICK M. COLEMAN,
U.S. Attorney, Northern District of Ohio, U.S.
Court House, Cleveland, Ohio

DEAR MR. COLEMAN: On February 15, while I was in Cleveland, my Washington office received from you a mere four-paragraph reply to the four-page letter I had sent you January 30, concerning Radio Station WERE. Your letter, dated February 12, said in its entirety:

In reply to your recent communication, respecting possible obscene broadcasting by Radio Station WERE, I wish to advise you that I have taken the matter under careful consideration. In compliance with your request, I have directed a review of the broadcasts of the Gary Dee show for January 17, 1973, and also the Farley Wheelwright program for the same date.

Following a careful analysis of these broadcasts, I must again decline prosecution based upon a violation of a federal statute.

I shall be happy to discuss with you, or a member of your staff, confidentially, the basis for my decision.

I trust that I have been responsive to your inquiry.

The fact is, Mr. Coleman, that you have not been responsive to my inquiry, and I must advise you at this time that I do expect a more extensive reply from you covering all the issues I raised on January 30. I did not, as your letter implies, simply ask that you determine whether certain broadcasts by Station WERE have been in violation of Title 18, United States Code, Section 1464, which states: "Whoever utters any obscene, indecent, or profane language by means of radio communication shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than two years or both."

Rather, I asserted in my letter to you: "What I need is an explanation of the criteria you use for making the judgment that certain language is, or is not, obscene." I added, in anticipation of what ultimately did become your decision: "In the event that you again decide not to prosecute, I would appreciate a letter from you listing each example of the 'questionable language' (to use your own phrase) that you found in your examination of the (WERE broadcast) tapes, together with an explanation, in each instance, of why these utterances failed, in your opinion, to meet the legal test of obscenity." (Emphasis added.)

I want to state unequivocally that I have no quarrel with your decision not to prosecute. That is a judgment for you to make—in line with the responsibility that our Constitution assigns to you, rather than to Members of Congress. But since we are concerned here with a matter of broad public policy, why are you, as a public official appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate, so reluctant to make public the reasons for your decision?

I regret to inform you that I must reject your invitation to a private briefing at which you offer to explain your rationale "confidentially." Both of us are public officials. As I explained to you in my letter of January 30 (most of which I reproduce here because I want my own position clearly understood):

I strongly believe it is important that this information be given to the public. There is a great deal of concern among my constituents over the effects that these broadcasts might be having on community mores, and especially over the impact they might be having on children and adolescents. While it is true as some have said, that anyone

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who feels offended by what he hears over WERE need not listen to that station, I believe this is too glib an answer for me or anyone else to give to the people concerned. Switching off the station does not stop the broadcast. Therefore, if what is being said on the air is indeed adverse to the public interest, we then have a problem affecting the entire community, not merely the sensibilities of certain individuals.

The reason I am asking you to state publicly the rationale for your decisions in this area is that I hold so strongly that it is important for the people of our community to feel assured that their oft-stated grievances are given serious consideration, and that their public officials are responsive to them. Frankly, in the face of a statute so clearly worded as Section 1464, I myself find it difficult to convince my constituents that it is not being violated time and again by some of the broadcasts emanating from WERE.

I fully realize that words like "obscene", "indecent" and "profane", while clear in meaning to the average person, do create semantical problems for lawyers and judges—especially in view of the free speech guarantee of the First Amendment to the United States Constitution. But I am certain that I know the people of the 20th Congressional District, and I have no doubt that they, like people everywhere of average intelligence, would be able to understand why these words might or might not be legally applicable to some of the WERE talk shows, providing that the public officials responsible for the enforcement of Section 1464 were to offer them a thoughtful explanation. Whether they accept the explanations is another matter. But at least they ought to have it.

We are dealing, after all, with a statute which, as you know, has been held by Federal courts not to be in conflict with the First Amendment. As the United States Supreme Court observed in the Red Lion Broadcasting Co. case (decided in 1969): "It is the right of the viewers and listeners, not the right of the broadcasters, which is paramount."

I submit to you that this is a pronouncement worth keeping in mind, even though it might be argued that Red Lion is not necessarily controlling with respect to the issues that might be posed by a prosecution under Section 1464.

In addition, we have had Federal court decisions specifically upholding the constitutionality of Section 1464. I would refer you, for example to Tallman v. United States and United States v. Smith, two cases in Illinois which were decided only last year. Should your research indicate to you that these cases are not helpful in consideration of possible action against Station WERE in Cleveland, perhaps you could explain this too, in your forthcoming letter to me.

Because we are obviously dealing here with an issue which goes to the very heart of our Constitution, it is important that we in public office face up to the challenge. I do not include you in the statement I am about to make, since I know you personally and respect you professionally, but I have no doubt you would agree that there has been too much hand-wringing by Government lawyers who fear they might be entering a thicket of irreconcilable conflicts were they to face this issue squarely. Yet we live with Constitutional tensions day by day in our country. On the one hand—to cite one recurring example—we have the guarantee of a free press, and on the other hand, the guarantee of a fair trial. When the two collide, we do not obliterate one in favor of the other; rather, since we value both of these guarantees highly, we seek to establish a public policy that permits the two of them to co-exist—safely if not comfortably.

We are apparently faced with such a situation with respect to WERE broadcasts. Free

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speech and Section 1464 are not mutually exclusive. The courts have so held. Therefore, WERE must be told and the people must be told—in terms clear enough for both of them to understand—where the rights of one party must prevail and where the rights of the second will supersede. I believe that your letter to me might at least begin the process of accomplishing this. The First Amendment is so strongly rooted in our traditions and in our jurisprudence that I have no fear it will endure whatever action you might take, whether it be in the form of court proceedings or simply an attempt to explain your rationale to the public.

My letter went on to state that I am mindful not only of your responsibility in this area but also that of other public officials, including myself. My duty, specifically, is to determine whether there is a need for additional legislation in this area. Obviously, I cannot discharge my own responsibilities adequately unless you furnish me with the data I requested. As you know, I have written also to the Federal Communications Commission, the House's Chief Legislative Counsel and to your superior, the United States Attorney General. You have received copies of all these communications.

At this time I am awaiting too a reply to my subsequent letter to you of February 9, 1973, which stated:

I would appreciate your informing me as to whether all the tapes you requested of the January 17 broadcasts by Station WERE were made available to you by the station.

Whatever difficulties you may have had in this connection, either with respect to the November 1 or January 17 broadcast days, would be of interest to me, since it is conceivable that legislation might be required to correct these problems.

Therefore, it would be very helpful to me if you could send me a complete report on this aspect of the situation—again, as an addendum to the information I have already requested from you.

May I hear from you soon?

Sincerely,

JAMES V. STANTON,
Member of Congress.

AND NOW, BEEF

HON. JOSEPH M. GAYDOS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. GAYDOS. Mr. Speaker, we have watched in recent weeks as the heavy shipment of U.S. wheat at a fixed bargain-basement price to the Soviet Union reflected itself in the increased cost of bread and other baked goods to the American consumer.

Now we are seeing what that wheat deal is doing to meat prices, a supermarket area where it is having strong impact. By sending grain prices soaring generally by virtue of the enlarged demand, the deal has made cattle feed higher in cost at the feedlots of the Middle West.

Normally, we are told in a news report from Kansas City, a feedlot steer gains a pound in weight for 24 cents or less in the cost of the grain ration. Today, this figure has mounted to from 28 cents to 35 cents and on less efficient feeding operations to 50 cents a pound.

Moreover, the wheat shipments to Russia now underway in full force have made domestic farm shipping and delivery more difficult and costly. Vernon E.

Meckel, a cattle feeding company executive, is quoted on this point in the Kansas City report. He said:

Exports are fine and we hope they will continue, but we should realize that the huge sales abroad raise our cost of producing beef.

And what are the prospects for the American housewife and her strained food budget? The Kansas City report contains predictions that beef prices, already a source of stock to the food shopper, will go even higher—perhaps by 20 to 30 cents a pound by the middle of next summer.

Beef prices, it can be added, will carry other meat, poultry, and fish costs along with them because more and more shoppers will be compelled to turn for a time to these alternate products and thus increase the demand for them. We already have noted this overall effect in the stores where, for example, fish now is gaining in price almost at the same rate as steaks and roasts.

This, of course, is bad news not only to the American family but to the inflation fighters here in Washington. But it is news which contains another lesson of marked significance to our troubled Nation because it serves as one more demonstration of what happens when those who deal for us in foreign affairs neglect to understand, let alone protect, our own interests. Did those who made the Russian wheat deal and locked it in on the price which prevailed at the time realize that such an arrangement would send the grain quotations skyrocketing for the domestic consumer and end up as a new drain on family budgets and a sharp worsening of the inflation problem? If they foresaw these consequences and yet went ahead, then they are guilty of having wronged us severely.

I am willing, however, to give them the benefit of the doubt—accept the evidence that they blundered into a bad deal—if they can assure us now that the practice will not be repeated—that, in the future, the American interest will be their chief concern and not that now discredited policy of seeking to gain friends for us overseas by buying them out of the earnings of our people. That super generosity which has carried along since the first foreign aid appropriations has been the source of many other hardships here at home in addition to meat prices which, like the proverbial cow, seem bent on jumping over the moon.

LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. WILLIAM E. MINSHALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. MINSHALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, it has been pointed out that there is a country in which the 55th anniversary bitter irony in the fact that the only this month, of the Declaration of Independence of Lithuania cannot be observed is in Lithuania itself. This is, of course, because of the continuing occupation and subjugation of that nation by the Soviet Union.

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This is in line with the Soviet's continued suppression of human rights, the denial of religious freedom and self-determination. Such has been the case in Lithuania ever since the terrible summer of 1941 when Soviet forces herded over 30,000 Lithuanians into cattle cars headed to the slave labor camps of Siberia. These massive deportations of June 1941, were just the beginning of a long-range Russian plan to assimilate and eliminate the Lithuanian nation, making it an unresisting part of a homogenous Soviet society.

More than 30 years later, though the approach is less blatant, the results are the same. Youth groups, supposedly volunteers, are organized to leave Lithuania to settle in Siberia. The tactics by which these groups are organized range from political pressure to exaggerated claims and promises. All young people who have completed their service in the Soviet Army are encouraged and enticed to stay in Russia rather than return to their homeland.

For those who have completed their sentences in Siberian labor camps, the return to their native land is made extremely difficult. Some who do manage to make it home find life in their native countries so difficult they return to Russia of their own volition. Moreover, many Russians are being brought into Lithuania, especially into the larger cities, so that today the Russian population of some of the major metropolises in Lithuania is reaching the 50-percent mark.

The final outcome is obvious. The Lithuanian people will become a minority group in their own country.

These critical issues of the rights of man must be raised at the forthcoming European Security Conference in behalf of not only our Lithuanian friends, but of all the Baltic nations. And, further, we should continue to insist that the United Nations invoke provisions of the Charter to require the Soviet Union to abide by its obligations concerning colonialism and interference with the sovereignty of other nations. I have called for an expression of this principal in my House Concurrent Resolution 29, which follows:

H. CON. RES. 29

Whereas the United States of America was founded upon and long cherished the principles of self-determination and freedom; and

Whereas these principles, expressed in the sovereign quality of nations, are the very reason for the existence of the United Nations, as set forth in the charter of that world organization; and

Whereas the United States and all other members of the United Nations have solemnly pledged themselves to make these principles universal and to extend their benefits to all peoples; and

Whereas on December 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations passed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which was accepted both by the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, defining said rights as relating to citizens of all member states; and

Whereas since 1918 Soviet communism has, through the most brutal aggression and force, deprived millions of formerly free peoples of their right to self-determination; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States has unanimously expressed in Public Law 86-90, approved July 17, 1959, its revulsion at

the continued enslavement of the peoples of Eastern and East Central Europe who were described by the said public law as captive nations; and

Whereas the Hungarian, Polish, Czech, Slovak, Carpatho-Ruthenian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, East German, Rumanian, Bulgarian, Albanian, Ukrainian, and White Ruthenian peoples may only look to the United States and the United Nations for the restoration of their national self-determination and political independence; and

Whereas the member nations of the United Nations have failed to bring before the General Assembly for successful discussion the problem of self-determination and political independence of the peoples of Eastern Europe; and

Whereas despite the numerous resolutions passed by the United Nations General Assembly, Russian occupation troops are still maintained in Hungary and the issue of their removal has not come up for discussion in the Assembly since 1962; and

Whereas it is vital to the national security of the United States and to the perpetuation of free civilization that the nations of the world act in concert through the forum of the United Nations in demanding national self-determination and political independence for the peoples enslaved by Communist governments; and

Whereas the Constitution of the United States of America, in article II, section 2, vests in the President of the United States the power, by and with the advice of the Senate, to make treaties and to appoint Ambassadors: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the President of the United States is hereby authorized and requested to instruct the United States Ambassador to the United Nations to request at the 1968 session, that (1) the United Nations insist upon the fulfillment of its charter provisions based on self-determination of all peoples in the form of the sovereign equality of states and condemnation of colonial rule; and (2) the Soviet Union be asked to abide by its United Nations membership obligations concerning colonialism and interference with the sovereignty of other nations through the withdrawal of all Soviet Russia troops and agents from other nations now under Communist rule and through returning to their respective homelands all political prisoners now in prison and labor camps; be it further

Resolved, That the President of the United States is further authorized and requested to use all diplomatic, treaty-making, and appointive powers vested in him by the Constitution of the United States to augment and support actions taken by the United States Ambassador to the United Nations in the interest of self-determination and political independence of these nations.

SELF-REGULATION OF DRUG ADVERTISING ON TV

HON. MORGAN F. MURPHY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. MURPHY of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, in the early days of this country, medicine men stood in the rear of brightly painted horsedrawn wagons and peddled their wares. Their products were guaranteed to eliminate such unrelated illnesses as dyspepsia, baldness, and gangrene. Until recently, it was thought that today's standards and regulations made

the outrageous claims of yesterday's medicine men laughable.

But let us look at the facts. Today's television commercials urge you to take a pill to tranquilize or stimulate, to check tired blood, or generally help you cope with everyday anxieties. Occasional insomnia is no longer acceptable, headaches are never mild and a cold must not be permitted to run its course. Healthy 16-year-olds are urged to join the "Geritol generation" and parents are conditioned to repress legitimate outbursts at their children.

The smallest inconveniences and frustrations warrant immediate medicinal relief. One authority warns, however, that since such a large fraction of the promotional material is misleading or deliberately deceptive, the layman should not believe any claims whatever for over-the-counter drugs.

Following nationwide hearings by the Select Committee on Crime or drug use in our schools, the committee strongly urged the television industry to voluntarily regulate advertisements for nonprescription medicines. Committee testimony stressed that children at an early age watch "acceptable" drug use on the television and are later unable to distinguish between necessary and unnecessary medication.

I was thus gratified to learn last week that the National Association of Broadcasters' code review board unanimously approved self-regulation of drug advertising effective September 1. I was particularly interested in the regulations affecting children's contact with drug advertisement. I applaud the elimination of drug advertising during and adjacent to children's programs. Furthermore, I trust that celebrities, authority, and sports figures will confine themselves to drug education rather than the promotion of drug use.

I will closely monitor the code board's steps to restrict drug advertising while, at the same time, lobbying to reinstate funds for drug education spot announcements as well as more lengthy programs.

WHY DO WE AMERICANS WASTE OUR WASTES?

HON. GUY VANDER JAGT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. VANDER JAGT. Mr. Speaker, Members who are acutely aware of water pollution problems and the need for answers to those problems will be interested in a recent column by Russell Kirk, a leader on conservative thought in the United States. Dr. Kirk discusses a method of recycling sewage wastes which I have long advocated and which I have had the opportunity to encourage in Muskegon County in my congressional district.

Dr. Kirk's article suggests that conservatism, in its historic sense, offers direction to the Nation in solving some of our basic environmental problems. The article, which follows, appeared in the

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December 29, 1972, issue of the Milwaukee Journal. I would be pleased to provide further information on the subject to Members who are interested.

WHY DO WE AMERICANS WASTE OUR WASTES?

(By Russell Kirk)

As all good farmers have known since the early beginnings of systematic agriculture, the best way to get good crops is to enrich the soil with "waste" products—vegetable, animal and human. That keeps up the balance of nature, too; while nitrates and other modern "scientific" fertilizers may burn out the soil upon which they produce large crops for the short run.

Ever since the privy gave way to modern sewage systems in America, almost all human sewage has been wasted literally—indeed, flushed into our streams, it has polluted and virtually ruined great rivers and lakes. Only today, tardily, are Americans waking to the fact that this is imbecilic policy.

Any Chinese peasant knows that. In China for centuries, peasants have built neat little privies alongside the roads, inviting passers-by to relieve themselves on that property; thus they obtain fertilizer for their fields.

It is so in Japan, too, where every agriculturalist knows that human dung is worth a fortune, over the years. A few years ago, a British merchant, the friend of a friend of mine, living in Japan, happened to pass a Japanese farmer on a narrow path through the fields. The peasant was carrying two big buckets of human excrement, to scatter on his lands.

THE ENGLISHMAN SMILED POLITELY

With dexterity, the Englishmen contrived to squeeze past the peasant without being splashed. He smiled politely at his neighbor and said good morning, as if he had not noticed the awkward burden.

Grateful for the Englishman's courtesy, the Japanese reciprocated in kind. The following morning, the merchant found on his doorstep a reeking crock of dung—a present from the farmer, who thus gave his English neighbor some of the most valuable capital he possessed.

Most Americans laugh at the Hindus' attachment to those famous "sacred cows." What we forget is this: Religious prejudices aside, cattle make possible the existence of the Indian peasant in vast regions. They are more valuable if not slaughtered and eaten.

Not only do they yield dairy products, but their dung fertilizes fields that have been cultivated for thousands of years, it supplies the only cheap fuel for household use in regions that lack wood or mineral resources, and it even constitutes the chief domestic building materials in large parts of India and Africa.

FROM MILWAUKEE, A FINE IDEA

On my lawns in Michigan and round my trees and shrubs, I use Milorganite, an efficient and virtually odorless fertilizer that comes in bags from Milwaukee. It is processed and dried sewage, which the city administration sells on a large scale from its sewage treatment works.

Milwaukee has probably the best municipal services of all sorts of any city in America; yet I am surprised that no other big place has yet emulated this undertaking, which combines disposal of wastes with ecological renewal.

Muskegon, on the other side of Lake Michigan, also pioneers in such endeavors. There the city sprays treated sewage on some 6,000 acres of barren, sandy land owned by the municipality, making all that land profitably arable. There were obstacles at law to this project, but now those have been surmounted.

Chicago, with the world's biggest sewage works, has been trying to spray or plow its sewage-sludge into the derelict strip-mining

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lands of other counties in Illinois. The crop yield increases immensely when this is done, but there are local objections—chiefly because of stench, which nevertheless may be diminished or eliminated by plowing or proper pretreatments.

In one way or another, all this sewage used to go into Lake Michigan or other waters, destroying fish and other forms of aquatic life.

Private enterprise, rather than government, has led in this reclaiming of "wastes." Take Gerber products, the great canners of baby foods.

Recently I talked with Dan Gerber, the patriarch of the numerous Gerber clan, at his headquarters in Fremont, Mich. Farmers from many miles around sell their vegetables and fruit to Gerber's tremendous plant there, and of course the cannery must dispose daily of masses of vegetable waste.

But Gerber doesn't waste the waste. For the last 21 years, the firm has been spraying all this "waste" upon many fields in the vicinity of Fremont: from 600,000 to one million gallons of it daily.

FIELD SPRAYED 'ROUND THE CLOCK

They spray the soil for two hours, let it rest two hours, and then spray again 'round the clock. They have maintained test wells to check on subterranean water pollution; there is none, nor does all this spraying raise the water table. The fields so fertilized yield vastly better than do fields not so treated, and the waste is disposed of without polluting streams.

Go thou and do likewise, municipalities. The most obvious way to renew the land, and to avoid pollution by such wastes, is to put back into the soil what originally came from the soil in the form of grasses, vegetables and fruits—organic matter.

If we fail to do that, we soon starve the soil, starve ourselves eventually, and face the prospect of drowning in our own wastes. What the organic gardener does with his compost heap, the great city can do profitably, with its sludge.

PSYCHOLOGY OF DRUG ABUSE

HON. BILL ALEXANDER

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, in an earlier issue of the RECORD, I share with you an article "Our National Epidemic" written by Dr. John Buckman, an associate professor of psychiatry at the University of Virginia School of Medicine and a noted authority in the field of drug abuse.

Today I would recommend to my colleagues the first part of a paper Dr. Buckman presented at the 24th annual Stoneburner lecture series, February 26, 1971, at the Medical College of Virginia in Richmond. This paper, the conclusion of which will be placed in tomorrow's RECORD for your further reference, gives us a deeper insight into some of the reasons for drug use in our society:

PSYCHOLOGY OF DRUG ABUSE

(By John Buckman)

INTRODUCTION

Drug abuse in this country and, to a lesser extent, in the industrial countries of Western Europe has become one of the major topics of discussion at all levels of society. Volumes are being written about it, millions

of dollars are being spent to control it, but comparatively little effort is devoted to deeper understanding of the phenomenon. It has become part of the age long struggle between the young and the old, between the rich and the poor, between the white and the black, and between the lawless and the law abiding. It has certainly added to the polarization between the younger generation and the establishment. It has evoked numerous presidential pronouncements, appointments of congressional committees, and has given birth to new breeds of martyrs advocating legalizing use of all drugs by all adults, plus saviors of national morals and safety on the other side who advocate even stiffer penalties for possession of marijuana. As a result of prolonged and growing publicity regarding the issue of drug abuse, there has been a direct financial benefit to all news media, publishing companies, illicit drug sellers, and pharmaceutical firms.

While all drugs, in fact, are being abused, I shall concern myself only with those drugs which are being abused because of their potential for producing a change of mood and/or an altered state of consciousness. This group of drugs has been used since prehistoric times; for example, the cannabis group has been known and written about for some 5000 years. The early man, who largely relied on plants for food and medicine, soon found that a number of plants, when ingested, could produce in him altered states of consciousness, abolition of pain and change in mood. These drugs which we now call hallucinogens or psychedelics were used with great ceremony, and some were thought to be sacred. They were not used with levity but were closely guarded and usually used by priests for purposes like religious sacrament, healing, foretelling the future, communication with the gods, communication with the dead, or foretelling the disposition of the enemy on the other side of the mountain.

MOTIVATION FOR DRUG ABUSE

Berger and Porterfield (1969) state: "Persons may use drugs to obtain one or more of the following goals":

1. To achieve detachment from personal problems and troubles and to produce a state of well-being

2. To establish an involvement with the subculture that offers an identity and an identification in society.

3. To express hostility towards respectable society and as a protest against the injustices and restrictions imposed by the establishment.

Motivational factors may be divided into personal and societal.

Personal

Personal motivation for drug abuse may center around overwhelming intrapsychic conflict, present especially during adolescence and centered around adult sexuality, hostility, dependency-independency issues, and identity diffusion. Secondary factors, arising largely from this first group, may be:

1. Fear of competition and failure
2. Fear of homosexuality
3. Fear of threatening mental illness or disintegration
4. The need to rebel
5. The need to be caught and punished
6. The need to explore the limits of one's body and psyche and to challenge one's resources
7. The need for a hedonistic or orgiastic experience
8. The need to belong to a group or subculture

9. The need for instant relief or instant answers (chemicals produce the most instant change).

Societal

In the last 20 years, the pharmaceutical industries have made enormous strides in alleviating or even curing a vast number of conditions.

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The information explosion, the constant bombardment that we experience from all the media of communication have drastically altered our concept of time and space and have us be aware of some enormous problems, like hydrogen bombs, pollution and overpopulation, with the resulting increase in frustration, anxiety and, indeed, despair.

Society is in constant search of escape, one of the quickest temporary means of escape being drugs.

The television, from a simple machine, has become the national babysitter, the substitute parent, the teacher, the preacher, the indoctrinator, and almost an extension of our bodies. Children spend an enormous amount of time in front of television before they are old enough to select and judge. Mothers in India may put opium on the children's breakfast and mothers in California may put marijuana on the children's breakfast cereal as a form of tranquilizer. Our children are stuck in front of the television set which then will act as a tranquilizer so that mother can get on with her housework or so that the parents may entertain their friends uninterrupted. On Saturday mornings, for instance, every channel on television is directed at the children, with roughly the same nonsensical horror comics which give the child most bizarre ideas about aggressive behavior. The side effects of television programming are becoming more and more obvious:

1. By the time the child has reached six years of age, he or she may have seen on television over 20 thousand acts of violence. He also learns that violence is all right and that death is reversible because, "if the guy gets killed today, he still comes back next Saturday."

2. The child's fantasies about his own omnipotence are maintained by the fact that he can, at will, change the channel or switch off the program he does not like. Children deprived of communication with their parents or with other children lack the ability to express themselves verbally; their own initiative, inquisitiveness, and exploratory behavior is stifled. They begin to talk in monosyllables and by identifying with the television set, talk in terms of "turning on," "tuning in," "tuning out," "turning off," and "dropping out." This, of course, has also become the language of the new psychedelic generation.

3. Intermingled with the scenes of violence there are news programs or debates which have primarily to do with the bad news of war, murder, arson, rape, robbery, crime, and drug abuse just to mention a few.

4. A third ingredient on television is the solution and includes the numerous and very seductive pharmaceutical advertisements to do with drugs which make you feel more tranquil, happier, younger, sexier, and more attractive to the opposite sex. The advertising industry has for many years employed some of the best psychologists in order to find out the psychology of buying and selling. They know that the best way to persuade people to buy is to have the product promise to alleviate some of the sources of suffering and the feeling of inadequacy. Sex, strength, youth, and virility are implied; we are further lulled into a delusional belief that chemicals are necessarily safe.

DRUG ABUSE—SOME IMPORTANT ISSUES

The struggle between the young and the old

This is very deeply symbolized by the present drug culture. One of the issues is not just whether drugs are safe but "who tells whom what to do." Another issue is that the young are unconsciously, at least, convinced that the old are jealous of the strength, youth, and virility of the young people and that they send them to wars to be exterminated.

The stereotype of the drug user

When people talk about drug abuse, the stereotype which is evoked in the imagination is of a heroin addict from the ghetto

who may be violent and sexually deviant. At an unconscious level, drug abuse is linked with self abuse; often the punitive over reaction that to do with our suspicions that drug abuse is synonymous with loose sexual practices, forbidden masturbation, and cannibalism. Adam and Lohrenz (1970) document this well in their recent article.

THE VANISHING PRESTIGE OF THE U.S. DOLLAR; AN EXCUSE TO SELL GOLD TO FOREIGNERS

HON. JOHN R. RARICK

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. RARICK. Mr. Speaker, the financial experts continue to tell the American people that gold is inconsequential—that paper money backed by people's confidence is all that is necessary for a medium of exchange.

Again, the experts' rhetoric has backfired. The dollar has been devalued by our leaders twice in 2 years and continues to be unofficially devalued in foreign marketplaces where no one seems to want U.S. dollars. Lack of public confidence in paper money has spurned a new gold rush and the U.S. balance-of-payments deficit continues.

It appears that the experts who tell the people paper has replaced gold as money have done unto Americans as they would not do unto themselves. Americans are denied the right to own gold.

The more accurate purchasing power of the dollar comes from working people who know the worth of money. From Frankfurt, Germany, street walkers have set the exchange rate at 2 marks for 1 U.S. dollar. Things do not just happen, they are planned that way. Our monetary prestige, like our national sovereignty, is under attack and vanishing. Now we are told that the sale of gold owned by Americans may solve the crisis—foreign, perhaps, but not American.

I insert several news clippings:

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 10, 1973]

FRANKFURT FLOOZIES DISCOUNT DOLLAR

FRANKFURT, February 9.—Prostitutes knocked one-third off the price of the dollar today.

Women patrolling the streets around the Frankfurt railway station said they were giving American servicemen only two marks per dollar—36 per cent less than the lowest official exchange rate of 3.15 marks.

[From the Evening Star-Daily News, Feb. 23, 1973]

GOLD SOARS TO \$95, DOLLAR VALUE DROPS

LONDON.—Gold leaped to another unofficial price record again today, touching \$95 an ounce in early trading on the London free market. The value of the devalued dollar nose-dived in early trading, threatening a new world monetary crisis.

Central banks in West Europe bought up dollars today to support it when it dropped in early trading, and it steadied later. But one London dealer said, "conditions have been fairly hectic, and with the dollar being supported heavily again today we could be in for another crisis."

The gold price later declined in London.

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The biggest dollar plunge was in West Germany where it opened at 2.89 and quickly sagged below its 2.835 floor price. The Bundesbank bought up \$10 million and propped up the dollar at 2.84 marks to the dollar. One German bank said, "we're back with speculation. Many believe the mark will have to be revalued upwards."

In Paris the franc went lower, with both commercial and financial dollars traded at 4.5000, down respectively from 4.6240 and 4.4950.

(In Washington, the Treasury played down the flurry in European gold and currency markets.

("There's no flap here—no indication of any crisis," a spokesman said.)

The dollar sank in London too. In early trading it took \$2.4925 to buy one pound sterling—the highest figure since the dollar was devalued. In Zurich where the central bank has refused to intervene to support the dollar, the dollar dived to 3.11-3.13. In Amsterdam it fell from 3.1715 to 2.8550.

Sterling was 3½ cents higher than yesterday's close of \$2.4610. But it dropped back to \$2.48 after news of intervention for the dollar in European markets.

In Tokyo, the dollar improved slightly against the floating yen in light trading and closed at 265.55, up .55 from yesterday's closing.

Dealers used words like "frantic" or "hectic" to describe the new gold rush. One said orders were rushing in from all over the world, and that the demand was "heavy."

Early trading today pushed it to ranges between \$93 and \$95. The official fixing put the price at \$89 per ounce, up \$2.50 on the second of the day's two fixings yesterday. Gold was at an all time high on the Hong Kong market but the price there was reported as \$77.25 an ounce.

Gold prices normally move in pennies or fractions of a cent. This week the price has leaped about \$15.60 an ounce and London dealers said orders were flooding in from all over the world in the new gold crisis that almost overshadowed the paper money crisis.

[From the Sunday Star-Daily News, Feb. 25, 1973]

BILLIONS OF DOLLARS NOBODY WANTS TO KEEF.

(By Richard Longworth)

BRUSSELS.—An ocean of unwanted dollars is sloshing around the world, ready to force yet another dollar devaluation at any moment.

Those dollars were on the move again Friday. The result was that gold prices shot to a record high, the dollar trembled and a French banking official said that "the markets are totally haywire."

If there is any agreement among world money experts, it is that:

The recurring money crises will not end until something is done about these movable dollars.

This solution must be part of an overall reform of the world monetary system, to replace the "Bretton Woods" system which, after 29 useful years, has finally broken down.

This reform already is under discussion. Finance ministers of the "Committee of 20"—a collection of important developed and developing nations—will meet in Washington March 26 for the latest round in reform talks. They hope to have the draft of a reform ready when the International Monetary Fund holds its annual meeting in Nairobi in September.

Whatever is worked out could govern the way the world handles its money for the next 25 years or more. With this much at stake, major differences remain—particularly between the American and the European ap-

proaches. Few persons believe any new system can be functioning before next year at the earliest.

The current system began at Bretton Woods, N.H., in 1944, when the Western nations agreed to stabilize world monetary relationships by pegging the exchange rates of their currencies to the then-almighty dollar, which was pegged to gold. The dollar, therefore, became "good as gold" and vice versa. As long as this situation lasted, so did stability.

But year after year, the United States sent more dollars abroad than it took in. These dollars went out for foreign aid, tourism, investment abroad, the stationing of troops around the world, the Vietnam war and other purposes that made America an international spendthrift.

As long as there was a dollar shortage, this made little difference. But over the years, a dollar surplus built up. Suddenly it became apparent that foreigners held too many dollars. If they tried to cash them all at once, they would far outstrip the gold reserves in Ft. Knox.

The United States, in other words, was a potential bankrupt.

In international economics, as in anything else, there is too much of a good thing. As the supply of dollars went up, the demand went down. The respect for the dollar weakened. Foreigners reasoned that if the United States could not pay gold for dollars, what good were they anyway?

Mostly, these overseas dollars were held by investors, speculators, a few oil-rich countries and, increasingly, the huge multinational companies that deal in many currencies. Two years ago, these people became convinced that the dollar was so weak that it eventually would have to be devalued.

No one wants to hold on to a currency that may be devalued—that is, become worth less in terms of both gold and other currencies. So these people quickly transferred their excess dollars toward the strongest currency—the German mark.

Under international monetary rules, nations must support the dollar by buying it at its pegged price. But when the dollar is weak, it is only throwing good money after bad to pay marks for it.

GOLD LINK CUT

So in May, 1971, Germany tried to take the pressure off by revaluing the mark upward by 5 percent. It wasn't enough and, in his historic announcement three months later, President Nixon severed the link between gold and the dollar and allowed the dollar to float down on money markets. In December, 1971, it was dropped another 8 percent—its first devaluation since the 1930s.

Within 14 months, the speculative heat was on again. The United States, after consultation with its allies earlier this month, acted quickly with a 10 percent devaluation. On Feb. 12, the dollar had become worth 23 percent less to America's partners than it was in early 1971.

Was it enough? No banker or economist would bet on it. The ocean of overseas dollars remained—an estimated \$70 billion worth. Financiers said some \$30 billion to \$50 billion of this was "excess currency"—over and above what central banks need to do business. It was this pool that flowed from country to country at the slightest rumor, seeking the strongest currencies, undermining the weakest, causing crises.

Less than two weeks after the latest devaluation, the dollar was under new attack and a London banker moaned:

"Something has got to be done. We can't go on like this."

Something is being done—the reform talks. But results are not in yet on whether they will be soon enough or big enough to prevent still more crises.

[From the State-Times, La., Feb. 16, 1973]

DOLLAR DEVALUING MAY CHANGE LIVES

(By John Cunniff)

NEW YORK.—While chances are great that you will barely notice any immediate, perceptible change in your life because of the 10 percent devaluation of the dollar, there are exceptions.

You may be hurt if:

You are dependent upon imported products or parts. If you own a German or Japanese automobile that needs repairs your bill might be higher after the dealer's present parts supply runs out and he needs to import more.

You travel extensively in nations whose currency is now worth more in relation to the dollar. If you are on an unlimited expense account you may not be concerned. But you should be if your account is limited to a daily or total figure.

You send money back to relatives in "the old country." Or you are an American living abroad, perhaps a retiree who receives a Social Security check from home each month.

You work for a company that distributes imported products or which manufactures a product containing imported ingredients. Such a company could suffer a competitive disadvantage, mainly because of higher costs.

You could be helped if:

You work for a company that has been hurt by foreign competition. In theory, at least, your company should now feel a change in competition both at home and abroad.

You are a travel agent whose income depends upon a percentage of a customers' total foreign travel costs.

You are an employee of a recreation or entertainment company, or any other business that could prosper from an increase in foreign travelers whose money is now worth more than before.

You hold stock in a corporation which looks attractive to foreign investors more willing now to invest in the United States, mainly because stock prices have been discounted 10 percent, but also because some companies might become more competitive.

You hold business or property for sale—anything from a tiny work of art to a manufacturing plant—that now could become more attractive to foreigners with capital seeking to make direct investments in the United States.

You are an investor in a U.S. company whose borrowing costs might be reduced because of a return flow of dollars.

Among the signs of a new economic world that called for new currency alignments:

For half a century the United States was known as the producer of automobiles. No other nation or group of them was close. If anything represented American industrial dominance it was the car.

Now there exists an economic entity known as the Common Market, made up of Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, The Netherlands, Luxembourg, Britain, Ireland and Denmark. Twenty years ago their combined auto output was less than a million.

In contrast, these same nations produced more than 10 million units in 1970. Because Britain and Ireland were not members then you may subtract 1.5 million units and still exceed the U.S. total of 6.5 million for the year.

—In the immediate post-World War II years it was often said the most needed exportable of the United States other than its money, was management knowhow.

"Dun's Review," a management magazine, studied current European attitudes toward U.S. managers and their methods and found much disenchantment.

It summarized findings in these words:

"Europeans believe that in their reliance on management methods and techniques, American executives have, in effect, lost their ability to get things done."

[From the State-Times (La.), Feb. 14, 1973]
DEVALUATION OF DOLLAR WILL BE FELT IN STATE

(By Bob Dardenne)

Devaluation of the dollar will have some impact locally.

The United States announced Monday the dollar was devalued 10 per cent, meaning that in foreign countries the dollar is worth 10 per cent less today than it was three days ago.

It also means that foreign goods coming into the Baton Rouge port will cost purchasers here 10 per cent more, and that grains and other U.S. goods leaving Baton Rouge port will cost foreign purchasers 10 per cent less.

To the Baton Rouge consumer of foreign goods, it could mean an increase in prices. That Italian car, that French wine, that Japanese transistor radio—they could all cost more.

Also, one result could be an increase in export activity at Baton Rouge port. The reason? Dr. David Johnson, LSU professor of economics, said, "American products are now cheaper in terms of foreign currencies."

That is one idea behind devaluation. American products become cheaper in foreign markets and foreign products become more expensive in local markets.

Speaking about the devaluation, Louisiana National Bank economist Glenn Coats said it was caused by a \$7 billion imbalance of trade—the United States has spent \$7 billion more dollars in foreign countries than it took in.

That leaves heavy concentrations of American dollars in foreign countries—principally Japan, where the imbalance of trade amounted to almost half the total, or about \$3 billion.

There will be some impact on local banks, Coats said, in that purchasers of foreign goods here will be paying 10 per cent more, and that is 10 per cent more money being drawn from banks here.

To that extent, he said, banks will feel the devaluation. In major import trade areas, banks could be affected significantly, he said.

Local consumers, sooner or later, will feel the effect of devaluation.

Johnson said it is likely that retail prices on foreign goods will go up. It may not be as much as 10 per cent, however, because exporters will probably cut their prices to keep their products competitive on the U.S. market, the LSU professor said.

It is possible that prices on Baton Rouge's huge stockpile of foreign automobiles will go up.

But Johnson feels the major significance for Baton Rouge will be not on imports, but on increased exports from the port. With U.S. products 10 per cent cheaper, he said, more goods should be shipped out of Baton Rouge.

Port Director William Herbert said it was too early to tell exactly what would happen as a result of the international money move.

Talking about imports, he said he felt the automobile situation would be of major consideration. Cars imported through Baton Rouge go to Arkansas, Mississippi, Texas, Missouri, Kansas and throughout the Midwest, as well as to statewide markets.

"Of course, import prices on the automobiles will go up," he said, but it is too early to tell whether that will affect importation of cars here.

If a consumer has made up his mind to buy a foreign car, he said, 10 per cent more would probably not change his mind.

Using Japan as an example, Coats explained what happens to money from Baton

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Rouge when it is used to buy foreign goods here:

—A purchaser here buys goods, paying the Japanese exporter 10 per cent more money than he would have paid before. The money is withdrawn from a bank here—10 per cent more than before devaluation.

—The Japanese exporter deposits the money in his Tokyo bank and receives credit for Japanese yen. It is 10 per cent less yen that he would have received earlier, but since he charged the Baton Rouge man 10 per cent more, he is not affected.

—The Tokyo bank takes the check to the Japanese Central Bank (Federal Reserve Bank) and receives yen for the dollars.

—Now the central bank has the Baton Rouge money. With the current imbalance in trade, it would probably already have a large quantity of dollars. Therefore, it would take the dollars and invest them in U.S. Treasury Notes, thereby earning some five and one-half per cent interest and, ultimately, more dollars.

The problem is to get those dollars back to the United States.

Basically, by devaluating, the government hopes two things will occur.

One, the Baton Rouge purchaser might be discouraged from buying foreign goods, and two, foreign countries—Japan, for instance—might take advantage of 10 percent cheaper prices and buy more American goods.

The result, hopefully, would be a decrease in the amount of U.S. dollars in foreign central banks.

THE 55TH ANNIVERSARY OF LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE

HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE OF MASSACHUSETTS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 20, 1973

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I am always honored to take part in this annual congressional program commemorating the anniversary of the declaration of Lithuanian independence.

This program has two primary purposes.

It is held, first, to pay continuing tribute and give continuing encouragement to the brave and gallant people in native Lithuania.

Second, we wish to rededicate ourselves to our original objective of restoring freedom to Lithuania as quickly as possible.

It was 55 years ago when the Lithuanian people proclaimed the return of their independence after centuries of Russian domination.

For 22 years they enjoyed a free, democratic, happy way of life.

Then Lithuania was again and unlawfully invaded by the Soviet Communists who claimed her as a part of the Russian Republic.

This invasion was especially cruel and inhuman. Many thousands of innocent Lithuanians died, thousands of others were deported, families were separated and the culture and economy of your proud country was shattered.

However, despite the sustained Communist efforts to suffocate the national traditions of the Lithuanian people their high spirit and intense devotion to the principles of freedom and democracy still

endure. The worst persecutions of the passing years have not weakened their desire for liberty and self-determination. That is one great reason why we are certain Lithuania will yet recover her independence.

I am further confident that the Lithuanian people will one day regain their freedom because they are a nation of Christian beliefs with the faith to persevere in them.

However, we, and all others, who are blessed with freedom must maintain our efforts to encourage them to carry forward their refusal to accept Communist rule.

On this score we can take some pride in the knowledge that the United States continues to recognize the sovereignty of Lithuania, and the other Baltic states, and has steadfastly refused to recognize Communist Russia's claim that they are a part of her territory.

On this special occasion you and I and all other freedom-loving Americans must resolve to make sure that our Government holds firm in continuing criticism and condemnation of Russia's illegal seizure and persecution of the Lithuanian people.

We must also resolve to perseveringly call upon the United Nations and all other free governments to exert every pressure that they can upon Russia to convince the Communist dictators to release Lithuania from their subjugation.

Our common duty is to keep trying to arouse the conscience of the free world to act against Communist tyranny in order to preserve hope and trust in the minds and hearts of the valiant Lithuanian people.

I am certain that if we all persevere in our helpful efforts, the Lithuanian people will have the unyielding courage and the unbending will to regain their liberty and independence and I hope this will be accomplished in the near future.

ARTICLE BY HON. JACOB MISHLER, CHIEF JUDGE OF THE U.S. DISTRICT COURT FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK, ON THE SENTENCING PANEL PROCEDURE IN FEDERAL CRIMINAL CASES

HON. ELIZABETH HOLTZMAN OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Ms. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, the various procedures utilized in the sentencing of convicted defendants constitute a primary area of concern with respect to the judicial administration of criminal justice.

The Honorable Jacob Mishler, chief judge of the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of New York, has addressed himself to this important issue in a very fine article which appeared in the January 24, 1973, edition of the New York Law Journal. The article details the mechanics involved in and the benefits to be derived from use of the "sentencing panel procedure." The "panel" is

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actually composed of a sentencing judge, conferring judges, and the chief probation officer who meet to discuss the particular case and considerations to be taken into account with respect to sentencing. Use of the panel procedure in this manner has been helpful in minimizing disparity of sentences.

Because this analysis of the eastern district's efforts to develop a fair and efficient system for the sentencing of convicted defendants will be of interest to my colleagues who are concerned about Federal reform, I insert the article in the RECORD:

THE SENTENCING PANEL PROCEDURE: HOW IT WORKS IN EASTERN DISTRICT

(By Jacob Mishler)

The sentencing panel procedure established in the United States District Court for the Eastern District of New York in 1962 came to the public's attention during recent public discussions on various phases of the judicial administration of criminal justice. The first district to use the sentencing panel was the Eastern District of Michigan (Detroit) in November 1960. No other court has adopted it except the Northern District of Illinois (Chicago) in December 1963. The Supreme Court of Bronx County has recently instituted a pilot program to test this procedure.

The Federal Judicial Center has consented to make a study of the procedure and its effect. The study will include all reports made by the judges of this court from 1967 through 1972. In preparation for this article, my staff examined only the reports from Jan. 1, 1972 to Nov. 3, 1972. This article could not await the professional treatment of the Federal Judicial Center; enough can be garnered from the study of the current year for our purposes.

EIGHTY PERCENT PLEAD GUILTY

To the vast majority of defendants, the sentence to be imposed is the only meaningful step in a long, complicated process. About 80 percent of the defendants plead guilty. For them, from the outset, the only question left is the sentence to be imposed. Judge-shopping has been eliminated in this court since this court embraced the individual assignment system of assigning cases (Sept. 1, 1969). All the defendant has a right to expect is that the judge to whom his case was assigned will impose a sentence not substantially different from that which any other judge of the court would impose. That is also the fond hope of the judges of the court. I believe that the sentencing panel is a valuable tool for the accomplishment of this objective.

The total number of sentences imposed by the twelve judges (nine active, three senior) of the court during the study period was 785. The substantive offenses included armed bank robbery, bankruptcy fraud, bribery, threatening the life of the President, counterfeiting, embezzlement of bank funds, forgery, income tax evasion, interstate theft of goods, mail fraud, narcotics violations, obstruction of justice, selective service violations and smuggling. Almost all the crimes were felonies. Only 380 sentences were the subject of the study for 1972. For a variety of reasons no reports were filed on the remaining sentences.

RISE IN FILINGS

The number of filings has increased from 471 for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1969, to 1,225 for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1972. Our Probation Department personnel has not increased in the same proportion. In an attempt to limit the workload of the Probation Department I requested the judges to dispense with presentence reports where possible. One of our senior judges had permanent chambers at Westbury since prior to

Jan. 1, 1972 and he was joined by one of our active judges as of March 1, 1972. The inconvenience of attending sentencing panel conferences at Brooklyn discouraged these judges from continuing their participation in the panel conference.

Turning to the mechanics of the procedure, a schedule of conferring judges is established for the calendar year. Two judges are assigned as conferring judges for each month. The identical pairing of judges is not repeated during the year thus maximizing the opportunity for exchange of views among the members of the court.

The sentencing panel procedure becomes operable when the Probation Department delivers presentence reports (in triplicate) to the sentencing judge. The sentencing judge's office then delivers a copy to each conferring judge together with a form on which he is to indicate his recommended sentence. The presentence reports and the reporting forms are delivered to the conferring judges on the Thursday prior to the scheduled weekly Tuesday conference. The conferring judges record their recommended sentences. After reviewing the probation report, the sentencing judge records his tentative sentence. Until this point none of the judges discuss the case or the sentence.

The sentencing judge and the conferring judges, together with the Chief Probation Officer, then meet to discuss the case. The forms containing the records of the conferring judge's recommended sentences are delivered to the sentencing judge at this conference. The discussion ensues. When there is general agreement the discussion is usually brief. Otherwise it extends to the nature of the crime, the degree of culpability, the age, education and work record of the defendant and whether psychiatric examination should be directed. After sentence is imposed, the sentencing judge files a form with the Chief Judge which contains (1) his tentative sentence, (2) the recommended sentences of the two conferring judges and (3) the sentence imposed.

The initial determination in a substantial number of cases is between probation or prison. This is usually the critical decision in cases involving juveniles, youthful offenders, young adult offenders and first offenders. The statistical study revealed that in 349 cases out of 380 cases, or in approximately 92 per cent of the cases, at least one conferring judge agreed with the sentencing judge.

In a study to evaluate the effectiveness of the sentencing panel procedure, the degree of concurrence in the length of term of the sentence to be imposed is of interest. In 229 cases out of a total of 380 cases, or approximately 60 per cent of the cases, at least one conferring judge recommended a sentence whose duration fell within a range 20 per cent lower or higher than that tentatively set by the sentencing judge. In many of these cases the recommended sentences of one or both conferring judges was identical with the tentative sentence of the sentencing judge.

An indication of the effect the conference has on the sentencing judge is the number of instances in which the sentencing judge modified his tentative sentence. I do not discount other factors including allocution at the time of sentencing. However, the statistics suggest that the conference does play a part in the final sentence. The sentencing judge changed his tentative sentence in 154 cases out of a total of 380 cases, or in approximately 41 percent of the cases. Of the 154 modified sentences, the sentencing judge increased the term in 32 cases and decreased the term in 122 cases.

The sentencing panel procedure appears to be a helpful tool in minimizing disparity of sentences. Over a period of time the contribution that each judge makes at the conference creates a more consistent blend-

ing of the factors that bear on the sentence. The goal sought is not identical sentences for the same crime; such uniformity would deny each defendant individual consideration and personalized treatment. I believe that the sentencing panel procedure will bring about general agreement on the factors that come into play as they apply to the sentence at hand and the weight to be given to each factor. Traditionally, the justification for imprisonment has been (1) the right of society to retribution, (2) the right of society to protection from further anti-social conduct, (3) the deterrent effect a prison sentence has on the defendant or other potential violators and (4) the obligation of society to rehabilitate the defendant and the benefit that will accrue to the defendant and to society from this rehabilitation.

Retribution is considered a base motive and generally rejected as counter-productive. The other concepts are valid considerations. They vary in proportion when applied to different crimes and from defendant to defendant. The goal is uniformity in the application of these elements. We seek general agreement as to whether imprisonment of an income tax evader will deter potential income tax violators and whether it will have the effect in the specific case under discussion; as to whether a young adult convicted of forging stolen checks is a threat to society and whether the chances of rehabilitation of the subject will be enhanced through probation or imprisonment. If that degree of concurrence is accomplished then the sentencing panel procedure will have fulfilled the hopes of the court. But I believe the harvest is greater. The sentencing judge is better informed about the individual to appear before him. The scheduled conference with his associates and the Probation Officer demands that he prepare for it. At the conference the discussion of the subject matter of the presentence report at times suggests alternatives that did not occur to the sentencing judge. This is particularly helpful to newly appointed judges.

The procedure is time consuming. Presentence reports are usually reviewed by the judges over the week end. Conferences take about one to two hours. In a busy court where judges must carefully allocate available time to many competing demands we nevertheless find the time used in the sentencing panel procedure is well spent.

SPACE YOUTH COUNCIL

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the Federation of Americans Supporting Science and Technology (FASST) is presently trying to form a Space Youth Council to help industry and government relate to young people the importance of the space program in general and the space shuttle in particular. FASST is ready and willing to go forward with the Space Youth Council and is confident that the SYC could sport a membership of over 1,000 within the next 3 months. Within a year, the SYC could have a membership of at least 5,000. This could be drawing upon those students who have contributed Skylab experiment suggestions. FASST is also seeking the creation of an Energy Youth Council to which the Atomic Energy Commission has already responded vigorously. Fund-

ing will come from the Office of Education in the AEC.

I commend to your reading the following information on the Space Youth Council from Mr. David Fradin, chairman of FASST. I strongly support this program and hope the space community will do likewise with its available funding capacity. The newsletter follows:

**PROPOSAL FOR SPACE YOUTH COUNCIL—
AUGUST 16, 1972**

PURPOSE

In 1972 there are over 25 million young voters who may or may not support the space program. Armed with over 20 percent of the vote, these young people will ultimately determine the future of America's space program, including the space shuttle. The important thing is that these young people must know and understand the importance of space exploration. The purpose of the Space Youth Council is to help industry and government relate to young people the importance of the space program in general and the space shuttle in particular.

STRUCTURE

The Youth Council should consist of 10 young people geographically located around the country. These 10 people will be selected initially from the FASST membership. The selection will be made by the national officers of FASST and their appointment will be temporary, at least initially. Selection will be made on the basis of references and curriculum vitae.

These 10 members should be directed by a full-time director (a young person) from FASST headquarters in Ann Arbor, Michigan. This full-time executive director will come directly under the responsibility of the president of FASST. A job description of the executive-director is attached. Each Youth Council member will be charged with the responsibility of developing a youth constituency in his region that supports the space program. At a later date, each Youth Council member will be elected from his constituency.

Meetings of the Youth Council should take place at least three or four times a year; perhaps at different locations, for example, Houston, Cape Kennedy, Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, Ann Arbor, etc.

CHARTER INCLUSIONS

A Charter of the Youth Council should include:

Advising how to best relate the space program to young people;

Conducting of youth opinion surveys towards the space program;

Writing and distributing materials on the space program to young people;

Briefing legislators on the space program from a youth point-of-view;

Presenting forums and discussion groups on campus;

Briefing university and high school news media;

Giving news media interviews;

Arranging speeches before youth groups; and

Developing an actual youth constituency in favor of a viable space program.

Annual funding

Executive director	\$8,000
Burden (travel, phone, supplies, etc., for executive director)	7,000
Secretarial	5,000
Travel (for 10 SYC members)	12,000
Office expenses (phone, supplies, etc.)	8,000

Total 40,000

The funding should be appropriated quarterly to FASST with 10% of the Annual Funding initially to start the program. If de-

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

sired, a quarterly accounting will be conducted.

JOB DESCRIPTION

Space Youth Council Executive Director.

QUALIFICATIONS

Young person.

Appropriate references.

Space Program supporter with proven interest and efforts in relating the importance of the Space Program to young people.

Must be approved by the Directors of FASST.

RESPONSIBILITY AND DUTIES

Directs the Youth Council.

Directly responsible to the chairman of FASST.

Arranges the meetings of the Youth Council.

Distributes information on the space program to young people.

Conducts youth opinion surveys towards the space program.

Briefs legislators.

Arranges displays, forums, and lectures on the space program.

Develops with SYC members an actual youth constituency.

SUPPORTERS OF SPACE YOUTH COUNCIL PROPOSAL

Congressman Olin E. Teague, Chairman, Science and Astronautics Committee.

William M. Magruder, Special Consultant to the President.

Dr. George M. Low, Deputy Administrator, NASA.

John P. Donnelly, Assistant Administrator for Public Affairs.

Michael Collins, Director, National Air and Space Museum.

Fredrick C. Durant, III, Director, Astronautics Smithsonian Institution.

William P. Thayer, Chairman of the Board, LTV Corporation.

Carlyle Jones, Vice-President, Aerospace Industries Association.

Col. William Anders, Executive Director, National Aeronautics and Space Council.

**VOICE OF DEMOCRACY CONTEST—
STATE OF ILLINOIS WINNER**

HON. ROBERT P. HANRAHAN
OF ILLINOIS
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. HANRAHAN. Mr. Speaker, each year the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States and its Ladies Auxiliary conducts a Voice of Democracy Contest. This year nearly 500,000 secondary school students participated in the contest competing for the national scholarships which are awarded to the winners. The contest theme was "My Responsibility to Freedom."

The winning speech from the State of Illinois was written by a resident of the Third Congressional District, Jon G. Matthews, of Lansing, Ill. The text of his speech follows:

MY RESPONSIBILITY TO FREEDOM

(By Jon Matthews)

Every twenty seconds, a child is born in this country. Each one of these children has already been given the second best gift he or she shall ever receive. The first being life itself. They do not know what this gift is as yet. It will never get them any compliments, or give them a class identification with society. Some of these children may never in their lives realize that they ever received such a gift. What is this gift??? In one simple word . . . Freedom.

As the child grows, he uses his life to attain the happiness he is ever seeking. Without freedom life would seem without hope for such joy and happiness.

Different from most forms of happiness, besides love, freedom is not monetary . . . but it does have an upkeep problem. This is my responsibility . . . a responsibility to Freedom.

Invisible, like still, motionless air . . . Freedom can be silent and never changing . . . but the air of Freedom can pick up dirt and be tumbled into a hurricane of disaster . . . This is a responsibility of separation . . . of sifting. Just as sifting for gold . . . We can save the valuable patriots who already view our country with a sparkle in their eye, and use them to teach the fallen rocks of society.

Responsibility of Freedom . . . a must . . . a want . . . and I feel that it should be considered a *need*!!!

Education is continuously climbing to an infinite apex. Now is a good time to begin . . . I . . . A . . . C . . . this plan, I contend, could save our country from invisible enemies.

Letter . . . I . . . stands for "individual". That means each of us . . . everyone . . . not necessarily separate . . . but together as one "individual." In my contention . . . "a country must be one."

Letter . . . A . . . stands for "American." The name itself rings freedom. But all too often, ears are immune to the music it plays. America must be viewed as a home . . . a dwelling place where each "individual" may live.

Letter . . . C . . . stands for "control." If the "individual", society's whole, can view America as a home . . . this last need is a simple one. Teach the country as a personal thing, not as a space on a map . . . not as a leader of crop producing farms . . . although all of these are important and should have their place.

My responsibility to freedom causes me to deeply feel a need for a plan of procedure. I should like to help see this plan go to work . . . I shall ever strive for . . . individual . . . American . . . control . . .

My responsibility to freedom is in reality a responsibility to myself. Children of all ages have few examples shown to them on how a country should be shown respect. Take for example, Fourth of July. A joyous time of freedom and a truly celebrate holiday. But in fact, today we must have laws governing the sale of fireworks. . . For commercialism has taken over the spirit of freedom. The birth of our country is only slightly viewed in a sense of happiness and gratitude. Think back to your last birthday. You surely received a present. Well, America is saying. . . "Give me nothing but the gift of your strength and support of responsibility. . . And that shall see me live a proud life of eternity." This is not to say that if you do not fly a flag each day, that you are not a patriot. A flag can be seen in the eyes of a true patriot.

The children of today may possibly be the saviors of tomorrow. My responsibility is to that child whom I want to grow up in a free country, like myself. Then his responsibility will be to his child of the world.

Opportunity is a wide aspect left untouched by many young adults. There are so many channels that are open . . . and yet many minds are blocked with a feeling of "bankrupt debt."

I truly do have a debt to my country . . . a gift that shall not be belated . . . a gift of responsibility. (And) that is to keep honor on all that affects or inclines my nature concerning my beliefs . . . Whether they be right or wrong . . . for America is one place where you can be wrong . . . and still live to correct your mistake.

This speech serves as a reminder to all of our responsibility to freedom, the

February 26, 1973

theme on which this country was founded.

THE 55TH ANNIVERSARY OF
LITHUANIA'S INDEPENDENCE

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, the following are translated remarks by the Honorable Joseph Kajeckas, Chargé d'Affaires of Lithuania, delivered on February 11, 1973, at a commemorative meeting arranged by the Lithuanian-American Society of Washington, D.C., marking the 55th anniversary of Lithuania's Declaration of Independence. In addition, I would like to include following Mr. Kajeckas' remarks an exchange of correspondence earlier this month between the U.S. Secretary of State and the Chargé d'Affaires of Lithuania. The aforementioned remarks and correspondence follow:

TRANSLATED REMARKS

(By Joseph Kajeckas, Chargé d'Affaires of Lithuania)

This year, as in years past, we have gathered to celebrate February 16 as the anniversary of that day in 1918 when the independence of the Lithuanian republic was proclaimed. That declaration in 1918 was the culmination of countless sacrifices and acts of devotion on the part of Lithuanians throughout the world, and it changed the character of Lithuania almost overnight. The Lithuanian was finally the keeper of his own house. His language became the official language of his country. His land was really his own.

And just as the year 1918 changed the face of Lithuania and its life, the year 1940 changed the face of our country and its external life. Overnight, the illegal and armed occupation of Lithuania by the Red Army put an end to Lithuanian territorial sovereignty and all civil rights. There followed the infamous deportations and the heinous Soviet attempts at genocide. But in the midst of deprivations and atrocities, in the midst of crude and cruel attempts to suppress the national life of the Lithuanian people, the love of freedom remains so strong in the hearts of Lithuanians that the Soviet aggressors received, and continue to receive, rude surprises.

I said before that the Soviet occupation changed the external life of Lithuania. I implied that the inner life, the spiritual life of the people, remained steadfastly undaunted. There were countless indications and demonstrations of this over the course of the last 33 years, but perhaps only during this past year has the attention of the world been drawn so dramatically to the unrest that pervades the lives of enslaved Lithuanians who, after a whole generation of Communist attempts at indoctrination and Russification, remain determined to be free.

The self-immolation of Romas Kalanta, followed by the demonstrations and petitions for religious liberty in Kaunas, brought sharply to the public eye the earnestness of young people in Lithuania today who seek the liberty of which their fathers had first been robbed so many years ago. And the events of the past year reminded us all that such a desperate attempt to escape to freedom as that of the sailor Simas Kudirka within the past few years was not an isolated

occurrence. In fact, what Kudirka said at his Soviet trial expressed the feelings of those members of his generation who joined in the protests during this past year. He said, when asked if he considered himself guilty, "I do not consider myself guilty since I did not betray my homeland, Lithuania. I do not consider Russia, called the Soviet Union today, as my homeland."

Despite this recent public record of heroism, which attests to the continued loyalty of occupied Lithuanians to their heritage and their determination to be free again, the actual state of Lithuania's chances for regained independence is frequently in danger, even among free-world nations in the West. The Soviet Union has for years mounted a systematic effort to achieve recognition by Western countries of the *status quo* in Eastern Europe, and we can be sure that the Soviets will regard the talks in Helsinki as another opportunity to raise this issue again. At the same time, Russification procedures are constantly being used in Lithuania, as we know both from information in the homeland and from the reports of visitors to Lithuania. It is, therefore, a situation in which the enslaved cannot defend themselves, but must depend on the free not to allow their hopes to be compromised or jeopardized.

The Soviet Union broke the most solemn international pledges and treaties of non-aggression, territorial sovereignty and inviolability with regard to Lithuania. The Soviet Union enslaved Lithuania without pity, ignored the most basic human rights of her inhabitants, and perpetrated crimes against all humanity.

Yet Lithuania is still alive and exists *de jure* in the eyes of the United States and other nations of the free world who refuse to recognize the grotesque illegality of the Soviet Union's occupation and forcible annexation. On this February 16, millions of Lithuanians throughout the free world will join with friends of Lithuania everywhere in the solidarity of hopeful determination that Lithuanians in their oppressed homeland deserve at the hands of any true lovers of freedom.

Some of those friends of Lithuania—numerous United States Congressmen, Governors and Mayors among them—continue to warm the hearts of my people with their support and encouragement. We were especially heartened to note President Nixon's assurance, in his Inaugural Address last month, that—

"We shall support vigorously the principle that no country has the right to impose its will or rule on another by force."

Finally, I would like to share with you today the official greeting that I received on this occasion on behalf of the Government and people of the United States from the Secretary of State, as well as my grateful reply to that message. And as I close I urge you all to keep patience and faith with the great hope that sustained our forefathers and all men who had to struggle to prove themselves worthy of the liberty which they so loved.

Here are the messages:

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
Washington, D.C., February 2, 1973.
Mr. JOSEPH KAJECKAS,
Chargé d'Affairs of Lithuania
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES: On behalf of the Government and people of the United States of America I am pleased to extend to you and the Lithuanian people greetings and sincere best wishes on the occasion of the fifty-fifth anniversary of the Lithuanian independence.

The Lithuanian people have continued to strive to maintain their national identity and to achieve self-determination. Their efforts toward this end have presented an example of perseverance and spirit to people throughout the world.

We in the United States, a nation which has been enriched by the contributions of its many citizens of Lithuanian background, are particularly aware of the desire of the Lithuanian people to enjoy an independent national life in their homeland and thus I am pleased to convey our greetings.

Sincerely,

WILLIAM P. ROGERS.

LITHUANIAN LEGATION,
Washington, D.C., February 10, 1973.
Hon. WILLIAM P. ROGERS,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: On behalf of the people of Free Lithuania, I wish to thank you most warmly for your message of greetings on the occasion of the fifty-fifth anniversary of my country's Declaration of Independence.

Especially during this past year, there were repeated incidents in my forcible occupied homeland to demonstrate that the people of Lithuania are painfully aware that any peace in the world will always be at best a "selective peace" as long as Lithuania and the other Baltic States remain a symbol of the unfinished business of the Second World War and the unrestrained capacity of the Soviet Union to impose its will on weaker neighbors and other nations.

The Lithuanian people had attained an ethnic identity as long ago as the days of ancient Rome and Tacitus, and the exercise of her national identity played an important part in the shaping of modern Europe. My countrymen are indeed, as you point out, an example of perseverance to the world as they continue to insist on their right to enjoy an independent national life in their homeland. On their behalf I am pleased to express to you and the Government and people of the United States deepest gratitude for the continued support of all Americans who realize that, as Thomas Paine put it so well for all lovers of liberty, "Where freedom is not, there is my country."

Sincerely,

JOSEPH KAJECKAS,
Chargé d'Affairs of Lithuania.

LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

HON. ROBERT P. HANRAHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. HANRAHAN. Mr. Speaker, I would like to add to my remarks of earlier this month regarding the Lithuanian Independence Day.

On February 16, members of the American-Lithuanian community commemorated their 55th anniversary of Lithuanian independence. On February 16, 1918, after more than a century of subjugation by the czarist Russian Empire, the Lithuanian people asserted their right of self-determination, as proclaimed by President W. Wilson, and reestablished an independent state. For 20 years the Lithuanian people were permitted to develop their own political, economic, and cultural life. In 1922, Lithuania became a member of the League of Nations and in effect was recognized as an independent state by the world.

This freedom and prosperity was short lived. As the Nazi-German Armies were advancing against Paris, the Red Army also moved and on June 15, 1940, it

attained the goal it could not reach in 1920, that is, the occupation of Lithuania. Under the guns of the Red Army and Soviet terror mock elections were organized, in which only candidates approved by the occupier were permitted. On July 21, 1940, a rubberstamp diet under Communist control formalized the incorporation of Lithuania into the U.S.S.R.

After World War II nations have risen from ruins, and desire a permanent peace, a genuine peace, grounds on justice and respect for human rights. But Lithuania was not allowed to these rights. The Lithuanian people have never accepted the occupation as legally or morally binding and on numerous occasions have voiced their determination to regain independence and freedom.

The Soviet constitutional guarantees of religious freedom are seriously compromised by Soviet actions, for example: The clergy are persecuted and often jailed, churches are destroyed or converted to music halls, warehouses, and even factories. This, though, is not the first time Lithuania suffered religious persecution. In 1414 the Holy Roman Emperor Sigismund and Pope Gregory XII called a council of representatives of all European Christian nations. The Grand Duke—King of Lithuania, Vytautas the Great, sent a delegation of 66 members to protest religious persecution by the Germans-Teutonic Knights. After lengthy and careful deliberation Lithuania was upheld and the armed persecutions stopped.

In February of 1972 the Lithuanians could not send delegations, but they risked their welfare and lives to make their protest known. A petition with 17,000 signatures, asking for religious freedom, was sent to the Secretary General of the United Nations.

Shortly thereafter, in May of the same year, a 20-year-old student, Romas Kalanta, burned himself to death in the city of Kaunas in front of the theater where Lithuania's freedom was formally extinguished.

The incident, which coincided with President Nixon's visit to Moscow, touched off numerous riots, mass demonstrations which involved two or more similar suicides and required the presence of Soviet troops.

These statements reflect some ideas which I feel are significant. They tell the story of the plight of the Lithuanian people and their constant struggle for independence.

MONTE IRVIN ELECTED TO BASEBALL'S HALL OF FAME

HON. JOSEPH G. MINISH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. MINISH. Mr. Speaker, all Members possess a familiar spirit toward their constituents and so our colleagues will understand my joy and pride at the elec-

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

tion of Mr. Monte Irvin of Orange, N.J., to Baseball's Hall of Fame. My joy and pride in his achievement are deepened by the fact that I can claim Monte not only as a distinguished resident of the 11th District but a personal friend of many years' standing. In addition to his athletic prowess, Monte's fine personal qualities have won him universal respect and affection.

The Sunday Star-Ledger of February 11, 1973, contained two perceptive articles on this remarkable American who overcame almost insurmountable obstacles to become one of our greatest ballplayers. I should like to insert the articles at this point in the RECORD:

BASEBALL TIPS ITS CAP TO GENTLEMAN MONTE (By Charles Q. Finley)

What does being elected to baseball's Hall of Fame mean to a man who was kept out of the big leagues for years because of his race?

Monte Irvin of Orange didn't make the majors until he was 31 years old but still had enough ability to blaze a brilliant record with the Giants.

But Irvin is a sentimental fellow who holds no grudges. Today, at 53, he feels no bitterness.

"When something good happens, people get a particular feeling they don't get at any other time," Irvin said. "But getting into baseball's Hall of Fame means something more than this to me."

"It's like knowing America really is a great country, that there is hope. It's like hearing this country saying to all black people, 'I'm sorry you went through such a painful process. I'm sorry it didn't happen sooner and thank you for being patient.'"

Irvin said what has happened to him should be an inspiration to all blacks who feel hopeless about getting ahead in America.

"I'm not saying they should be complacent, but at the same time they shouldn't panic because there've been dramatic changes for the better in recent years," said Irvin. "I don't believe in the militant's approach that we can't become a living part of this society."

"This is our home and we must keep up our struggle, each in his own way, for justice and opportunity in this land of the free and the brave. We must continue to prepare ourselves for the opportunities when they're offered so we can qualify for them. Hard work and diligence is what's needed now," he said.

Anything relating to sports is bound to have a marked effect on Irvin.

"Sports were always a religion with me and this still holds true today," Irvin explained. "For so many it's been a way of rising up quickly from meager beginnings. It's a way of life for the fans, too, many of whom feel the players are their personal friends."

"It's been just terrific for the fans—they've had unbelievable thrills from baseball. I think this country is much better off because of athletics, particularly baseball. It's been a great escape from the mundane for millions of people."

Baseball was part of Irvin's life even in his childhood. Born in Alabama, his father played baseball in the South and when the family—including 10 children—moved to Orange, sports was a constant family topic.

Irvin attended elementary and high school in Orange. He was an outstanding athlete in high school as was his brother, Milton, who went on to play football at Virginia State. Another brother, Cal, became athletic director at A & T University, Greensboro, North Carolina.

In the days when he played baseball in high school he never even dreamed about playing in the majors, let alone entering the Hall of Fame.

"I never expected to be given the chance to play so how was I to prove what I could do?" Irvin asked.

After two years at Lincoln University, where Irvin again was a bright light on the sports horizon, he went with Mrs. Effa Manley, former owner of the Newark Eagles of the Negro National League, where he remained until he went with the Giants.

It was a momentous step for a black ballplayer in those days.

"I remember well my first real big hit—a major league homerun playing against Dutch Leonard of the Chicago Cubs," Irvin said. "My knees were shaky because I wasn't sure I could hit against a big league pitcher. When I did, it gave me the confidence I needed."

Irvin married his wife Dee 31 years ago, after they met in high school. They have two daughters—Mrs. Pam Fields, a television commentator in Baltimore—and Patty, who teaches in a Brooklyn elementary school.

Mrs. Manley, reached in Los Angeles where she's in retirement, remembers Irvin as "a wonderful gentleman and an outstanding athlete."

"Monte was a member of our team when we beat the Kansas City Monarchs in a seven-game series to win the pennant in 1946," she recalled. "I'm very happy to see his future assured because ballplayers' future sometimes don't turn out too good."

"There were a number of truly great black players with our team who were born a few years too early. There were Willie Wells, Leon Day, Leonard Pearson and Nick Bundy, to name a few, some of them possibly the greatest ballplayers who ever lived."

Manny Rivero, who was athletic director at Lincoln when Irvin attended the university, said Monte came to the school "with a good reputation as an athlete and the nickname 'Muggs.'"

"I never did find out why they called him that," he said.

Rivero said Irvin "is the kind of fellow who can get along with everybody." Rivero formed a baseball team at the university in which Irvin played. He said Irvin proved outstanding in basketball, javelin throwing and track at the school.

"I told him he was crazy to quit school and go play baseball," Rivero said. "Now he's in the Hall of Fame."

Irvin said the nickname was picked up in high school "as an affectionate name one of my buddies came up with" and it stuck with him.

"I really don't know the reason for it myself," he said.

For the past five years Irvin has been associated with the Baseball Office of the Commissioner in New York City, a world-wide non-profit governing body for baseball financed by the American and National leagues. He's assistant public relations and promotional director.

Irvin is very enthusiastic about the coming of the Sports Complex to the Meadowlands.

"It will bring jobs and much-needed revenue and recreation," he said. "And there'll be so many spinoff benefits to the entire metropolitan area. I think the building of this complex is of historical significance to the State of New Jersey."

Irvin is deeply disturbed by war, any war.

"After a war is over it becomes apparent wars are stupid. After the fighting is done and the turmoil is over I ask 'Why should so many of the young who never really had a chance to live be forced to die? It just plain doesn't seem fair.'"

But his philosophy of life remains sharply optimistic.

"I believe goodness somehow wins over evil, although sometimes it takes awhile," he said. "One thing I could never understand, though, is why some people take a particular delight in making other people miserable."

when they should be trying to make them happy."

OVERWHELMED IRVIN: FAME ELECTION THE GREATEST

(By Moss Klein)

Monte Irvin is a happy man these days. Earlier this week Irvin was voted into Baseball's Hall of Fame by the special committee on Negro leagues and it is a distinction deserved and appreciated.

"At first I was delighted to be elected," says the former New York Giant star. "Then I was overwhelmed. When the full impact registered, it was just an indescribably wonderful feeling."

Irvin is the fourth player to be voted into the Hall by the Negro League committee. Satchel Paige was the first, in 1971, and last year it was Buck Leonard and Josh Gibson.

Monte, who has lived in Orange all his life, played for 10 years in the Negro leagues before the Jackie Robinson breakthrough in 1947 finally enabled blacks to play in the majors.

Irvin won two batting championships in those 10 years, batting .422 in 1940 and .386 the following year.

"There were some great players in that league," Monte recalls. "It's a shame that some of them never had the chance to play in the major leagues.

"The conditions were strictly second-rate as far as living accommodations, travel and treatment. After the war, things were a little better but it was still quite a difference coming to the majors."

Sadly, however, Monte was 30 years old by the time he came to the Giants in 1949. Although he was an all-star performer for most of his eight major league seasons, seven with the Giants and the last, in 1956, with the Chicago Cubs, he definitely had spent his better days in the Negro leagues.

Irvin, who has a career average of .293 with 99 home runs, considered his biggest thrill in baseball, up until his Hall selection, to be the 1951 season.

That was the year the Giants made an incredible rush at the presumably safe, league-leading Brooklyn Dodgers, catching their arch-rivals on the final day of the season.

The subsequent playoff resulted in that most famous hit of all time, Bobby Thomson's three-run homer in the ninth inning of the final playoff game which gave the Giants a 5-4 victory and the pennant.

"Just being a part of that team, and that game, was something I'll always remember," Irvin says. It was the most dramatic season, the most dramatic moment, in baseball history.

Monte hit .458 in the World Series, but the Yankees won in six games. In 1954, the Giants defeated Cleveland four straight to become world champions. That series was made famous by Dusty Rhodes' pinch-hitting heroics and Willie Mays' catch on a certain extra-base hit by Vic Wertz that thoroughly demoralized the Indians.

Presently, Monte is the public relations director in the office of baseball commissioner Bowie Kuhn, a job he has held since 1968. "I enjoy what I do," Monte says. "It enables me to play a role in baseball and, hopefully, to make a positive contribution."

Monte and his wife Dee have two daughters, Pam and Patti, and Monte's work keeps him as busy as he likes.

But he still cherishes his myriad baseball memories, both of the Negro leagues and the majors.

"I loved my life in baseball," Irvin enthuses. "There were great experiences, super people, and wonderful times."

"Being named to the Hall of Fame, though, is the topper to a very satisfying career."

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

YOUTH CAMP SAFETY

HON. PETER A. PEYSER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mr. PEYSER. Mr. Speaker, last session Congressman DANIELS of New Jersey and I sponsored legislation to provide for the development and implementation of programs for Youth Camp Safety. Tragically, this bill did not receive passage. We have since reintroduced it (H.R. 1486) and hope that it will receive swift passage in this Congress.

The true crusader in this campaign for improved camp safety has been Mitch Kurman, who lost his son in 1965 due to a lack of safety procedures at the camp his son was attending. Since then, Mr. Kurman has been laboring tirelessly in behalf of camp safety.

On Sunday, February 4, 1973, the Washington Post, in their Potomac magazine section, published an article recounting the battle Mitch Kurman has been waging. It is an outstanding story, written by Coleman McCarthy, a member of the editorial page of the Washington Post and will appear as an excerpt from Mr. McCarthy's book, *Disturbers of the Peace*, which will be published March 8. Portions of Mr. McCarthy's article follow:

REMEMBERING CHILDREN—A CHILD'S DEATH STARTS A ONE-MAN BATTLE FOR CAMP SAFETY

(By Colman McCarthy)

What is worse for parents than the death of a child? Only this—when the death is accidental, needless and could have been avoided. No parent, whether a Vietnamese mother whose child was killed by American bombing or an American father whose son was killed because of corporate negligence, ever fully recovers. Interior peace, the most valuable kind, is forever gone. One reaction to losing a child needlessly is to push the event from the mind, send it trackless into the inner space of memory where it will remain forever but at least be traveling in a random orbit away from the soul. Bury the dead and let life go on. Another reaction—more rare, more heroic—is to keep the tragedy fresh and current by alerting others that the conditions by which your child was killed still exist. Other children may die needlessly, perhaps yours. This is the vocation of the lantern—lighting it, going out into the darkness of unconcern and apathy, trying to focus on a major national tragedy but illuminating only small corners, not whole rooms. Who listens? Who cares?

A letter came in November 1971 from a Westport, Connecticut, furniture salesman named Mitch Kurman. Handwritten, in sprawling script, he asked if I would consider writing an editorial for The Washington Post supporting legislation for a youth summer-camp-safety bill. The Senate, Kurman's letter explained, had already passed a bill with a unanimous vote of 53-0. The House would soon be debating similar legislation, choosing between a bill that was much stronger than the Senate version and a bill much weaker. Kurman's letter ended by saying that a Post editorial on summer-camp safety would be timely and possibly helpful. Letters asking for editorial support are common but usually they come from a politician—senator or congressman—who has sponsored a particular bill, from a trade association whose interest is totally vested, sometimes from a lobbyist looking out for a client. Here's our bandwagon, the letters

February 26, 1973

commonly say, just hop on, were going places. Kurman's letter had to be treated with a certain amount of cautious skepticism, but it was clearly different from most of the others. It was from a private citizen, on plain stationery, and about legislation that obviously could be of no financial or political benefit to him.

A few days later, after researching the history of summer-camp legislation, speaking with four or five Senate and House staff people, and talking with my editor, the Post ran an editorial. It supported the bill of a New Jersey Democrat, Dominick Daniels, that called for strong safety standards for summer youth camps. These minimum federal standards could then be administered by the states; the latter would receive up to 80 percent funding from the federal government to administer them. The Daniels bill, presented as a new title of the Higher Education Act, was an effective approach because it provided incentives to let states run their own programs while insuring that nationwide standards would be met. Thus, a camp in one state would have the same minimum standards as a camp a mile across a state line or a camp 2,000 miles across the country.

Many children are sent to safe, well-run camps where supervision is firm and accident prevention is taken seriously. This is not true for all children, however; many are at camps where counselors have little knowledge of dangerous waters or trails, where safety equipment is not provided, where safety and health inspections are rare or nonexistent. The statistical breakdown between safe and unsafe camps is not known. A possible guide is that out of 11,000 camps in the country, only 3,500 are accredited by the American Camping Association, and even then the A.C.A.'s inspections are not strict. Only twenty-six states have legislation concerning sanitation. About fifteen have safety regulations that would be meaningful. Only three or four make reference to personnel. Over the years, Congress had passed all kinds of bills to protect alligators, coyotes, birds, and bobcats but it was not yet concerned about the 250,000 children annually disabled from camp accidents. A week later, the House debated the youth camp-safety bills. It rejected the Daniels proposal and in its place approved an amendment offered by Representative J. J. (Jake) Pickle, a Texas Democrat. This called for a survey of the situation. Three Congresses—the 90th, 91st and 92nd—had held hearings on summer-camp safety, taking testimony from dozens of informed witnesses; but Pickle thought more study was needed and, incredibly, the House agreed. Taking a survey is a favorite Congressional stall, a manna maneuver that delays and confuses.

For supporters of the Daniels proposal, the backing of another defeated bill meant little. We took the stand we thought was right, but in the end the defeat of the Daniels bill was only another mark in the won-lost columns. In the weeks after, though, I kept wondering about Mitch Kurman. Was the defeat only a passing event for him? Did he go on, as we did, and take up other issues, shelving camp safety until it would come up in a future Congress? The questions bothered me, so I phoned Kurman and asked if I could visit him in Westport. He seemed surprised—"I usually have to go to the press, instead of the press coming to me"—but we arranged a date convenient to both of us.

Mitch Kurman, 48, the grandson of Jewish immigrants and the father of two daughters, is a furniture-manufacturers' representative. He knows what the factories are making and what the stores are selling and puts himself in the middle. The work takes Kurman throughout New England and down the East Coast as far as North Carolina. Self-employed, his office is in his basement; both his wife, Betty, and his father help on the paperwork. Although Westport has the image of a

fashionable and smart-set community, the Kurmans live in an unsplashy neighborhood, a few blocks off the Merritt Parkway. Kurman is short, gentle-speaking, and totally gracious. His life since August 5, 1965, has been one of lonely nonadjustment, a vigilance that has tried to disturb the peace that calmly allows 250,000 children to be injured every year and large numbers killed.*

"My son David was drowned in a canoeing accident in Maine that August," said Kurman, seated on the living room sofa. "I am not a wealthy man but I am not pleading poverty either. I guess you might say I am a man of possibly better-than-average means. I did not want David growing up in a goldfish bowl of Westport. I thought it would be good for him to get around. The boy loved to read. He was a fine student and I thought it would be good for him to go off to a camp and learn something about the outdoors. The camp we sent him to was in New York State, run by a YMCA in Rochester. The camp sent us a brochure which I think would satisfy anyone had they looked at it and studied it. I certainly had the utmost confidence in the boy's ability to swim and I certainly did not expect anything like a drowning. I expected adventure. I expected fun. I expected good, hard work, and I expected him to be paddling, which is what I wanted and which is why I sent him there. I did not send him on any expeditionary situation, something to endanger his life."

On August 5, the YMCA group made its way to the west branch of the Penobscot River near Millinocket in Maine. The campers were going down a section of the river called Passamaquoddy Falls when a number of the canoes were overturned by the rough waters and jutting rocks. The YMCA counselor had not supplied the boys with life jackets. "When David was killed," Kurman said, "it took a three-and-a-half-day search to find the boy's body. The waters the group tried to pass through were a raging hellhole that no man in his right mind would ever attempt. I graduated from Cornell as a biologist and if I was ever told to investigate that water, I would probably sit on a riverbank and write out a report. I would not go into that water. When I went up to look at the waters myself, I learned that the Great Northern Paper Company has a large paper mill in the area. They shoot their cords of pulpwood logs to the mill downriver and in this stretch where David was killed, the logs actually tumble end over end."

Shortly after the accident, Kurman made the first of what would, in six years, be hundreds of journeys to get legislation for camp safety. "Maybe I just should have forgotten about the whole thing," he said. "People tell me I am a little crazy for keeping with this tragedy all these years, since nineteen sixty-five, with no let up. They mean well and they tell me to relax, forget about the past. They ask me how I don't go out of my mind to fight this. The facts are the opposite, though. I'd lose my mind if I knew these conditions existed and didn't do anything. A friend of mine, a kind guy, says maybe a psychiatrist could help me forget about David and about camp safety. He means well but isn't it strange? I don't need a psychiatrist. I'm normal. My friend needs the help. He looks away from the reality."

* * * * *

At the same time Kurman was going after the state politicians, he was also coming to Washington. A national bill was his goal. In six years, he believes he has seen every

* Statistics on camp fatalities are hard to come by. In 1965, the Mutual Security Life Insurance Company of Fort Wayne, Indiana, made a study of 3.5 million campers, mostly children in organized camps. Between the years 1962 and 1964, 88 death claims were submitted.

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senator (or every senator's legislative assistant) and nearly all the representatives. One of those on the Hill visited by Kurman in the early days and who has stayed with him since is Dan Krivit, chief counsel for the House Select Subcommittee on Labor. His subcommittee was the pad from which a youth camp-safety bill would be launched, if at all. "I remember when Kurman first came around," Krivit recalled. "He was emotional. He did all the talking. He made demands. He damned congressmen as do-nothing politicians. God, he came on strong. But I have a rule—that you have to distinguish between the guy who has facts and the guy who has bluster. You can tell soon enough. We see a lot of special-interest people who are mostly big talk with small arguments. The appeal of Kurman was that he had a command of the facts. I was able to check them out pretty quickly and see that he was right."

Another whom Kurman saw in his early trips to Congress was Representative Dominick Daniels of New Jersey. A kindly man who works hard but one of the anonymous herd of low-profile congressmen. Daniels took an interest in Kurman and agreed to hold hearings. In July 1968, he told his colleagues on the opening day of testimony: "This morning we take the first major step forward to provide minimum federal safety standards for summer camps across the nation. We must identify the nature and magnitude of such problems as may exist and consider whether state and local regulations are adequate to deal with them. If we determine during the course of these hearings that a significant problem exists, I pledge that I will do everything in my power to ameliorate the situation. Summer camps deal in what is perhaps the most precious commodity we have—the lives of our youngsters."

Although the hearings were a success and glowing statements of support were heard for the Daniels bill, nothing ever came of them in the way of legislation. Dan Krivit said that "we couldn't muster enough enthusiasm." Kurman was dismayed that Congress did not act, particularly when the American Camping Association—which is not a militant group—endorsed the Daniels proposals. Although Kurman had been around politicians enough by now to know that most of them were banal lightweights, he still had faith that change would come. At the hearing, he finished his testimony by saying: "I want to thank you, Chairman Daniels. I think it is a wonderful thing when an ordinary citizen of this country can go before the representatives that we have and get a hearing such as I have had. It certainly does far, far more for my feelings toward this wonderful country we live in than anything I have ever read in textbooks or anything else, and I want to thank you very much." Dan Krivit, who was present for these words, said that some of the politicians were touched by Kurman's sincerity. "He sounded almost corny, even a little pious. But nobody in the room moved a muscle or shuffled a paper when he spoke."

Daniels and Krivit, as disappointed as Kurman that nothing resulted from the hearings in the 90th Congress, immediately called witnesses for a new set of hearings early in the first session of the 91st Congress. By now Kurman was becoming a wise pool player, alert to all the political angles between which legislation continually caroms. He became a regular visitor to Washington, going up and down the halls of the Cannon office building, the Rayburn building, the new Senate office building and the old Senate office building, spreading out his facts to the politicians and their aides. He found senators more congenial. "They are in for six years, so they are free from the pressure the representative gets. Their constituency is wider also, so

they don't have to fear the special-interest groups."

In the House, Kurman was often amazed to find friendly receptions from men and women who "were on the wrong side of every issue I cared about except youth camp safety." On this, they wanted a strong law, and they said so. Following hearings, the best bill to get out of the committee was one calling for a survey. An authorization of \$175,000 was requested. This was a weak bill, much flabbier than the Ribicoff bill which was now making its way through the Senate and had, in fact, been voted in the Congress before. Kurman was bitter when the House voted down even the weak survey bill, 152-151.

As though it was decided that a poisonous pesticide should be sprayed once and for all at this bother-some gnat from Westport, H. R. Gross, an Iowa Republican known for his passion for saving the taxpayers' money (though not on defense spending), spoke up. A survey for \$175,000? asked Gross. What folly. Gross warned that if the House did not watch out, it would soon be sending federal "wet nurses" to look out for the kids in camp. A columnist for the Washington Star also checked in with his wit. "Maybe someone ought to make another approach" rather than the survey, wrote John McKelway. "Why not let the National Institutes of Health see if it can find a cure for homesickness?" Turning serious, McKelway said that if it wasn't for "that small item of \$175,000" it would "probably be safe to say this piece of legislation is the most innocuous thing to have faced the 91st Congress." Kurman had become accustomed by now to the hidden opposition of the Boy Scouts and the private-camp operators but being laughed at was devastating.

Although the public argument against federal legislation for camp safety was that the states could and should do the job themselves, Kurman believed another reason existed also—money. "Let's face it," he said, "safety costs money. Spending money for things like life vests, sturdy boats, qualified personnel, well, it means you have an expense you might otherwise cut corners on. Running a camp is a business. There's nothing wrong with that. Profits aren't evil. They only become bad when you risk lives for the sake of making more money."

Instead of being depressed by the brutal defeat he had taken, Kurman became even more dogged. He kept in close contact with Dan Krivit and Dominick Daniels. Both advised Kurman that not much more could be done in the 91st Congress; let things ride. The only source of encouragement was in two pieces of legislation that were now on the books: the Coal Mine Health and Safety Act and the Occupational Health and Safety Act. Both required that standards be set and enforced by the federal government. If Congress could approve of this kind of "federal interference" that would affect industries with earnings in the tens of billions, why couldn't a camp-safety bill—involving only one industry—be passed also? Even more compelling was another fact: if the employees of the camps were now covered by a federal safety law why not the children? Yet even this encouragement had a bleak side to it. In 1969, Congress had passed a safety-and-health law for coal miners all right, but it had been considering the law since 1951—eighteen years and thousands of dead workers before. Camp safety had only been an issue for six years and the total number of corpses was still only in the hundreds. Have a little patience, Mr. Kurman.

Going to the post for the third time, Daniels held hearings in July 1971. The same facts of tragedy and negligence came out, facts that by now were trotted out like tired dray horses. This time, the House was faced with a choice of five bills, while in the Senate the Ribicoff bill still stood. The

scene was quiet until November, Kurman again came to Washington. The pressure was on because it was known that the House would soon debate the camp-safety bills as an amendment to the Higher Education Act. I spoke with Kurman and was amazed at his fullness of hope, that he still talked as if he had discovered the outrage only that morning. "I have faith in Congress," he said. "Do you know that there are a lot of them I've persuaded since the last session?" He ran off a few names, less known to most Americans than the second-string line-ups of baseball's expansion teams. Yet, they were people who had power over our lives. On November 4, the House, working well into the evening, argued camp safety, now known as Title 19 of the Higher Education Act. Kurman had allies who knew their facts and argued forcefully.

Rep. John Dent of Pennsylvania: "Does anybody in this place really believe that these camps in America are all safe and quiet little havens? Let me tell you something. The brochures they have in most instances on these camps are so antiquated that they do not even cover or resemble what the camp looks like when the children are sent there by their parents. Anybody can be hired. No one needs to pass any kind of examination or test of any kind. There is not even a simple qualification or requirement as to their ability for training or anything. A camp is an open place with absolutely no requirements as to who can run them and who cannot run them or who shall be allowed to run them. This is the only place in the whole activity of youth in the entire country where there is not one single federal regulation as to even minimum requirements for safety."

Another voice was from a New York Republican, Peter Feyser. Referring to the arguments calling for inaction or delay, he said, "I must say I am a little amazed by some of the things I am hearing said about camp safety here. There is a problem of camp safety but people seem to be saying, 'We do not have any statistics dealing with safety in camps. Statistics are very simple. I have a list right here of thirty-five children killed this past summer, and this is one section of the country. They were all killed in camps; killed in accidents, for the most part, which never should have happened. There were six drownings with no lifeguards on duty. Six were killed in a truck with a teen-age girl driving on the highway, who had no proper license to drive a group of children, and there were no regulations in the camp as to who would or could drive. We have lists from California, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Oklahoma—I can name all of these states with deaths in this year. There were thousands of accidents."

However persuasive these arguments were, Jake Pickle of Austin, Texas, would have none of it. His opposition remained firm. For one thing, "as an Eagle Scout, I think I know what safety means in any camp . . . Let us not get trapped into supporting the Daniels bill . . . Support my substitute, and then we can have a study and have some facts to determine what to do." Ironically Pickle was now calling for the same survey idea which two years earlier had been voted down by the House and mocked by the Washington Star columnist. "This is progress," Kurman said. "We will eventually have a camp-safety law. Everyone knows this, so the people like Pickle try to poke along in slow motion because they know they can't stop it. I can't give up. I have to keep snapping at them."

The position of Eagle Scout Pickle was based less on the rightness or wrongness of the issue than on what his constituents demanded. Pickle said on the House floor that he had numerous wires from "a dozen or more major camps in my district strongly opposing this measure (the Daniels bill),

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saying that the states ought to have the right to enforce any such standards."

Coach Darrell Royal, for example, who ran Camp Champion when he wasn't on the gridiron, had wired Pickle. So did the Dallas YMCA "representing many of the YMCAs of Texas."

Pickle did not come on as a Neanderthal who wanted the law of the cave to prevail. Instead, he pictured himself as one who truly cared about the children. "Everyone," he said, "is in favor of camp safety. There is not a man or woman in this chamber who would vote against saving the lives of children. But Mr. Chairman, we must mix in some judgment with our fervor. I think the intent of the committee's legislation is good and I support that intent. However, I think we may be premature in our action today. This legislation would create a new bureaucracy with strong regulations, inspections, and enforcement through fines and injunctions. Mr. Chairman, I will readily admit and even support legislation which might save the life of even one child away at camp. I know in my own mind that there are camps in this country which may need policing . . . I do not think we know enough about the problems of camp safety. I am not certain in my own mind if the bill before us even goes to the heart of the matter. And before we jump with the solution, I think we would be wise first to survey the needs. I think we should first have a comprehensive study to seek out the basics, like how many camps exist, who runs them, what kind of safety training exists for their personnel, what is the true accident record, and all the pertinent questions which must be asked."

H. R. Gross, Mr. Money Saver, was not heard this time around on the idea of the survey, even though the cost was now up to \$300,000. As a final irony, Gross joined Jake Pickle and 182 others in voting for the survey amendment of Pickle and against the standards bill of Daniels. Only 166 supported the latter. The survey amendment joined the Ribicoff bill in the Senate and went into conference committee—a parliamentary device where a final bill is drawn up in closed sessions, reconciling differences between House and Senate versions. The Ribicoff bill, while superior to the survey, was still basically weak because it only allowed states to adopt HEW standards, rather than requiring them to do so. Thus, if Texas or any state doesn't want to get in line, it doesn't have to. Indeed, there is small chance they will. Oddly, one Texas congressman who has been friendly to Kurman and who voted against the Pickle survey and for the Daniels bill, was Bob Eckhardt. "I was under a great deal of pressure to oppose the legislation (the Daniels bill) and received many letters from camp owners and directors from all over the Southwest," Eckhardt wrote Kurman. "I cannot tell you how much I admire your fine work. It is most unfortunate that it takes such personal tragedies to wake the country up. I sometimes fear, however that the power of the special-interest lobby groups to defeat pro-people programs is limitless."

I was with Mitch and Betty Kurman in Westport in mid-spring 1972 when the conference committee was wrangling over the Pickle and Ribicoff bills. Kurman was in high spirits, at the prospect that the committee would go along with the Ribicoff approach. "I'm sure they will," he said with excitement. "They know what a long fight this has been. They know what kind of action is needed, and even then the Ribicoff approach is a mild one. I've spoken to every man and woman on the committee at least once, some of them two or three times. They know me." Shortly before lunch, a phone call came from Washington. Kurman took it, and five minutes later came back to the living room, stooped over, silent, slumping into the sofa. "They settled on the Pickle survey bill," he said.

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He and Betty were silent for a few minutes, each with their own feelings of sadness. But they had a rage too. "We have a terrific system," Kurman said, echoing his lofty statement in the House hearings five years before. "But money corrupts. Everybody thinks politicians have power but when you talk to the politicians, they say 'What can I do? I'm only one Congressman, I'm helpless too.' You hear that from senators. Imagine, a United States senator saying he's helpless. I remember talking to Hubert Humphrey—he told me there are 'powerful forces' at work against the camp-safety bill. But when I asked him specifically who these powerful forces were, Humphrey had nothing to say. For the first time, he was speechless. It comes down to this. For every profitable industry you have a lobby to protect and a group of politicians to protect the lobby. It's like the new double-protection door locks that are selling so big to keep the thieves out. But the lobbying-political complex keeps the thieves in so that the public never sees them. But they steal and rob from us all the same. They stole our son."

Most of the political defeats recorded in American life are suffered by persons holding or seeking office and who, on election day, are rejected by the voters. But politicians are not the only ones who are struck down by political defeat. Common citizens, obscure, self-supporting, and in debt to nothing but a conscience, are rejected also. Newspapers and news shows are filled with reports on primary campaigns, delegate counts, the pointless polls and the useless speeches, so only occasionally is anyone aware that a struggle involving a lone citizen is going on. The defeat suffered by Mitch and Betty Kurman was filled with frustration, anguish, and gloom, yet personally the Kurmans were not beaten; they held or sought no office and they cared nothing about political parties. In reality, the defeat was one for the American political system, for the goal of participatory democracy that glowing speakers yak about to college students at graduation time. The story of Mitch Kurman suggests that the excitement of selecting a new president may be the smelling salts by which public apathy is revived but it will barely disturb the near-dead feelings of the wealthy industries supported by forceful lobbies and the Jake Pickles.

I continue to get calls and letters from Kurman, and I write to him. Mostly he sends along clippings of camping accidents—six kids killed here because of bald tires on the camp truck that crashed, two drowned there because of no life jackets; one kid sexually molested by a deranged camp counselor who was hired on without background checking, two children killed when they slipped on a rocky ledge that a counselor led them on against the advice of a park ranger. Each story is tragic, and I wonder how Kurman can absorb it all. Each letter and call ends on the same note, that Kurman had recently been to see another congressman and persuaded him about the need for a camp-safety law.

SURVIVAL OF OEO

Hon. Yvonne Brathwaite Burke

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

Mrs. BURKE of California. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, February 8, 1973, I testified before the Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities of the House Committee on Education and Labor concerning the President's cutbacks and reorganization proposals for the Office of Economic Opportunity.

There is more at stake here than just the proposed decrease in Federal funds. Many operational programs of OEO will actually be closed, not transferred to other line agencies, including most probably the outreach activities which community action agencies have started. Further, the use of community participation to influence local policies affecting the disadvantaged will, most likely, disappear entirely, and the innovative "one-door" approach to health care for the poor that has been the hallmark of community health centers may well be lost as the administration shuffles priorities in health care.

I am including at this point in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a copy of my testimony before the Subcommittee on Equal Opportunities for my colleagues' immediate attention:

TESTIMONY OF CONGRESSWOMAN YVONNE B. BURKE

Mr. Chairman, there is a somber mood which prevades this room today, and it is a mood of sincere and profound concern about the commitment of the present Administration to pursue policies which effectively deal with the problems of the poor, the sick, the homeless, and the jobless.

We have heard the President say in past weeks that "we must reject the mistaken notion . . . that ever-bigger government is the answer to every problem." But, Mr. Chairman, we must ask here today, "What are Mr. Nixon's answers to these problems?"

Mr. Nixon has proposed to abolish the Office of Economic Opportunity and transfer certain of its programs to other federal line agencies, a policy which Mr. Nixon says represents "a pragmatic re dedication to social compassion and national excellence, in place of fuzzy follow-through which too often in the past was thought sufficient."

But many operational programs of OEO will actually be closed, not transferred. The out-reach activities which non-profit community action agencies have started and the use of community participation to influence local policies affecting the disadvantaged will, most likely, disappear entirely. And it is less than certain that any of the revenue sharing funds will fill the gap. I would enjoy learning which cities will be receiving more total federal funds under revenue sharing and the proposed 1974 Budget when they are scheduled to receive under this year's budget.

OEO was established to bring about conditions at the local level to help the plagued problems of poverty and to serve as a coordinated link between human resources of the government and the poor. OEO was established because the line departments—the very agencies to which OEO programs now are being scattered—were both unwilling and unable to deal effectively with low income and minority citizens.

Over the past few weeks, as the Administration's policy regarding OEO and its programs have become increasingly clear, most people have labeled the President's actions as an administrative reorganization. Some have seen it as an end to the federal War on Poverty effort. Yet labeling the Administration's policy as merely reorganization overlooks in what my view is the real nature of the Administration's policy, namely to destroy the unique functions that OEO-sponsored activities have performed.

One example of this attitude is the Administration's decision to eliminate funding for Community Action Agencies and certain other community action operations. This will result in the destruction of most existing Community Action Agencies as they are presently constituted.

If the functions that the OEO-sponsored

Community Action programs perform are viewed as being simply another form of government services for the poor and disadvantaged—such as a local welfare department's day-care program or payments made for medical services—then it would probably be proper to see the Administration's policy as one of rational consolidation of federal and local services. But OEO's Community Action Agencies are not simply providing services to ameliorate the conditions of poverty and they were never meant to. They provide much more.

A host of other government programs provide the vast bulk of services and income supplements to the poor. These include Social Services grants under the Federal welfare program, ESEA educational assistance, manpower training programs, Medicaid, and Food Stamps, to name a few. The contribution of OEO's Community Action Agencies is in a very different and much needed and neglected area.

The over 900 Community Action Agencies consolidate and coordinate the various Federal, state, local and community service programs and activities and make them workable, cohesive efforts rather than scattered and fragmented lungen at various problems of the poor. On the average, approximately 50% of the funds that Community Action Agencies administer come from OEO. The bulk of Community Action Agency sponsored programs have sharply defined goals; the Agency provides the overview and direction. The local agency serves as the mechanism to coordinate the attack on problems the poor face in the area of services.

By eliminating OEO's Community Action Agency funding and forcing them to depend on the revenue sharing pot, the Administration is not just shifting administrative responsibility for Community Action Agency functions to local governments. Rather it is, for all practical purposes eliminating the major sources of program consolidation and mobilization for institutional change at the local level. Services in the limited sense of Head Start projects or Neighborhood Health Centers will probably continue, although probably in an altered form as other agencies impose their own guidelines on the former OEO programs. However, the unique functions that CAAs performed will disappear. Programs that were once part of coordinated efforts and "sparks" for further logically, linked changes will become simply, dead-end service providers, offering little chance of change in the wider complex of problems facing the poor in Los Angeles. Community Action Agencies such as the FYOA and the Compton CAA will lose the "core" funding from OEO that made it possible for them to coordinate existing programs and mobilize the community to launch out in new directions. At this moment, their future is uncertain, and no substitute has been offered to take their place.

Mr. Chairman, I have had an opportunity last night briefly to review an unreleased OEO developed evaluation of the community action agencies. This evaluation applauds the agencies for their efforts in helping the poor become self-sufficient. This evaluation is entitled *Utilization Test Survey Data for 591 Community Action Agencies, January, 1973*. This evaluation states, and I quote,

"There is now emerging for the first time a national picture of community action achievements in terms of the mission emphasized by this Administration.

"Community action is already producing highly constructive results in both urban and rural communities and the trends indicate that continued effort in this direction will produce substantially greater returns on a small investment.

"Perhaps most surprising is the very substantial mobilization of business and industry resources, especially in rural areas. Total

business resources amount to about \$75 million. The total emerging picture of Community Action Agencies are rapidly becoming very positive forces in their communities. They can play significant roles in helping communities rise to the challenges of revenue-sharing and other forms of government decentralization."

This then is a far different analysis of the effectiveness of community action operations than the President presented in his recent Budget message. In the Budget, he claimed that "community action has had an adequate opportunity to demonstrate its value to local communities. Little justification for continuing separate categorical funding can be identified." What I would like to know, Mr. Chairman, is on what information and facts did the President rely in making this statement?

In the last few years, OEO programs have increasingly committed themselves to a new area of activity—"self-help" programs. The newly-established Community Economic Development program, formerly called the "Special Impact" program, is the primary example of this new thrust. The Community Development Corporations supported by OEO's Community Economic Development program have been widely recognized as the most successful effort by any organization—governmental or non-governmental—to promote realistic economic development in low income communities, using both seed money and technical assistance to deal with the multiple problems involved in economic development.

In addition to removing the support Community Action Agencies have given these corporations, the Administration has proposed transferring this economic development effort to the Office of Minority Business Enterprises (OMB) in the Department of Commerce. The combined budget for fiscal 1974 for OMB and the OEO economic development program shows, however, a net reduction of some \$28.7 million in programs designed to support minority businesses. The traditional thrust of OMB has been one of providing educational and technical assistance to individual businessmen in poverty areas. Contrasted with the corporation's approach, it makes little sense to send an individual businessman into a low-income area with little capital, no matter how much technical expertise to which he may have access.

The community development corporation approach of involving the community in a large project with necessary capital where various components will re-inforce one another has proved itself more successful. The East Los Angeles Community Union, a community development corporation has joint ventured with a housing planning group for a community-based housing project to demonstrate real "urban renewal" supported by the community! It is likely that, placed in OMB, the community economic development program will become just another half-way and fragmented attempt to aid the poor.

With a transfer to OMB, what will happen to the needed stress on an approach which uses all the resources of the community to create economic development? What will happen to the linkage to the community that the community development corporation supplies?

The next area that I want to talk about is the OEO health programs. The Administration proposes to transfer OEO's health programs, most importantly, Comprehensive Health Services Centers, to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. This is, supposedly, to centralize the administration of health programs in one agency. But will the innovations of OEO health centers, such as the South Central Multipurpose Health Service Corporation in Los Angeles (which has

already seen over a \$1 million drop in its budget) be continued or will they be dropped in favor of some different approach?

We already have one indication in the President's fiscal 1974 budget proposal which calls for a de-emphasis on health services delivery with a possible switch-over to Health Maintenance Organization. A total of \$147 million for OEO health programs is required in the 1974 Budget for HEW, compared with the 1973 obligation of \$165.2 million, a reduction of \$18.2 million. When this account of \$147 million is transferred to the HEW Health Services Delivery budget of 1974, one discovers a further cut in the overall Health Services Delivery budget of nearly \$47 million. Further, the administration is proposing a reduction in the 1973 appropriation of some \$45 million, bringing the total net loss to some \$110 million.

The innovative "one-door" approach to health care for the poor that has been the hallmark of Community Health Centers may well be lost as the administration shuffles priorities in health care—with the result that the poor, with their very special set of health problems, will suffer. The successful South-Central Community Health Center in Los Angeles services about 500 people per month, and has demonstrated its importance of the community.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, a word about OEO Legal Services. Recent reports and news stories have indicated a definite Administration bias against OEO's Legal Services' "back-up" centers. Since this committee will soon be dealing with legal services legislation, I would like to make a few observations concerning the role these centers have played in our community and their critical relationship to the rest of OEO's programs.

Two centers in California—the Los Angeles-based Western Center on Law and Poverty, and the University of California at Berkeley's National Housing and Economic Development Law Project—serve as vivid examples of their fundamental value and importance. The "back-up" functions of the Western Center have included assistance in appellate litigation, training assistance, and clinical education assistance to law schools. The recent California precedent setting decision of *Serrano vs. Priest*, declaring unconstitutional California's school financing scheme, was a direct result of Western Center's skill and involvement. Also, the Western Center participated in the case of *Blair vs. Pitches*, wherein the California Supreme

Court declared unconstitutional the practice of repossessing personal property upon the mere filing of an action by a creditor without a prior court hearing to determine the validity of the charge. These cases have profoundly altered the law, affecting significantly the lives of thousands of the poor by a single ruling.

The kinds of assistance and services these centers provide to legal service projects and to law schools are badly needed by individual projects and by lawyers who don't have the time or expertise to become proficient in every area of poverty law. The centers also play a role with the rest of OEO's programs. The "back-up" functions of the Berkeley project, for example, are directed at assisting lawyers working with Community Development Corporations. One of the recent successful CDC ventures they contributed to was the Salinas Valley "Strawberry Cooperative." It brought a group of migrant families from average incomes of \$3500 per year to nearly \$12,000, and provided the basis for future spin-offs of new cooperatives sponsored by the parent "Strawberry Coop."

"Back-up" centers like these fill a special need for Legal Services projects and for programs like Community Development Corporations attempting to help the poor. Efforts to help the poor always face legal problems. In many cases, developments in one area can be applied to others. In general, legal services lawyers cannot, by themselves, provide a broad range of expertise in every facet of "poverty law." The function of back-up centers is to assist by "filling in the gaps" and searching out new ways to handle legal problems faced by the poor. They help make the Legal Services program and all OEO's programs a unified operating system. When this Committee considers the Legal Services Corporation legislation, I would strongly recommend that specific provisions should be made for preserving and protecting the independence necessary to ensure the continual role of these centers.

In closing, Mr. Chairman, I would just like to point out that what I am worried about today is not only the decrease in federal funds. The President's Budget for 1974 represents more than a shift in priorities of spending the federal tax dollar. It demonstrates a radical reorganization of our federal system of government.

This proposed new federalism represents a direct challenge to the institutional changes developed over the last five years in employ-

ment practices, education, and in medical and legal professions in improving the access of services to the poor. OEO brought the alienated and disenfranchised into the democratic process, gave them a window to government, provided them with hope at a time when hope was obscure. With the dismantling of OEO, not only the symbol of concern, but the actual involvement and commitment of the government will be suspended.

Who will lobby for the poor in communities where the poor have no effective voice in the decisions of government? I urge this Committee to review carefully the full implications of the President's proposal before it accepts the demise of OEO, and to consider the possibility of enacting categorical funding legislation to preserve these programs which have aided the poor.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee, thank you very much for your patience and courtesy in allowing me to present this testimony.

DRUG ABUSE EDUCATION

HON. PETER A. PEYSER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 26, 1973

MR. PEYSER. Mr. Speaker, today, I have joined with my distinguished colleague and good friend from the State of Washington, LLOYD MEEDS, in introducing an extension of the Drug Abuse Education Act of 1970.

I feel that this act has played an invaluable role in this country's war against drug abuse, and it is absolutely vital that we continue this program.

The moneys that are authorized in this bill are an investment in the fight against the misuse of drugs, and the returns from this investment will be measured in saved lives and saved moneys for drug rehabilitation programs. This program is an intricate part of our continuing efforts to curb drug abuse, and it deserves the full support of Congress.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Tuesday, February 27, 1973

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Dr. Lawrence P. Fitzpatrick, national chaplain, the American Legion, Coin, Iowa, offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, plant our feet this day on a solid foundation that we may truly represent those who have sent us to this office. Give us a backbone of steel that we may stand straight and tall. Give us a voice strong and resonant that we may speak out to defend our Nation when and where she is right and to voice the need for change when and where she might be wrong. May our deliberations this day help bring peace to a world caught up in turmoil. God help us when we do right; God forgive us when we fail.

Be with each of us as we try to carry out the responsibilities that we alone can fulfill. Be with us this day and throughout life. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

THE SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Without objection, the Journal stands approved.

There was no objection.

MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate by Mr. Arrington, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had passed with amendments, in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a joint resolution of the House of the following title:

H.J. Res. 345. Joint resolution making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1973, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the

Senate insists upon its amendments to the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 345) entitled "An act making further continuing appropriations for the fiscal year 1973, and for other purposes," requests a conference with the House on the disagreeing votes of the two Houses thereon, and appoints Mr. McCLELLAN, Mr. MAGNUSON, Mr. PASTORE, Mr. BIBLE, Mr. MONTOYA, Mr. INOUYE, Mr. YOUNG, Mr. HRUSKA, Mr. COTTON, and Mr. BROOKE to be the conferees on the part of the Senate.

APPOINTMENT AS MEMBERS OF U.S. GROUP OF NORTH ATLANTIC ASSEMBLY

THE SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of section 1, Public Law 689, 84th Congress, as amended, the Chair appoints as members of the U.S. Group of the North Atlantic Assembly the following