

country into bankruptcy. Every Member of this body knows that that charge is false. But the American people do not.

If we are to conduct a responsible debate over the priorities this administration is pursuing we must first dispatch the big spender bogeyman that the administration is using against us.

As one small piece of evidence that may be useful to Members in this battle I would like to insert into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD at this point a brief study prepared for me by the General Accounting Office. This study shows that the Congress has reduced President Nixon's budget requests in every one of the past 4 years. It shows that our total reductions in his requests since 1969 amount to \$20.9 billion. It shows, in short, that the President's spending claim against the Congress is patently false.

I ask unanimous consent that the Government Accounting Office document be printed in the RECORD.

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

U.S. GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE,
Washington, D.C., February 15, 1973.
The Honorable JAMES ABOWEZEK,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR MR. ABOWEZEK: In your letter of February 2, 1973, you requested specific information regarding the budget requests of the President and the congressional appropriations during each of the past four years.

The following information is summarized from Table 3, page 18, of the Interim Report of February 7, 1973, which was prepared by

the Joint Study Committee on Budget Control.

[Dollar amounts in millions]

Calendar year	Congress session	Budget estimates considered	Amounts enacted	Change
1972	92-2	\$185,429	\$178,958	-\$6,471
1971	92-1	167,875	165,226	-2,649
1970	91-2	147,765	144,274	-3,491
1969	91-1	142,701	134,431	-8,270

The above dollar figures include regular annual, supplemental, and deficiency appropriation bills as considered and enacted by Congress in each of the last four years. These figures do not include the trust funds, interest on the public debt and other budget authority available under existing laws; which are not subject to appropriation process. We have enclosed a copy of the committee's report which provides additional detailed information on the budget estimates.

We hope this information meets your needs and we would provide any additional information upon request.

Sincerely yours,

D. L. SCANTLEBURY, Director.

CLOSE OF MORNING BUSINESS

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that morning business be closed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, morning business is closed.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The clerk will call the roll.

The assistant legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

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

ADJOURNMENT UNTIL 10:30 A.M. TOMORROW

Mr. ROBERT C. BYRD. Mr. President, if there be no further business to come before the Senate, I move, in accordance with the previous order, that the Senate stand in adjournment until 10:30 a.m. tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and at 4:25 p.m. the Senate adjourned until tomorrow, Friday, April 6, 1973, at 10:30 a.m.

CONFIRMATION

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate April 5 (legislative day of April 4), 1973:

FARM CREDIT ADMINISTRATION

Luther W. Jennejohn, of New York, to be a member of the Federal Farm Credit Board, Farm Credit Administration, for a term expiring March 31, 1979.

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

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES—Thursday, April 5, 1973

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

Rev. Floyd H. Gayles, St. James Baptist Church, Washington, D.C., offered the following prayer:

Our soul waiteth for the Lord: He is our help and our shield.—Psalms 33:20.

Eternal God, the sustainer of life and the Father of all men, in Thy presence we pause in thanksgiving. Knowing that with Thee all our labor is worthwhile. We pray that our lives and the life of our Nation may be built upon the rock of eternal truth and invincible good will. So, Master, we dedicate ourselves anew to Thee, who are the way, the truth, and the life.

We thank Thee for our country, for our glorious heritage, for this challenging hour, and for the faith with which we meet the days that lie ahead. Ask Thou blessings upon our President, give him wisdom, as he leads our people through these troublesome times.

Bless these Representatives and help them to look to Thee who art the fountain of wisdom and the source of all good.

Bless our prisoners of war who are returning home. Strengthen them in every noble endeavor.

Lord, let peace rule in the hearts of all men. Accept our gratitude and make us worthy of Thy blessing: though Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE JOURNAL

The SPEAKER. The Chair has examined the Journal of the last day's proceedings and announces to the House his approval thereof.

Without objection, the Journal stands approved.

There was no objection.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT

A message in writing from the President of the United States was communicated to the House by Mr. Marks, one of his secretaries.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS TO FILE PRIVILEGED REPORT ON LEGISLATIVE BRANCH APPROPRIATIONS, 1974

Mr. CASEY of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Appropriations may have until midnight tonight to file a privileged report on the legislative branch appropriation bill for fiscal year 1974.

Mr. WYMAN reserved all points of order on the bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS TO FILE A REPORT ON H.R. 3932, UNTIL MIDNIGHT, APRIL 6, 1973

Mr. FUQUA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Government Operations may have until midnight, Friday, April 6, 1973, to file a report on H.R. 3932.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Florida?

There was no objection.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF HEARINGS ON THE EFFECTS OF PROPOSED BUDGETARY CUTBACKS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1974 IN THE COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

(Mr. EDWARDS of California asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, the Civil Rights Oversight Subcommittee of the House Committee on the Judiciary will continue its series of hearings on proposed cuts in the fiscal year 1974 budget of the Community Relations Service of the Department of Justice.

The hearings will commence on

Wednesday, April 11, 1973, with testimony from the Reverend John Adams, director of the department of law, justice, and community relations of the United Methodist Church. On Thursday, April 12, 1973, we will hear testimony from the Honorable Johnny Ford, mayor of Tuskegee, Ala.

Hearings will begin at 10 a.m. each day in the Judiciary Committee hearing room 2226, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

GASOLINE SHORTAGES

(Mr. VANIK asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. VANIK. Mr. Speaker, current developments indicate that the people of America will have to face a gasoline shortage this summer. Conditions are so bad that rationing is almost a certainty.

When rationing comes and before it comes, we must endeavor to learn by whose fault or by whose manipulation does it come. By what circumstances does peacetime America run out of oil, natural gas, meat, wheat, and gasoline in the same day?

How does the Nation fall into this kind of dilemma? Who is responsible for planning to anticipate needs? Who is preparing the country for the adjustments which must be made? Are the shortages real or are they created to develop higher prices, a pipeline to Alaska, a suspension of our environmental standards?

While gasoline shortages are on the horizon—the sales of huge gas-consuming automobiles goes on at an accelerated pace.

The gasoline shortages of this summer—the gasoline shortages further down the road—make the large, gasoline consuming automobile a museum piece, as useless as an overstuffed, air-conditioned dinosaur.

I am preparing legislation to provide for the appointment of a committee to investigate the gasoline shortage, to determine the extent, the cause, and the period of its duration.

The American people must be advised by their Government of what they have to expect.

PERMISSION TO FILE CONFERENCE REPORT ON H.R. 1975

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the managers have until midnight tonight to file a conference report on H.R. 1975, the emergency loan program bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Texas?

There was no objection.

CALL OF THE HOUSE

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, I move a call of the House.

A call of the House was ordered.

The call was taken by electronic device, and the following Members failed to respond:

[Roll No. 76]

Ashley	Gaydos	Rarick
Aspin	Goldwater	Rooney, N.Y.
Badillo	Grasso	Rosenthal
Barrett	Grover	Ruppe
Bell	Gunter	St Germain
Blaggi	Hammer-	Sarasin
Brademas	schmidt	Sebellus
Brasco	Hanna	Seiberling
Broomfield	Harrington	Shipley
Carney, Ohio	Harvey	Shriver
Chappell	Hawkins	Sikes
Chisholm	Hébert	Smith, N.Y.
Clark	Heckler, Mass.	Staggers
Conlan	Keating	Steiger, Wis.
Cotter	Kemp	Stokes
Cronin	King	Symington
Dellums	Landrum	Teague, Calif.
Denholm	Latta	Teague, Tex.
Dent	McCloskey	Thompson, N.J.
Dickinson	McKinney	Tiernan
Diggs	Mills, Ark.	Ullman
Donohue	Minshall, Ohio	Walsh
Dulski	Mitchell, Md.	Wilson, Bob
Erlenborn	Mollohan	Wilson,
Eshleman	Nichols	Charles H.,
Fish	Nix	Calif.
Flynt	Pepper	Wolf
Ford	Pickle	Young, Alaska
William D. Frey	Price, Tex.	
	Rallsback	

The SPEAKER. On this rollcall 349 Members have reported their presence by electronic device, a quorum.

By unanimous consent, further proceedings under the call were dispensed with.

RETURN OF PRISONERS OF WAR AND MISSING IN ACTION

(Mr. RANGEL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, and to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, I come before the House under the 1-minute rule to raise some very serious questions which have occurred as all of us have sat before our television sets and watched our prisoners of war return. I particularly felt involved in seeing the long war end and watching the return of our prisoners of war: First, because my brother was wounded in World War II; second, because I was wounded in Korea; and third, because throughout my following the war on television I saw a significant number of black soldiers in combat.

I have waited patiently, recognizing the sensitivity of the negotiations to bring our prisoners back. Now that it has been announced that the last prisoner has been released, I find that our Government has only succeeded in bringing home the officers who flew the bombing missions over North Vietnam, and has not accounted for the hundreds of enlisted men who must have been captured as ground troops in this war.

Each Member here knows that there were many enlisted men who were killed in action. Nearly 46,000 men are recorded as having been killed in action in Vietnam. Over 90 percent of them were enlisted men.

The official figures show that of the 566 prisoners of war released by the enemy, only 69 were enlisted men, and some 497 were officers.

I am submitting that if indeed this was the negotiation of a peace with honor, we must now search our consciences and ask whether, in all of the

ground combat with the enemy during 8 years of intense American involvement in South Vietnam, only 69 of those captured by the enemy could possibly be enlisted men.

The Department of Defense cannot give me precise statistics to afford a comparison between the number of enlisted men and the number of officers which comprised the 2½ million soldiers who were involved in the Vietnam war, but somehow they are able to give me the precise number of blacks who were killed in action. I ask the Members to consider if, in fact, 3,093 blacks were killed in action and 3,000 of these were enlisted men, how can I accept the fact that only 16 blacks were captured by the enemy?

I submit that there are two things we have to consider. One, the possibility that the ground forces that were engaging the enemy were not negotiated for at the peace table; or two, that this enemy did not take ground prisoners.

There are many families waiting today to hear the fate of the more than 1,300 men who are listed as missing in action. These families live in some hope that perhaps their men were captured. I submit that the Department of Defense must tell the families of the enlisted men why only officers have been released by the enemy.

(Mr. RANGEL asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

PRISONERS OF WAR

(Mr. HAYS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HAYS. Mr. Speaker, I listened with great interest to several remarks that have recently been made.

I will just point out one thing. He wondered about the disparity between enlisted men and officers, but I do not think the Vietcong and the North Vietnamese did take very many prisoners on the ground. I do not think they bothered. I think they just shot them and left them, if the Members have been listening to what these returning prisoners had to say about what was going on.

Why were not more enlisted men captured? Most of the people were flyers, and if anyone has even seen anyone flying a U.S. airplane who did not have some kind of title, he is better than I am, because they did not have privates flying.

I think there is the answer.

HOUSE PUBLIC LANDS SUBCOMMITTEE SCHEDULES HEARINGS ON RIGHTS OF WAY FOR OIL AND GAS PIPELINES ON PUBLIC LANDS

(Mr. MELCHER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MELCHER. Mr. Speaker, I want to call my colleagues attention to the upcoming hearings on bills relating to rights of way for oil and natural gas pipelines on public lands.

The hearings will open on April 11 with testimony from Members of Congress. Other sessions are scheduled for April 18

and 19 and May 1. They will begin at 10 a.m. each day in room 1324, Longworth House Office Building.

Bills pending before the subcommittee range in scope from construction of the Trans-Alaskan pipeline only to the broader issue of pipeline construction across any public land within the United States.

At this point the bills which have been referred to the subcommittee on this subject include H.R. 1893, H.R. 4651, H.R. 4707, H.R. 4910, H.R. 5441 (title IV only), H.R. 5442 (section 122 only), H.R. 5524, and H.R. 5750.

SPANISH-SPEAKING AMERICANS IN THE ARMED FORCES

(Mr. GONZALEZ asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. GONZALEZ. Mr. Speaker, in view of the remarks which have been made here which properly raise some serious questions, I think it is only proper that I speak out with respect to the contribution of one contingent that has not been as visible nationally as perhaps it should be.

In World War II, in the Korean conflict, and in Vietnam one group which provided more volunteers per square inch, if one wishes to break it down ethnically or culturally, was that group which in the Southwest we call the Americans of Mexican descent.

In Texas alone, after World War II, we ended up with close to seven Congressional Medal of Honor winners. Every one of them had been and was an enlisted man.

The first man to fall in the Korean conflict was from San Antonio, Tex., and he was of Mexican descent.

Because this group also has an unusual or an inordinate share of those who are described as being in poverty, they formed a large contingent of those who served as foot soldiers in Vietnam as well, because whether one is black or brown or white or in between we know that on a selection basis, which I believe erroneously we allowed to draft our men, it was those who were disadvantaged who got to serve in Vietnam in the main.

So this group known as the Mexican Americans again provided a very heavy contingent.

They also suffer casualties. In Korea they were captured and languished in Communist prison camps for months and years. But not one of them became a turncoat. There was not one man with a Mexican-American surname who became a turncoat, even though they were fighting in disproportionate numbers and they were captured in disproportionate numbers.

In Vietnam the same record has been written.

I believe the fact is that our country was engaged in a war under very different circumstances from preceding wars, even including the Korean war, and that has naturally been reflected in what we have seen registered here in our own backyard.

But I believe we ought to point with pride to the record of achievement and

patriotism of this group and of these groups in general who have answered the call of the country, and who still are. The records will reflect that even up to the time of the demise of the draft the greatest number of volunteers still volunteering to serve come from the area I have the distinction of serving. I believe that this record is one worthy of national attention.

I also believe it is a fact that, as disfranchised and as impoverished as this contingent may have been, they served nobly and patriotically and they did find themselves in prison, but the facts clearly reflect that not one either abdicated or turncoated, and this is a clear reflection on the patriotism and loyalty and service of this contingent in general and in particular to the service of our country.

PARLIAMENTARY INQUIRY

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, a parliamentary inquiry.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman will state it.

Mr. GROSS. Has the House embarked upon special orders?

The SPEAKER. Not to the knowledge of the Chair.

THE RIGHT OF AMERICAN CITIZENS TO OWN GOLD

(Mr. SYMMS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. SYMMS. Mr. Speaker, during the 6 years that my good friend JIM McCLURE sat in this House seat, he was an outspoken believer in the right of American citizens to own gold.

That right was violated in the 1930's when this Government moved to unnecessarily restrict individual liberties insofar as gold was concerned. Since that time, we have dillydallied around in our obligations to restore the right to ownership. By failing to act, we have allowed ourselves to be led down the garden path on the real value and importance of gold in the economy.

Yesterday, JIM McCLURE finally won the first round in his fight. His colleagues in the other body voted 68 to 23 to accept his amendment lifting the ban effective December 31, 1973. It was a great victory for every American citizen, and I congratulate Senator McCLURE and his colleagues for their action. I urge my colleagues in the House to take similar action at the first opportunity.

MEDIA ATTACK ON FBI AGENTS

(Mr. HUNT asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HUNT. Mr. Speaker, I never cease to be amazed at the propriety of some of my colleagues who seek to perpetuate their names in the news media by using governmental agencies or some other unsuspecting unit as a whipping boy.

I am a graduate of the FBI National Police Academy, and I take exception to a news release sent out by one of my colleagues 2 days ago calling FBI agents

"peeping Tom's." We have sunk to a new level when we castigate a unit of men who have done such a fine job for this country, who are following instructions laid down by this Congress to investigate those persons who might be disaffected from this country or who might be doing something that is contrary to the national security.

Mr. Speaker, if they would read the memorandum that was issued more carefully, perhaps the gentlemen might understand plain ordinary English, but I am certain that no agent would have done what this gentleman had done, that is, offer to sell information to the news media for the amount of \$25, as was done some months ago by the colleague referred to. I wonder if the Oregon paper quoted is on the buying list?

Mr. Speaker, I think it is an outrage to discredit such a fine organization as the FBI by name-calling. Some people can compress the most words into the smallest ideas without half trying.

FISCAL CONTROLS

(Mr. YOUNG of Illinois asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. YOUNG of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing the Federal Budgetary Responsibility and Control Act of 1973, a measure designed to improve and implement procedures for fiscal controls in the U.S. Government.

In recent weeks we have heard a great deal on the subject of Presidential impoundment, on the need for fiscal integrity, and on the need for Congress to regain its rightful role as coequal with the executive branch in determining fiscal priorities and allocating available revenues.

My bill is a comprehensive measure designed to deal with all of these problem areas:

First, it establishes a procedure by which a total limit on Federal expenditures is set each fiscal year by the Congress;

Second, it outlines a means by which Congress can approve or disapprove specific Presidential impoundments; and

Third, it establishes a congressional budget review system.

Each of these objectives is important, but I believe the titles dealing with the third objective will carry the greatest benefits to the American people in the long run. My bill calls for the establishment of a Joint Committee on the Budget whose sole function will be to provide Members of Congress and the Senate with the detailed information they need on each and every program for which Federal funds are being expended. This committee will use its expertise to develop a legislative budget reflecting congressional priorities, so that a comparison can be made between this budget and that submitted by the President.

Mr. Speaker, it is only with these tools at our disposal that we can do a more effective job of serving both the American taxpayer and the people of America for whom the Federal Government is supposed to be providing effective and relevant services. I am sure that my

colleagues will agree with me that both fiscal responsibility and effective review of priorities are paramount goals of this legislative body.

RURAL WATER AND SEWER GRANT PROGRAM, VETO MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES (H. DOC. NO. 93-77)

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following veto message from the President of the United States:

To the House of Representatives:

I am returning today without my approval H.R. 3298, an act to restore the rural water and sewer grant program which was terminated earlier this year.

My recent budget proposals to the Congress reflect the results of an intensive effort to identify Federal programs that should be reformed, cut back or eliminated. In each case we asked one simple question: would this program justify an increase in taxes in order to pay for it?

The rural water and sewer program, which was launched eight years ago to assist rural communities in constructing water and sewer lines, failed that test. It forced the Federal taxpayer to pay for services that should be locally financed, and it did so in a most uneven and questionable way. We therefore terminated it on January 1, 1973 as part of our determined effort to hold down taxes and combat inflation.

Now the Congress seeks to revive the program. This is a disservice to the taxpayers of this country which I am not prepared to accept.

For many years, local communities have proudly financed and built their own water and sewer facilities. They have recognized that these services are primarily local in nature and should be primarily a local responsibility—just as local communities pay for their own garbage services and fire protection.

Resurrection of the rural water and sewer program would serve only to undercut that tradition, shoving aside local authorities for the increasingly powerful Federal Government.

This program also enlarges the Federal responsibility in a particularly ineffective and insidious way. Experience has shown that water and sewer grants have been distributed in a totally scattershot fashion. Many rural communities, although qualified under the program, have built their own water and sewage systems without waiting for Federal help. They need no incentive from Washington. Yet, in other cases, the water and sewer grants actually delay construction, as communities which would ordinarily finance the facilities on their own, choose instead to wait in line for Federal subsidies. The result has been a very uneven pattern of distribution. It should also come as no surprise that over time the program has attained a distinct flavor of porkbarrel.

Moreover, by singling out a relatively small group of people to receive Federal grants to help build their private water and sewer lines, this program forces the majority of taxpayers, in effect, to pay double taxes: once to build their own facilities and then again to build the sewers

in someone else's backyard. This double taxation leads to little national good and deserves to be stopped, especially at a time when we are earnestly seeking to hold the line on Federal spending.

In view of the many defects in this program, I am convinced that it should no longer be inflicted on the American taxpayer. Congressional restoration of water and sewer grants at the appropriated level of H.R. 3298 would increase Federal spending by at least \$300 million during fiscal years 1973-75. This would represent a dangerous crack in the fiscal dam that this Administration has constructed to hold back a further flood of inflation or higher taxes, or both.

A grave constitutional question is also raised by H.R. 3298, which purports to mandate the spending of the full amount appropriated by the Congress. The Attorney General has advised me that such a mandate conflicts with the allocation of executive power to the President made by Article II of the Constitution. Thus, H.R. 3298 is objectionable not only in its practical and economic aspects, but on basic legal grounds as well.

In reconsidering this bill, the Congress should bear in mind that my fiscal year 1974 budget already provides \$345 million in Rural Development Act loan funds for water supply systems in rural areas which will help local communities borrow at favorable interest rates. In addition, the Environmental Protection Agency will be providing grants of \$5 billion in fiscal years 1973 and 1974 for waste disposal facilities across the country. These grants will be awarded in accordance with State-established needs, and may be used in rural areas for high priority projects.

I recognize that despite these programs, some rural communities in need of sewer assistance may still have financing difficulties because of their inability to borrow at reasonable rates. Fortunately, a solution to this problem exists.

If my veto of this bill is sustained, I will use my authority under the Rural Development Act to provide qualified rural communities with loans not only for water facilities but also for the development of sewage facilities. These loans for sewer services will be available in fiscal years 1973 and 1974. This step—taken at a fraction of the cost to the taxpayer required by H.R. 3298—will permit qualified small communities to compete for credit on reasonable terms.

Taken in conjunction with other measures already planned, this loan provision should provide sufficient Federal support to those communities which critically need water and sewage systems without shattering the limits of sound fiscal policy. I therefore urge all thoughtful, responsible Members of the Congress to join with me in preventing this costly, unwise and probably unconstitutional measure from becoming law.

In upholding my veto of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act earlier this week, the Congress demonstrated that it can set aside partisan political considerations in the interest of America's economic well-being. I urge the Members of the Congress to hold to that same resolve in reconsidering this second piece of inflationary, budget-breaking legislation.

Together, we can hold down taxes and inflation for all of the American people. Together, we can also create a climate in which local and State governments will have both the incentive and the means to meet their legitimate responsibilities without undue interference from Washington and without a proliferation of costly and unnecessary Federal programs such as the one which H.R. 3298 would re-establish.

RICHARD NIXON.

THE WHITE HOUSE, April 5, 1973.

The SPEAKER. The objections of the President will be spread at large upon the Journal and the message and bill will be printed as a House document.

The question is, will the House on reconsideration, pass the bill, the objections of the President to the contrary notwithstanding?

MOTION OFFERED BY MR. O'NEILL

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, I move that further consideration of the veto message of the President on the bill (H.R. 3298) be postponed until Tuesday, April 10, 1973.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. O'NEILL).

The motion was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute for the purpose of asking the distinguished majority leader the program for the remainder of the week, if any, and the schedule for next week.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. O'NEILL. There is one resolution still pending before the House today, a travel resolution, and with the conclusion of that, there will be no further business for this week, and I will ask unanimous consent that we go over until Monday next.

The program for the week of April 9, 1973, is as follows:

Monday is District day and there will be two bills:

H.R. 342, Interstate Agreement on Qualification of Educational Personnel; and

H.R. 4586, incorporate the National Inconvenienced Sportsmen's Association.

For Tuesday and the balance of the week we will have:

A vote on the override of the President's veto of H.R. 3298, rural water-sewer grant program, which just arrived from the President;

House Joint Resolution 205, Atlantic Union delegation, subject to a rule being granted;

H.R. 3180, franking privilege for Members of Congress, subject to a rule being granted; and

H.R. 6168, Economic Stabilization Act, subject to a rule being granted.

Conference reports may be brought up at any time.

Any further program will be announced later.

Mr. Speaker, may I say the Economic Stabilization Act was ordered reported by the Banking and Currency Committee last night, giving the minority until Tuesday to write its report. If the Rules Committee grants a special rule on the Economic Stabilization Act, it could well come up Wednesday afternoon.

There is a great possibility we would ask for an early session on Thursday of next week so we could complete the bill Thursday night. If it is not completed on Thursday night, then it would be the will of the majority on this side in order to complete the bill to continue consideration on Friday and complete consideration of that bill on Friday.

Mr. GERALD F. FORD. Let me ask the gentleman from Massachusetts if my understanding is correct. Is the rural water-sewer program the first order of business on Tuesday?

Mr. O'NEILL. It is the first business on Tuesday next; yes.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. Some question has been raised that the second and fourth Fridays of the month there was to be no business.

Mr. O'NEILL. The announcement earlier this year was that we would meet on the first and third Fridays if business were available. I do not believe we have worked a Friday as yet and we hope we do not have to work Friday of this next week, but if we cannot complete the Economic Stabilization Act consideration on Thursday we would ask the House to meet on Friday.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. It is my understanding, and this is only my understanding, that even when we announced there would be no business on the second and fourth Fridays of the month, that was done on the understanding that would be true unless there was some urgent business.

Mr. O'NEILL. The gentleman is correct. There was no definite commitment that we would not meet on any second or fourth Friday, but there was an understanding if there was urgent business we would meet.

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. GERALD R. FORD. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. BROWN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, this Member of Congress understood if there was emergency business we would be required to work on the first and third Fridays. However, it was the understanding of this Member of Congress that Members should hold themselves ready to work on the first and third Fridays but that we could make commitments on the second and fourth Fridays. This Member has done so. The Banking and Currency Committee considered the Economic Stabilization Act but it only got organized in early March and there has been ample opportunity to take that matter up and I assure the House I shall object very strenuously if we attempt to bring it up next Friday.

ADJOURNMENT OVER TO MONDAY, APRIL 9, 1973

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that when the House adjourns today it adjourn to meet on Monday next.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

DISPENSING WITH CALENDAR WEDNESDAY BUSINESS ON WEDNESDAY NEXT

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the business in order under the Calendar Wednesday rule be dispensed with on Wednesday of next week.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

PERMISSION FOR COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY TO FILE CERTAIN REPORTS

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary may have until midnight tonight to file certain reports.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

AUTHORIZING PRESIDENT TO PROCLAIM APRIL 29, 1973, AS DAY OF OBSERVANCE OF 30TH ANNIVERSARY OF WARSAW GHETTO UPRISING

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on the Judiciary be discharged from further consideration of the joint resolution (H.J. Res. 303) to authorize and request the President to proclaim April 29, 1973, as a day of observance of the 30th anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the joint resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, would this resolution require the expenditure of any Federal funds?

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I assure the gentleman from Iowa that it will require no Federal funds.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the joint resolution as follows:

H.J. RES. 303

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of Amer-

ica in Congress assembled, That the 29th day of April 1973 is hereby marked in commemoration of the thirtieth anniversary of the uprising against the Nazi occupation forces by the beleaguered and outnumbered Jews of the Warsaw ghetto who, by their heroic struggle, reaffirmed the ineradicable determination of mankind to fight for freedom from oppression and symbolized the indestructible spirit of liberty.

The President is authorized and requested to issue a proclamation inviting the people of the United States to observe such day with appropriate ceremonies and activities.

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, April 29, 1973, marks the 30th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. The resolution before us today calls on the President of the United States to proclaim an observance of that anniversary.

I would like to address my remarks to the reasons why I think that anniversary deserves a special commemoration.

Many stories of human triumph and human tragedy came out of the ashes of World War II, but there are perhaps none so moving as the story of the Warsaw Ghetto.

Warsaw was once the center of Eastern European Jewry. In the early years of this century, there were over 1 million Jews living there. They contributed to every facet of Polish life, and had a thriving culture of their own. The Jewish theater of Warsaw was one of the greatest theaters in Europe. The rabbis of Warsaw were consulted by Jews all over the world for their wisdom.

One of the first things that the Germans did after invading Poland in 1939 was to establish restrictions on what Jews could and could not do. By 1940 there was a ghetto in which Jews were forced to live under pain of death. This ghetto was nothing more than a holding pen for those to be transported to the death camps being built in Poland and Germany. The Jews in the ghetto were slowly any systematically being starved to death, being allowed to die from the various plagues and diseases that come from overcrowding and undernourishment.

But somehow, life for the Jews in the ghetto continued. Babies were still born and young lovers still got married. They never stopped hoping, although there was all too little they could hope for. A precious few were lucky enough to get work permits that allowed them to leave the ghetto and go to work in the German factories. Those people became adept at smuggling. The contraband they brought back with them was an orange or a potato or perhaps some medicine for a sick child. An underground grew up that managed to maintain tenuous contacts with the Polish partisans. The ghetto Jews never stopped trying to live their lives as best they could, even though the Germans were making it impossible for them to live at all.

Finally, the Germans hit on their "final solution," and the deportations to the death camps began. What was once a community of a million living souls was soon decimated to a few thousand. But these few thousand could stand no more. In their final act of desperation and courage, they determined that if

they were to die, they would at least die gloriously and happily in the knowledge that some of their tormentors would die with them. On April 29, 1943, they finally fought back.

A handful of Jews, mostly young men who had escaped the deportations to the death camps because they were strong enough to work for the Germans, held off one of the most powerful armies this world has ever known for nearly a month. They smuggled in weapons, using children to carry them through the sewers of Warsaw. They became proficient in making and using molotov cocktails. All through their fight, they continued to broadcast to the outside world, hoping that someone, somewhere would hear them, but nobody ever did. The Polish partisans ignored them.

Almost every one of the Jews who took part in the uprising died, either in the ruins of Warsaw or in one of the death camps. The story of their incredible bravery did not become known until after World War II was ended. It was nearly lost in the stories of all the other atrocities perpetrated by the Nazis during the war. But it is a story which we should all know and which we should never forget.

The strength and courage demonstrated by the Jews who dared to fight back against the incredible strength of the Nazi army is an example to us all of the heights which human beings can attain. For too long, not only the Nazis but people everywhere thought that Jews would never fight back, that any humiliation could be visited upon them and that the Jews would accept it gladly as their unique lot in life. The Jews of Warsaw who dared fight back showed the world that this was not true. The ghetto warriors showed the world that Jews were not only the People of the Book, but people of tremendous courage.

It is a lesson which we should all bear in mind when we consider what is happening now in the Soviet Union. Just as the remnants of the Jewish community in Warsaw struck back at their oppressors, so too are the Jews in Russia fighting against the official anti-Semitism of the Soviet regime. Remembering what happened on April 29, 1943 in the Warsaw ghetto will give us a greater insight into what is happening in April 1973 in the Soviet Union.

The Warsaw ghetto will continue to live in the memories of Jews and non-Jews alike as a testament to both the best and the worst in the human race. We must remember the ghetto and the uprising, to honor the memory of those who died, and to dedicate ourselves to never letting such a thing happen again anywhere.

Miss HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, I am proud to be a cosponsor of House Joint Resolution 303 and I urge my colleagues to support this resolution proclaiming April 29, 1973, as a day of observance of the 30th anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising.

In that valiant struggle, a few hundred Jews held off the German soldiers and tanks for 3 weeks. The struggle was a lonely one, and in the end 40,000 Jews had been slaughtered, the area razed. Today, 30 years later, their struggle remains a symbol to Jew and gentile

alike, of the heroic spirit of the oppressed of the strength of the forces on the side of freedom.

The Warsaw Jews knew they would die when they began their battle against the Nazis, and that makes their efforts all the more heroic. Even in bondage, they chose their deaths freely. They chose to die with honor, in defense of an idea as precious as life itself—the right of people to determine their own destiny, to live their lives in liberty.

There are those who managed to escape the Nazi holocaust to flee to this country, choosing it as their refuge. I know it would be particularly meaningful to these people, many in my own district, to commemorate this day and honor those slain as well as the truths they fought for.

The spirit of the Warsaw ghetto uprising lives on in those Jews seeking to escape from the Soviet Union; this spirit lives on in all those seeking to end discrimination, intolerance, and the hatred it breeds. April 29 is a day of observance that will provide the appropriate occasion for all of us to rededicate ourselves to the principles of humanity and freedom the Warsaw struggle reflected.

Ms. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, I am very pleased to be a sponsor of House Joint Resolution 303, commemorating the 30th anniversary of the Warsaw ghetto uprising in Poland.

The fight against Fascist Germany was being waged at that time by many brave and gallant men and women in our Armed Forces and in the armies of our Allies. But perhaps nowhere was it waged so gallantly as among the Jews in the Warsaw ghetto who in April 1943 decided to resist the onslaught of the Nazi war machine.

Those brave men and women, numbering only a few thousand, fought while suffering the effects of starvation and disease, in a desperate attempt to save themselves from the concentration camps.

They fought and resisted with stones and homemade weapons against tanks and mortars.

They fought and resisted with no food or water against a standing army.

They fought and resisted for almost 1 month.

But on April 29–30, 1943, that resistance ended.

But those of us that remember the event also remember a Yiddish song that came out of the uprising. It is entitled in English, "The Song of the Jewish Partisan," and it was written by Hirsch Glick, who died within the walls of the Warsaw ghetto. I would like to place into the Record the translation of that song, so that my colleagues can understand and appreciate the spirit of those heroic people.

The translation of the song follows:

THE SONG OF THE JEWISH PARTISAN

Don't ever say, "For me this is the final way,"
Now that the clouds above conceal the light of day

Because the day for which we yearn will yet appear

And our footsteps loud proclaim, "We are here."

From the date-palm lands down to the cold-est plains

We have arrived with all our torture and our pain

And wherever our life's blood may flow
More courageous yet will grow.

A new morning for our people bright with dawn

Our yesterdays with our oppressors past forlorn

And if we have to wait until the light appears
This song shall be our password through the years.

It is a song we had to write in blood and fire
Not the song of birds that freely soar yet higher

But from behind their falling walls, our people sang

This song, as they clutched fire arm in arm.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have 5 legislative days in which to revise and extend their remarks on the joint resolution just passed.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from California?

There was no objection.

AUTHORIZING INVESTIGATIVE AUTHORITY TO COMMITTEE ON INTERIOR AND INSULAR AFFAIRS

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, by direction of the Committee on Rules, I call up House Resolution 340 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution as follows:

H. RES. 340

Resolved, That the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs is authorized to send two members of such committee to attend the General Assembly of the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property in Rome, Italy, during the period April 7 through 12, 1973.

Local currencies owned by the United States shall be made available to the members of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the House of Representatives engaged in carrying out their official duties pursuant to the authority to travel outside the United States as set forth in this resolution. In addition to any other condition that may be applicable with respect to the use of local currencies owned by the United States by the members of the committee, the following conditions shall apply with respect to their use of such currencies:

(1) No member of such committee shall receive or expend local currencies or subsistence in any country at a rate in excess of the maximum per diem rate set forth in section 502(b) of the Mutual Security Act of 1954 (22 U.S.C. 1754).

(2) No member of such committee shall receive or expend an amount of local currencies for transportation in excess of actual transportation costs.

(3) No appropriated funds shall be expended for the purpose of defraying expenses of members of such committee in any country where local currencies are available for this purpose.

(4) Each member of such committee shall make to the chairman of such committee an itemized report showing the number of days visited in each country whose local currencies were spent, the amount of per diem

furnished, and the cost of transportation if furnished by public carrier, or, if such transportation is furnished by an agency of the United States Government, the cost of such transportation, and the identification of the agency. All such individuals reports shall be filed by the chairman with the Committee on House Administration and shall be open to public inspection.

(5) Amounts of per diem shall not be furnished for a period of time in any country if per diem has been furnished for the same period of time in any other country, irrespective of differences in time zones.

Mr. BOLLING (during the reading). Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the resolution be considered as read and printed in the RECORD.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Missouri?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Missouri is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, I yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. QUILLLEN) pending which I yield myself such time as I may consume.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution is somewhat unusual. The easiest way to explain it is to read from a letter to the chairman of the Committee on Rules from the chairman of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs:

As you undoubtedly know, the Speaker has named two members of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs to attend the general assembly of the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property in Rome, Italy. Congressmen Roy A. Taylor and Joe Skubitz, the ranking members of the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation, have been named as members of the American delegation. Since the authorizing resolution for the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs does not include authority for international travel and expenses related thereto, it is necessary for the House to consider a special authorizing resolution.

This is what this is about.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BOLLING. I will be glad to yield to my friend from Iowa (Mr. GROSS).

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I thank the gentleman for yielding. What is a study of the preservation and restoration of cultural property in Rome? What does that entail?

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Missouri will have to plead entire ignorance. The gentleman from Missouri does not know about that. He understands that it is an international conference of sufficient significance to justify the travel of two members of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. I do not know the details of that meeting.

Mr. GROSS. That would not involve a study of the peasantry in Italy or anything of that kind, would it? It would not involve a study of the way they have been living through the ages in Italy?

Mr. BOLLING. I would assume not, but the gentleman from Missouri wants to be accurate with his friend from Iowa. He simply does not know what the study is about. He just knows that the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs considers it important enough for two members to go and that the Speaker of the House

considers it important enough. I simply do not know what the study is about.

Mr. GROSS. I thought we had the cultural center of the world along the Potomac River in Washington. I thought it was possible to study all the culture that was necessary to be studied right here.

For the life of me, I do not understand what these two gentlemen are going to study when they get to Rome.

Mr. BOLLING. I assume that the gentlemen will make a report on their trip, and we can then discover what they discover.

Mr. GROSS. Of course, that comes a little late, after they have returned from their nice junket. What is it, 5 days or something like that?

Incidentally, this resolution is cutting it pretty thin. They are supposed to depart the continental United States on the 7th of April, and this is the 5th.

Mr. BOLLING. My impression is that—I have some additional information which someone has been kind enough to submit to me. I am sure it is accurate.

The Assembly meets April 9 through April 12. There are several items on the agenda of direct concern to American interests. Among these are proposed amendments to the statutes of the Center—that is the International Center for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property—to permit enlarged representation of the various cultural and geographical areas of the world.

The other item of direct concern to us within the Assembly will be consideration of the scale of membership fees of the various nations.

I am sure the gentleman from Iowa would want the United States represented when they were considering fees.

Mr. GROSS. Considering fees?

Mr. BOLLING. Yes, sir.

Mr. GROSS. If they are going to consider fees, there is only one way the fees will go for the United States, and that is up. That is the story with practically all of these international study groups, whether they be studying art and culture or whatever they happen to study. Mr. BOLLING. To my friend from Iowa I can only say that I trust the good judgment of the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. TAYLOR), and of my friend from my neighboring State of Kansas (Mr. SKUBITZ). I believe they will be fine representatives for the United States at this event.

Mr. GROSS. There is a song that extols the virtues of Paris in the springtime. Is there a song that extols the virtues of Rome in the spring, or does the gentleman know?

Mr. BOLLING. The gentleman's range of interest is such that I am unable to answer his question.

Mr. GROSS. I am going to await with a lot of interest the report by the gentleman from the mountains of North Carolina and the gentleman from the wheat-fields of Kansas on their study of art and culture in Rome. It should be interesting.

Mr. BOLLING. I think the gentleman is entirely correct.

Mr. Speaker, I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. QUILLLEN. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may use.

(Mr. QUILLLEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. QUILLLEN. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Missouri and the gentleman from Iowa have explained the resolution in detail, so far as the facts are concerned.

Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 340 authorizes travel by two members of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, to attend the General Assembly of the International Center for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property in Rome, Italy. This trip is scheduled to begin on April 7 and run through April 12.

The ranking members of the Subcommittee on National Parks and Recreation have been named as members of the American delegation.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of this resolution.

Mr. Speaker, I have no requests for time, and I reserve the remainder of my time.

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the resolution.

The question was taken; and the Speaker announced that the ayes appeared to have it.

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, I object to the vote on the ground that a quorum is not present and make the point of order that a quorum is not present.

The SPEAKER. Evidently a quorum is not present.

The Sergeant at Arms will notify absent Members.

The vote was taken by electronic device, and there were—yeas 281, nays 70, answered "present" 3, not voting 79, as follows:

[Roll No. 77]
YEAS—281

Abdnor	Chisholm	Ford, Gerald R.
Addabbo	Clark	Ford,
Alexander	Clausen,	William D.
Andrews, N.C.	Don H.	Forsythe
Andrews,	Clay	Fountain
N. Dak.	Cochran	Fraser
Annunzio	Cohen	Frelinghuysen
Arends	Conyers	Fuqua
Bergland	Corman	Gettys
Bevill	Coughlin	Gialmo
Bingham	Cronin	Gibbons
Blackburn	Culver	Ginn
Blatnik	Daniels,	Gonzalez
Boggs	Dominick V.	Gray
Boland	Danielson	Green, Oreg.
Bolling	Davis, Ga.	Green, Pa.
Bowen	Davis, S.C.	Griffiths
Bray	de la Garza	Gubser
Breaux	Delaney	Gude
Breckinridge	Dellenback	Haley
Brinkley	Dellums	Hamilton
Brooks	Derwinski	Hammer-
Broomfield	Dickinson	schmidt
Brotzman	Diggs	Hanley
Brown, Calif.	Dingell	Hanna
Brown, Mich.	Dorn	Hansen, Idaho
Brown, Ohio	Downing	Hansen, Wash.
Broyhill, Va.	Drinan	Harsha
Burgener	du Pont	Hawkins
Burke, Fla.	Eckhardt	Hays
Burke, Mass.	Edwards, Ala.	Hechler, W. Va.
Burleson, Tex.	Edwards, Calif.	Heckler, Mass.
Burlison, Mo.	Eilberg	Heinz
Burton	Esch	Helstoski
Byron	Evans, Colo.	Henderson
Carey, N.Y.	Fascell	Hicks
Carney, Ohio	Findley	Hinshaw
Carter	Fish	Hollifield
Casey, Tex.	Fisher	Holtzman
Cederberg	Flood	Horton
Chamberlain	Flowers	Hosmer
Chappell	Foley	Howard

Hungate	Morgan	Schneebell
Hutchinson	Mosher	Schroeder
Ichord	Moss	Selberling
Jarman	Murphy, III.	Shriver
Johnson, Calif.	Murphy, N.Y.	Slack
Johnson, Pa.	Myers	Smith, Iowa
Jones, Ala.	Natcher	Stanton,
Jones, N.C.	Nedzi	J. William
Jones, Okla.	Nichols	Stanton,
Jordan	Obey	James V.
Karth	O'Brien	Stark
Kastenmeier	O'Hara	Steele
Kazen	O'Neill	Steelman
Ketchum	Owens	Steiger, Ariz.
Kluczynski	Parris	Stephens
Koch	Passman	Stratton
Kyros	Patten	Stubblefield
Leggett	Pepper	Stuckey
Lehman	Perkins	Studds
Litton	Peyser	Sullivan
Long, La.	Pike	Talcott
Long, Md.	Poage	Teague, Calif.
Macdonald	Podell	Thompson, N.J.
Madden	Price, Ill.	Thomson, Wis.
Madigan	Pritchard	Thornton
Mahon	Quile	Towell, Nev.
Mailliard	Quillen	Udall
Mallory	Randall	Van Deerlin
Mann	Rangel	Vander Jagt
Maraziti	Rees	Vanik
Martin, Nebr.	Regula	Vigorito
Martin, N.C.	Reid	Waggonner
Mathis, Ga.	Reuss	Waldie
Matsunaga	Rhodes	Ware
Mazzoli	Riegle	Whalen
McClory	Rinaldo	White
McCloskey	Robison, N.Y.	Whitten
McCormack	Rodino	Widnall
McDade	Roe	Wiggins
McEwen	Rogers	Williams
McFall	Roncalio, Wyo.	Wilson,
McKay	Roncalio, N.Y.	Charles, Tex.
Melcher	Rooney, Pa.	Winn
Metcalfe	Rosenthal	Wright
Mezvinisky	Rostenkowski	Wyatt
Milford	Roush	Wyder
Mills, Ark.	Roy	Wyman
Mills, Md.	Roybal	Yates
Minish	Runnels	Yatron
Mink	Ruth	Young, Ga.
Mitchell, Md.	Ryan	Young, Tex.
Mizell	Sandman	Zablocki
Moakley	Sarbanes	Zion
Montgomery	Satterfield	
Moorhead, Pa.	Saylor	

NAYS—70

Archer	Frenzel	Mitchell, N.Y.
Armstrong	Froehlich	Moorhead,
Bafalis	Gilman	Calif.
Baker	Goodling	Pettis
Beard	Gross	Powell, Ohio
Bennett	Guyer	Rarick
Blester	Hanrahan	Roberts
Broyhill, N.C.	Hastings	Robinson, Va.
Buchanan	Holt	Rose
Camp	Huber	Rousselot
Clancy	Hudnut	Scherle
Clawson, Del.	Hunt	Shoup
Cleveland	Johnson, Colo.	Shuster
Collier	Jones, Tenn.	Snyder
Collins	Kemp	Spence
Conable	Kuykendall	Taylor, Mo.
Crane	Landgrebe	Thone
Daniel, Dan	Lott	Treen
Daniel, Robert	Lujan	Veysey
W., Jr.	McCollister	Wampler
Davis, Wis.	McSpadden	Whitehurst
Dennis	Mayne	Wyllie
Devine	Miller	Young, Fla.
Duncan	Minshall, Ohio	Zwach

ANSWERED "PRESENT"—3

Skubitz	Symms	Taylor, N.C.
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NOT VOTING—79

Abzug	Denholm	Hogan
Adams	Dent	Keating
Anderson,	Donohue	King
Calif.	Dulski	Landrum
Anderson, III.	Erlenborn	Latta
Ashbrook	Eshleman	Lent
Ashley	Evins, Tenn.	McKinney
Aspin	Flynt	Mathias, Calif.
Badillo	Frey	Meeds
Barrett	Fulton	Michel
Bell	Gaydos	Mollohan
Biaggi	Goldwater	Nelsen
Brademas	Grasso	Nix
Brasco	Grover	Patman
Burke, Calif.	Gunter	Pickle
Butler	Harrington	Preyer
Conlan	Harvey	Price, Tex.
Conte	Hébert	Rallsback
Cotter	Hillis	Rooney, N.Y.

Ruppe	Steed	Wilson,
St Germain	Steiger, Wis.	Charles H.,
Sarasin	Stokes	Calif.
Sebelius	Symington	Wolf
Shipley	Teague, Tex.	Young, Alaska
Sikes	Tierman	Young, Ill.
Sisk	Ullman	Young, S.C.
Smith, N.Y.	Walsh	
Staggers	Wilson, Bob	

So the resolution was agreed to.
The Clerk announced the following pairs:

Mr. Hébert with Mr. Anderson of Illinois.
Mr. Rooney of New York with Mr. Conlan.
Mr. Shipley with Mr. Frey.
Mr. Sikes with Mr. Grover.
Mr. Gunter with Mr. Ashbrook.
Mr. Barrett with Mr. Erlenborn.
Mr. Brademas with Mr. Hillis.
Mr. Dulski with Mr. Goldwater.
Mr. Flynt with Mr. Keating.
Mr. Evins of Tennessee with Mr. Hogan.
Mr. Pickle with Mr. Butler.
Mr. Sisk with Mr. Eshleman.
Mr. Staggers with Mr. Harvey.
Mr. Teague of Texas with Mr. Latta.
Mr. Tierman with Mr. King.
Mr. Charles H. Wilson of California with Mr. Conte.
Mr. Wolff with Mr. Lent.
Mr. Biaggi with Mr. McKinney.
Mr. Badillo with Mr. Price of Texas.
Mr. Adams with Mr. Rallsback.
Mr. Abzug with Mr. Sarasin.
Mr. Brasco with Mr. Michel.
Mr. Cotter with Mr. Ruppe.
Mr. Dent with Mr. Mathias of California.
Mr. Denholm with Mr. Sebelius.
Mr. Donohue with Mr. Walsh.
Mr. Fulton with Mr. Bob Wilson.
Mr. Gaydos with Mr. Young of Alaska.
Mrs. Grasso with Mr. Smith of New York.
Mr. Landrum with Mr. Young of Illinois.
Mr. Meeds with Mr. Young of South Carolina.
Mr. Nix with Mr. Preyer.
Mr. Mollahan with Mr. Harrington.
Mr. St Germain with Mr. Nelsen.
Mr. Steed with Mr. Steiger of Wisconsin.
Mr. Symington with Mr. Stokes.
Mr. Anderson of California with Mr. Ullman.
Mr. Ashley with Mr. Aspin.
Mrs. Burke of California with Mr. Patman of Texas.

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

CARPOOLS—REDUCE POLLUTION AND CONSERVE FUEL

(Mr. FASCELL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. FASCELL. Mr. Speaker, the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1970 establish nationwide emission limits of carbon monoxide and hydrocarbons from motor vehicles which must be realized by the model year of 1975. Pursuant to the statute, regulations applicable to such emissions must contain standards which require carbon monoxide and hydrocarbon emission levels in 1975 model year cars to be at least 90 percent less than those allowable under standards applicable to 1970 vehicles and engines. The 1970 amendments further spelled out a requirement that 1976 model light-duty vehicles should emit at least 90 percent less oxides of nitrogen than measured from light-duty vehicles, manufactured during the 1971 model year, which are

not subject to any Federal or State emission standard for oxides of nitrogen.

In hearings presently being conducted by the Environmental Protection Agency, spokesmen for the large auto manufacturers are going on record as saying they will not be able—in the light of current exhaust emission technology—to develop in a short period of time exhaust emission devices that will prove economical in price and gasoline consumption and efficient in terms of both meeting the required emission levels and maintaining that level for the life of the motor vehicle.

The portent of all this is clear—we may not have the desired pollution-free motor vehicles by the designated model years, and it is apparent that we will not have such vehicles in the reasonably near future.

This awareness should prompt us to act in the interest of controlling air pollution from motor vehicle exhausts through legislative action directing methods of transportation which will cut into the 43-percent contribution of motor vehicles to the air pollution problem. And indeed, on the local levels, proposals such as parking bans on inner-city streets during certain hours, substantial parking taxes on commuters, and increased availability and use of mass transportation have already been made and recognized as sound deterrents to the ever-increasing influx of motor vehicles into the great metropolitan areas of our Nation which are most seriously affected by the automobile smog problem, and to the ever-increasing consumption of our fixed and rapidly diminishing oil reserves. The unpopularity of these proposals with the voter-commuter wedded to his automobile for reasons for comfort and convenience has understandably but effectively blocked their adoption or serious enforcement. The solution is obvious—transportation control legislation should offer benefits and not impose penalties with respect to motor vehicle uses.

Cognizant of the fact that the overwhelming majority of motor vehicles in use on metropolitan highways, roads, and streets during morning and evening rush hours contain only one passenger—the driver—I am today proposing and introducing legislation that will effectively reduce the number of cars in operation during these periods.

Under my bill, limited tax benefits would be made available to commuters commuting to and from their places of employment in carpools. The benefits would be in the form of deductions actually incurred for unreimbursed automobile operating costs and parking fees.

The automobile operating costs feature of my bill is identical to the present Treasury allowance based on the business mileage traveled during the tax year and available to those taxpayers who are required to use their motor vehicles in their trade or business. This allowance would be 12 cents per mile for the first 15,000 miles of carpool travel and 9 cents per mile for carpool travel over 15,000 miles. The parking fee deduction would be in addition to the mileage deduction and in that respect it differs from

the current tax treatment of such fees incurred in business travel in that the deduction therefor is allowed only if the taxpayer itemizes his business travel expenses in lieu of taking the Treasury allowance respecting business mileage.

The enactment of my bill will effect a revenue loss. I am confident, however, that the cost in lost revenue will be far exceeded by the ultimate savings in fuel supply, road maintenance and wear, and in the amounts of pollutants disgorged into the air from the exhaust systems of motor vehicles that are primarily responsible for the unhealthy smogs that envelop our metropolitan areas and cities daily.

Mrs. Alice Wainwright, a Miami constituent long active in south Florida conservation efforts, first suggested this proposal to me primarily as an antipollution incentive. Mrs. Wainwright reasoned, and I feel accurately so, that we could potentially reduce both noise and air pollution by providing an income tax incentive for people to form more carpools and thereby reduce the number of cars on the highways during the daily rush hours.

The impending fuel shortage crisis is an increasingly important factor which also lends substantial support to this proposal. In south Florida just last week, Sears, Roebuck & Co. announced that gasoline would be limited to 10 gallons per customer per day at its stations from Key West to Palm Beach. In announcing its rationing program, Sears officials said it had become obvious that its stations would run completely dry if sales were not restricted. Since October the Sears stations have been on a monthly allotment which did not meet the customer demand. By borrowing on future months' supplies, they were able to maintain full service until last week.

The country faces a similar problem nationwide. There are two ways to approach the fuel shortage. We can increase our supply—by developing new resources and by lifting import restrictions—and we can conserve the existing supply. By encouraging the use of carpools, and reducing the number of cars on the road, we can effectively conserve fuel without resorting to rationing.

The text of my bill and a section-by-section analysis follows:

SECTION-BY-SECTION ANALYSIS

This bill would redesignate the present section 219 of the Internal Revenue Code (26 U.S.C. sec. 219) as section 220 and add a new section 219 to provide additional deductions to qualified persons who itemize deductions on their tax returns:

SECTION 219—OPERATING PASSENGER AUTOMOBILE IN A CARPOOL

(a) (1) provides a travel allowance with respect to carpool mileage at the rate of 12 cents per mile for the first 15,000 miles and 9 cents per mile for each travel mile over 15,000 miles.

(2) provides a deduction for parking fees incurred as the result of operating a carpool.

(b) requires parking fee and mileage deductions to be reduced to the extent of any cash reimbursements received from qualified carpool passengers.

(c) Definitions

(1) Use as part of a carpool—means an ar-

range where a taxpayer transports himself and two or more qualified persons whether part way or all the way to or from their places of employment.

(2) Qualified passenger—means any person other than the taxpayer, his spouse, or a dependent who qualifies as a dependent deduction on the taxpayer's tax return.

(3) Spouse—means the taxpayer's husband or wife and from whom neither he nor she was separated or divorced during the tax year.

(d) Regulations—requires the promulgation of regulations necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act.

(e) Makes conforming amendments to part 7, subchapter B, chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code.

Section 2—makes the Act applicable to the tax year beginning after the date of its enactment.

H.R. —

A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide an additional itemized deduction for the use of a passenger automobile in a carpool

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) part VII of subchapter B of chapter 1 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to additional itemized deductions for individuals) is amended by redesignating section 219 as section 220, and by inserting after section 218 the following new section:

"SEC. 219. OPERATING PASSENGER AUTOMOBILE IN A CARPOOL

"(a) ALLOWANCE OF DEDUCTION.—In the case of an individual who owns a passenger automobile which he uses in a carpool, there shall be allowed as a deduction—

"(1) 12 cents for each of the first 15,000 miles attributable to such use during the taxable year, and 9 cents for each mile in excess of 15,000, and

"(2) an amount equal to the amount paid or accrued by the taxpayer for parking attributable to such use during the taxable year.

"(b) REDUCTION FOR REIMBURSEMENT.—The amount allowable as a deduction under subsection (a) shall be reduced by any amount received or accrued by the taxpayer during the taxable year as reimbursement from any qualified passenger for transportation of such passenger in the carpool. The reciprocal receipt of carpool services shall not be treated as reimbursement for purposes of this subsection.

"(c) DEFINITIONS.—For purposes of this section—

"(1) USE AS PART OF A CARPOOL.—The term 'use in a carpool' means use while transporting two or more qualified passengers as part of an arrangement between the taxpayer and such passengers whereby the taxpayer, in the course of travelling to or from his place of employment, transports such passengers all or part of the way to or from their places of employment.

"(2) QUALIFIED PASSENGER.—The term 'qualified passenger' means any individual other than the taxpayer, the spouse of the taxpayer, or a dependent of the taxpayer as defined in section 152(a).

"(3) SPOUSE.—Determination of marital status shall be made as provided in section 153.

"(d) REGULATIONS.—The Secretary or his delegate shall prescribe such regulations as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this section with respect to the determination of amounts allowable as a deduction under this section and the substantiation of such amounts by adequate records."

(b) The table of sections for part VII of subchapter B of chapter 1 of such Code is amended by striking out the last item and inserting in lieu thereof the following:

"Sec. 219. Operating passenger automobile in a carpool.

"Sec. 220. Cross references."

Sec. 2. The amendments made by the first section of this Act shall apply with respect to taxable years beginning after the date of the enactment of this Act.

MAJORITY LEADER THOMAS P. O'NEILL, JR., REPORTS ON ADMINISTRATION'S LATEST STEPS TO MALIGN CONGRESS

(Mr. O'NEILL asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. O'NEILL. Mr. Speaker, Mike Causey reported in the Washington Post yesterday on the administration's latest steps to malign the Congress and to demean its Members.

The White House has sent to the top public relations men in all departments and agencies a special kit of defamatory materials. These materials are to be used in speeches by Federal officials and in press releases for newspapers and television.

One sample quoted by Mr. Causey was as follows:

Each day the Congress persists in its efforts to foist on the American public a gaggle of runaway spending schemes * * * and boondoggling programs which fuel inflation and threaten higher taxes.

Mr. Speaker, this is the kind of slander we can expect every time one of the administration's small-bore bureaucrats takes to the stump. The White House is calling out all its tin soldiers for its campaign to discredit the Congress and to push President Nixon's scheme for one-man rule.

In the spirit of the good old American sense of fairplay, I think it only right that Members of Congress should be able to see the kit. Perhaps we should print it in the Record for the benefit of all Members. I am not sure I would have much success obtaining one from Mr. Ziegler's office. I wonder if the gentlemen on the other side of the aisle might undertake to obtain a kit for us.

Meanwhile, I submit Mr. Causey's article for printing in the Record:

[From the Washington Post, Apr. 4, 1973]

PR MEN GIRD FOR "BATTLE OF BUDGET"

(By Mike Causey)

The Nixon administration is mobilizing the bureaucracy's extensive, and expensive, public relations apparatus for an attack on the "spendthrift" Democratic-controlled Congress.

To make sure voters get the same message, federal writers have been given a detailed set of guidelines by the White House, telling them where, when and how to warn taxpayers of the dangers to their pocketbooks if Congress tampers with the President's budget.

The guidelines, obtained by this column, tell government specialists how to write speeches warning of tax increases, and give lists of 15 federal programs to be hit, anti-Congressional "one liners" to be used by officials on the banquet circuit, and examples of "horror stories" to be used in spotlighting federal programs Mr. Nixon wants to end.

The idea is to rally public pressure against Congress not to tamper with the budget. The approach is not new. It was used by the

Kennedy administration to push anti-poverty programs and civil rights, and by the Johnson administration to build support for our presence in Vietnam. But the scope of the latest operation, and its tight control from the White House, may be unprecedented, and is definitely attack-oriented.

Kits, called "The Battle of the Budget, 1973," were distributed yesterday morning to top agency officials and public relations aides. The kit includes detailed instructions as to how future government press releases, and speeches, are to be written, listing:

"Major Themes."

"Key Facts."

"Sample Speech Material, One-Liners, Sample Speech," and "Anecdotes" that lampoon unsuccessful federal programs, members of Congress and anti-administration newspapers.

Examples of how "Horror Stories Might Be Used" in speech material and "canned" editorials written for newspapers and television stations include the following:

"Each day the Congress persists in its efforts to foist on the American public a gaggle of runaway spending schemes . . . and boondoggling programs which fuel inflation and threaten higher taxes.

"The pat response by the President's critics is that the President is hurting the poor, not responding to the people and has his priorities mixed up."

It then lists the programs Mr. Nixon has "targeted for cutbacks," and the "horror stories" to be used to illustrate they have been a waste of time and taxpayers' money. They include the Concentrated Employment Program in East Harlem that had "the commendable goal of 1,400 enrollees" in a job training, placement system.

"Only 616 persons were actually enrolled," the guideline sheet says, "while 170 of those dropped out. Instead of the hoped-for job placements of 920, the magic figure for the number of persons placed in jobs was 6. That is to say, thousands of dollars were spent for a program whose final results were a one out of 100 ratio of job placement."

In a section called "Support for the President's Stand," speech-writers are told to draw on Mr. Nixon's earlier antispending statements—which are attached—and to use this followup:

"As President Nixon has said, 'The way to hold the line on taxes is to hold the line on federal spending.' The suggested followup in a speech is 'It is as simple as that.'"

The speech-writers are then given this suggestion for phrases their bosses must use in upcoming speech-making tours. They should tell taxpayer groups:

"But holding that line means doing away with some of the favorite sacred cows that the Congress has funded and refunded again and again for decades." The sample speech continues:

"As far as the public is concerned, these sacred cows stopped giving milk years ago. But each special program has a small but determined band of special beneficiaries—people who have been receiving something for nothing; people who have been getting a free ride at the taxpayers' expense. These free loaders are not going to be evicted without a fight."

STUDENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

(Mr. PERKINS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PERKINS. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to briefly discuss a matter of great importance and urgency. As my colleagues well know, we are dangerously close to a crisis situation with respect to student assistance programs. The well-

balanced and far-reaching student aid provisions enacted last year will be nullified unless we move as expeditiously as possible with a student aid appropriations measure.

Colleges and universities—and most importantly, their students and parents—are deeply concerned and troubled over the uncertainty of Federal resources available for the 1973-74 academic year. Normally, colleges are in a position to advise applicants at least on a tentative basis of the assistance they may expect to receive by mid-March or early April—at this very time of the year. In the past, this has been possible because of forward funding mechanisms and the utilization of tentative applications based on budget requests.

It is now April 5 and there are hundreds of thousands of needy students who do not know whether they will be able to enroll or continue their education next year.

This uncertainty exists primarily because of the administration's position and action with regard to the timing and funding for authorized programs. Continuing procrastination has characterized the administration's action—or lack of it—since the enactment of the education amendments last June. They have moved at a snail's pace with regard to the implementation of the new basic opportunity grants program.

Despite our pleas for action in the fall on funding for student aid programs, the administration decided to postpone their request until after the first of the year. Moreover, the situation is compounded by the absence of budget requests for certain authorized programs for which funding is mandated.

Mr. Speaker, we must now take the initiative and move forward as expeditiously as possible. It is incumbent upon the Congress to clear the air and to provide the certainty we worked for so hard last year in the education amendments. Most importantly, the basic opportunity grant program depends on an early appropriation. This program is the major innovation enacted in the 1972 amendments, and it is the Federal program which holds the greatest promise for meeting the oft-stated congressional goal that no student be denied an opportunity for a college education because of financial barriers. The administrative mechanism set forth in the statute and the magnitude and scope of the program requires extensive planning and preparation if it is to effectively meet the purposes and goals the Congress envisioned. And this requires early information on the availability of funds.

Mr. Speaker, in action taken this week within the Committee on Education and Labor, it is clear that there will be no disapproval of the family contribution schedule promulgated by the U.S. Office of Education for the BOG program. This eliminates any complication in the implementation of the BOG program for the coming academic year, if funding is provided in the very near future.

Mr. Speaker, I join the thousands and thousands of students, parents, college financial aid officers, and many of my colleagues on the Committee on Educa-

tion and Labor in making a plea for a speedy and early resolution of this critical issue.

ADDRESS BY HON. LOUIS STOKES TO FRONTIERS INTERNATIONAL 13TH ANNUAL BANQUET

(Mr. GIBBONS asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks, and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. GIBBONS. Mr. Speaker, this past weekend in Tampa, Fla., my distinguished colleague, Louis Stokes, made an outstanding address to the members of Frontiers International at its 13th annual banquet.

His comments were so timely and perceptive that I thought others might want to share them with me and those who heard his address in person:

ADDRESS BY HON. LOUIS STOKES

Congressman Gibbons, Mr. Stewart, President Emeritus Blythe Andrews, Officers and Members of Frontiers International, and ladies and gentlemen, it is indeed a pleasure to be with you this evening on the occasion of your 13th annual banquet. I need not tell you, of course, of the long history of dedication to service, progress and equality of Frontiers International. I should point out however, that this organization has earned the respect of millions of Americans since its inception.

The desire to provide service and assistance to needy people which was the catalyst in creating Frontiers International has resulted in international acclaim for your many achievements. As the only service organization to be founded by Black Americans, you have also provided a great deal of inspiration to those of us who seek to help people.

And let me say that on this occasion, we can all be proud of your distinguished honorees. It is certainly fitting for this community to pay tribute on this occasion to these citizens who have by their achievements made your community a little better place in which to live.

I have come here tonight as one who has previously addressed chapters of Frontiers International in other cities around the Nation. I am therefore familiar with your deep concerns about your community and your nation.

As one elected to represent people in this Nation, I share with you these kinds of concerns. This is, of course, a fitting occasion for us to mutually explore some of our common concerns.

A few weeks ago, I attended a preview showing of a new movie entitled "Wattstax." The motion picture was made around the Watts Festival of this past year, commemorating the Watts riots of 1965. The entire movie expresses in an articulate way the mood of black America today.

The significant aspect of the movie for our purposes here tonight had to do with the opening of the festival on this occasion. There were 100,000 black people who attended that festival. As the festival opened with the singing and playing of the Star Spangled Banner, no one stood up out of respect to the National Anthem. Persons attending the festival continued to eat, drink, talk and in all other ways completely ignored the playing of the National Anthem.

Last year at the Munich Olympics, two young black athletes had just won the world's highest award for athletic achievement. As they stood on the award stand in recognition of their winning gold medals, they casually conversed with one another as the Star Spangled Banner was played in tribute to their achievement. Since this had

occurred on world-wide television and was disrespectful to America, the Olympic Committee punished them by taking their medals away from them.

Last year, there was a play off-Broadway entitled "Ain't Supposed to Die a Natural Death." Melvin Van Peebles very cleverly opens his play with a small group of musicians playing the Star Spangled Banner. Mr. Van Peebles carefully contrived opening up an all black play with the playing of the National Anthem in order to watch audience reaction.

The results each night were interesting. Some persons stood, some sat, others half stood and half sat. Others looked about them in utter confusion and generally, most appeared relieved when the experience was over.

I don't know how many of you have talked with high school members of your family regarding the Pledge of Allegiance. In high schools around the Nation today many young black students either refuse to stand or if they stand they refuse to recite the Pledge of Allegiance.

When questioned about their attitude they candidly tell you that they refused to be hypocritical. That this is not one Nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. One young man whom I asked for his reasons summed it up best when he said, "Mr. Stokes, I'll stand up for the flag when it stands up for me."

On Tuesday night of this week, according to newspaper accounts, 75 million people viewed Marlon Brando's renunciation of the theatre's most coveted award, that of the Academy Award Oscar for best actor. The following day, the *Washington Post* described audience reaction to Sacheen Littlefeather rejecting the Oscar for Brando. The *Post* said the audience gasped, cheered and catcalled. This same article went on to some extent making reference to comments of those present as to whether Brando had chosen the right time and place.

When the American Indian movement seized the Wounded Knee Reservation last month, they cited job and racial discrimination and a succession of broken treaties since 1868. The real question at Wounded Knee is not which set of Indians should the Federal Government recognize and negotiate with. The real question is why it is that, 105 years later, we are still managing the affairs of people who had managed their own affairs for thousands of years before the *Mayflower* arrived here.

We are now in our third year of the decade of the seventies. This means that we are only three years away from our bicentennial celebration—200 years as a Nation.

As we began this decade of the seventies, it was marked by Trauma and unrest in all parts of our country. Much of it, as you know, involved the students of our colleges and universities who were demanding answers to questions and the resolution of problems which society had avoided for too long.

"They see a world of nation-states with the technical brilliance to harness the ultimate energy, but without the common sense to agree on methods of preventing mutual destruction."

The college students of the seventies evidenced very little support for the Vietnam war. They evidenced a strong concern about the fact that we are not facing up to the problems of a racist society—and they did not believe that poverty needed to exist in the most affluent nation in the history of the world.

So intense has been the concern of young people, both black and white, about our society that we have seen disruption, violence and death on college campuses in the seven-

ties. Thus, we have Kent State, Jackson State and Southern University to constantly remind us of the concerns of young people in the seventies. The price they paid can never be repaid.

This then seems to impose upon you and I, the adults in this society, a greater challenge.

If you and I, here tonight, are in truth and fact, concerned about the ills in our society—then we must dedicate ourselves to a greater sense of urgency in the 70's than we had in the 60's.

The 1960's saw this Nation establish itself as the world leader in scientific and technological advancement by its feat of conquering space and placing the footsteps of men on the moon. This Nation took great pride in an achievement wherein the first step on the moon was hailed as the step that divided history.

But sharing time with this achievement in space in the sixties is our under-achievement on earth in the seventies—our joblessness, homelessness, poverty, ignorance, blight, pollution, and a myriad of unsolved domestic problems which make life on earth miserable for many Americans. The late Whitney Young, in describing this era, said that, "We had become technological giants and sociological midgets."

This Nation must be mindful that a nation which has set foot on the moon can no longer explain to the world why some Americans do not have shoes.

How does a nation capable of building satellite stations in space explain to the world why some Americans do not have a home to live in? How does a nation which learned to provide oxygen and water for men to live on a planet where the gravitational change would occasion death within three minutes explain why air and water pollution remain here in our cities?

How does a nation which possesses the engineering, scientific and technological expertise to place men on the moon explain why every American does not have an opportunity to be educated?

It seems to me that our trips to the moon do not settle for once and all time the greatness of America. Our chance at greatness lies here on earth. One does not need months of laboratory testing to determine that our going to the moon in the sixties merely points up our inadequacies in the seventies.

Now that the war in Vietnam is over, we are being told that there will be no peace dividend for our cities. Mr. Kissinger has stated that it will take approximately seven billion dollars for us to restore the little country that we purposely heaped death and destruction upon. Yet two days ago in Washington, D.C., President Nixon vetoed a 2.6 billion dollar vocational education bill. This measure had been passed by Congress to, among other things, provide vocational training for handicapped people. In vetoing the bill, the President denounced Congress as the "big spenders".

The amount of money we had provided for training handicapped people in this country was a billion dollars less than the amount his Mr. Kissinger said would be needed just to restore the city of Hanoi.

Last night, on national TV, the President told the Nation that it would be necessary for us to continue our national defense in order to remain first in the world. This was the manner in which he attempts to justify an increase in defense spending by \$4.2 billion dollars in spite of the end of the war.

Interestingly enough, Mr. Nixon did not address himself to nor attempt to explain his impoundment of funds and dismantlement of some 200 social service programs.

Also, our economy-minded President did not tell you that this week he requested from Congress 17 new helicopters for him-

self, his family and his staff at a cost of 37.7 million dollars. He presently has 11 twin-engine VH-3 choppers and 5 single-engine models which he is giving to the Defense Department. In his letter-writing campaign which he urged upon Congressmen and Senators, he did not mention this to you.

Nor did he tell you that just this week the Air Force announced approval for the first thirty production models of its new F-15 air superiority jet fighters. Total production is eventually expected to reach 749 airplanes at a cost of 7.8 billion dollars. This airplane is advertised by the Air Force as being capable of out-climbing, out-maneuvering and out-speeding "any kind of MIG you might find in the next decade."

The problem I find with this is that the last plane on which we spent several billion dollars, the F-11-B was similarly advertised. It was hailed as being the finest plane ever devised by the mind of man and was capable of doing everything. They got it over in Vietnam and found out that it did do everything—except fly. It wouldn't even get off the ground.

I could go on and on reciting one instance of governmental waste after another. Suffice it to say that while this kind of waste exists, and funds are impounded and budgets cut, that many people in this society will suffer severely.

I wish that I could show you the thousands of letters that I have received from people who—if the President succeeds—will be left with nothing and nowhere to turn. Just this week, I received a letter from a woman in Cleveland who supports her children on \$42.00 a month in social security benefits. She was desperate because she could not afford the shoes or clothing to enable her to send her children to school in the winter-time.

That is poverty. Being poor is not just a black experience in this Nation, despite what the administration wants you to believe. Poverty—like the President's budget cuts—does not discriminate on the basis of race.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics sets the urban poverty level at \$7,200.00 for a family of four. This means that there are 13 million families living in destitution in our cities—and 10 million of them are white.

On January 20, 1973, President Nixon callously exhorted the American people: "In our own lives, let each of us ask—not just what will Government do for me, but what can I do for myself?" The question is a dangerous one in an era when people's ability to help themselves is dwindling and when a Federal commitment to humanity is needed more than ever before.

People are helpless when they are uneducated; or poor; or sick; when they are at the mercy of drug addicts and pushers; when they are out of work; when living costs spiral upward beyond their reach; when they live in unsanitary and indecent housing; when they are a minority in a racist nation; and when they are victims of a foreign policy that few believe in. Millions of Americans—both black and white—are helpless in this way.

The President's 1974 budget takes 10 billion dollars away from minority, poor and disadvantaged Americans. It then turns around and gives almost half that amount to the defense industry. The budget takes 1.5 billion dollars away from elementary and secondary education and spends it instead on the Trident submarine. It transfers \$200 million in child nutrition funds to the purchase of SAM-D missiles. It cuts health training and education programs by 86 million dollars and then allocates that money to the Air Force for research and development. The President takes 34 million dollars out of the budget for libraries in exchange for the helicopters I mentioned earlier.

According to a citizens' organization for a

sane world, we are number one in the world for military might. But we are number 8 in our doctor-patient ratio; number 14 in literacy; number 14 in infant mortality; and number 25 in life expectancy.

The 1974 budget gives 19 billion dollars to industry in tax welfare. And as much as industry gets, it keeps coming back for more. Penn Central, which would collapse without buttressing, came to us not long ago and asked for 800 million dollars more.

Presidential Advisor John Ehrlichman recently came out with the ridiculous comment that the only loopholes that he can find in the tax system are in the form of charitable contributions to the church and the Boy Scouts. Apparently, he does not realize that economists have proven that if the tax loopholes were closed, then all of the programs that were cut by the 1974 budget could be restored.

Under this administration, the number of poor people increased for the first time in a decade. At the same time, industry enjoyed a 19 percent upsurge in profits. The net sales of General Motors have surpassed the gross national product of all but 23 nations in the world.

Administration spokesmen tell you that they cannot find tax loopholes to help the poor and they cannot find money in the Treasury. What then does the President propose to do? The answer lies in revenue sharing—which is a code-word for "State's rights."

Revenue sharing, the cornerstone of the administration's domestic policy, could well be the last straw for minorities and poor people. It has already been tried in the field of crime control. It has helped cities purchase helicopters, walkie-talkies and armored tanks. It has done nothing to stop crime, particularly in the inner city where the rate of crime is the highest.

I suppose what I have been talking to you about tonight is a need for our Nation to reassess its national priorities. Last night Mr. Nixon spoke of what he called "peace with honor" and "America's finest hour." Platitudes which ignore the realities of our society do not impress me.

I live in a very real world—with very real problems. Last night Mr. Nixon spoke of the fact that it was four years and two months ago that he came into office. I did not need to be reminded because he and I came into office together.

Over this period of four years and two months I have watched the erosion of civil rights gains of the sixties. I have witnessed oppression and repression as it relates to minorities. I have been particularly mindful of the absence of a single civil rights speech in the period of time he has been in office.

The very real world in which I live is more like the world described by the late President Johnson in a speech in Austin, Texas just before his death. During the course of that speech, he said:

"I believe that the essence of government lies with unceasing concern for the welfare, dignity, decency, and innate integrity of life for every individual, regardless of color, creed, ancestry, sex or age."

In that same speech, President Johnson eloquently stated, "Moreover—and we cannot obscure this blunt fact—the black problem remains what it has always been—the problem of being black in a white society. This is the problem to which our efforts have not yet been addressed. To be black—to one who is black—is to be proud, to be worthy, to be honorable. But to be black in a white society is not to stand on level ground. While the races may stand side by side, whites stand on history's mountain and blacks stand in history's hollow. Until we overcome unequal history, we cannot overcome unequal opportunity."

Those were the words not platitudes, of a great American. Whenever this Nation has

set for itself the goal and priority of overcoming unequal history—that, it seems to me, will be America's finest hour.

CALLS FOR NEW INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION ON POW'S

(Mr. YOUNG of Florida asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. YOUNG of Florida. Mr. Speaker, for the past week the American people have listened with shock, disgust, and growing anger as the true story of the inhumane treatment of American prisoners of war unfolds. We also have listened with a soaring sense of pride that our men—after suffering unspeakable physical and mental torture—came off those planes with love in their hearts and "God bless America" on their lips.

The returning prisoners of war remind us of the unrelenting savagery of our Communist enemies, and of the great strengths and character inherent in the American people.

We are prayerfully thankful for the return of our men and for the end of our involvement in the tragic Vietnam conflict.

While my remarks today are limited to the subject of POW's my thoughts go out to all of the men and families of men who fought and returned safely; who fought and returned with injuries; who fought and are missing in action; who fought and survived the ordeal of being prisoners of war; and who fought and gave their lives.

Mr. Speaker, it should be our national prayer that America will never again be required to send men into armed combat—but the price of peace will be our willingness and capability to do so, should it be necessary.

I have asked the chairman of the House Armed Services Committee to conduct an investigation into the treatment of American prisoners of war to determine what can be done, in the event of another conflict, to prevent such barbaric treatment and prepare our men to face the unspeakable ordeals we are learning more and more about each day. My letter to Chairman HÉBERT will be included in the RECORD following my remarks.

Communist treatment of the American prisoners of war violated nearly every provision of the Geneva Convention. While this went on, the United Nations stood by pitifully helpless, showing itself unwilling or unable to serve as an effective force in the cause of world peace. The nations that signed the Geneva Convention were equally ineffective in enforcement of the convention's well-intended provisions.

For this reason, I feel strongly that the United States should pursue the convening of another international convention to review the treatment of prisoners of war, and also to provide means to guarantee that the convention's rules are enforced. I have written President Nixon urging him to take the lead in establishing such a convention, and my letter to the President will also be included in the RECORD.

Mr. Speaker, watching the return of these young Americans from their captivity is an emotional experience difficult to express. Their unashamed statements of love for their God, their families, and their Nation set a beautiful example for us all.

The letter referred to follows:

HON. F. EDWARD HÉBERT,
Chairman, House Armed Services Committee,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR CHAIRMAN HÉBERT: All Americans share in the joy that our involvement in Vietnam has been ended and that, at long last, peace with honor has been achieved.

We have shared in the happiness of the families and friends of returning prisoners of war but, in the aftermath of this welcome home celebration, we are now sharing in the tales of horror and atrocities related by these brave men. We must accept our great responsibility to these Americans who, for so many years, withstood the abuse and torture of their captors, and to those who fell victim to the violent and despicable inhumanities of the prison camps and will never return home.

In light of these authenticated reports of the inhumane treatment received by these prisoners of war, I respectfully request that the Armed Services Committee conduct a thorough investigation of the treatment of Americans held prisoner by the Communists. While we are hopeful that America will never again become involved in any military conflict, should we again face such an eventuality, we want to assure that our men are more adequately protected.

Your attention to this matter of vital importance will be deeply appreciated, and with best wishes and warm, personal regards, I am,

Very truly yours,

C. W. BILL YOUNG,
Member of Congress.

THE PRESIDENT
The White House
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Americans are extremely grateful that our Nation has achieved peace with honor in Vietnam and thank God for the strength and courage you displayed to make it possible.

Recent reports, however, on the abuse and torture of American Prisoners of War held captive during the conflict have focused our attention on the fact that North Vietnam and the Viet Cong flauntingly abused the requirements for treatment of Prisoners of War as set forth in the Geneva Convention. As a consequence, worldwide attention is now being focused on the inexcusable, barbaric and deplorable treatment received by our brave and courageous American fighting men who endured suffering beyond belief.

While we pray that Americans will never again be required to participate in an armed conflict, because of the manner in which the Geneva Convention Accord was flagrantly abused by the Communists and because the United Nations stood by pitifully helpless and because the cosigners did nothing to require the Communists to abide by the terms set forth in the Accord, I propose that the United States take the initiative in convening a new international convention for the purpose of reviewing agreements relating to the treatment of Prisoners of War, and to provide for effective methods to guarantee the enforcement of agreements relative to prisoners of war.

Your kind attention to this matter of vital importance will be deeply appreciated, and with best wishes and warm, personal regards, I am,

Very truly yours,

C. W. BILL YOUNG,
Member of Congress.

FBI INTELLIGENCE LETTER

(Mr. DEVINE asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. DEVINE. Mr. Speaker, on April 3, 1973, a Member of this body charged the FBI was being used as a "political Peeping Tom" by the administration. This charge was leveled against the FBI on the basis of carefully selected excerpts from a memorandum published in February by the Oregon Times, a memorandum dating back more than 2 years.

As a former FBI agent, charges that the FBI's mission is being perverted for political ends always disturb me. I obtained a copy of the page from the Oregon Times in which the FBI memorandum was published, and I have carefully analyzed it. The full text of the memorandum reveals to me that the FBI is carrying out its traditional role as an investigative and intelligence gathering agency, this and nothing more.

Each Member of this body should have the benefit of the entire memorandum from the special agent in charge of the Portland office to all agents of that office dated January 21, 1971. I will read it for the RECORD:

The subject of this memorandum is "FBI Intelligence Letter for the President, Code Name 'Inlet,' Research-Satellite Matter."

"For information of all Agents, the Bureau during 1969 initiated captioned program of furnishing high-level intelligence data in the security field to the President and the Attorney General on a continuing basis. The material to be furnished to the Bureau is not of a routine nature but rather that which has the qualities of importance and timeliness necessary to secure the President's interest and to provide him with meaningful intelligence for his guidance. The Bureau is not interested in mere rumors or nebulous information."

"The Bureau has advised that it will be the responsibility of each Field Office to furnish the Bureau on a continuing basis intelligence items suitable under this program. Each office must, in the course of its normal business and submission of information to the Bureau, be alert to flag specific items for the above purpose. The following, not all inclusive, are the types of information desired:

"(1) Information of national or international significance which is security related;

"(2) Important current or pending developments in major security cases;

"(3) Current information which is representative of or calls attention to a significant developing intelligence trend;

"(4) Material which has a bearing on national security, particularly that from sensitive and/or penetrative coverage of foreign establishments, which could affect American relations with foreign countries, or assist in formulating United States policy.

"(5) 'Inside' information concerning demonstrations, disorders or other civil disruptions which is of more than local significance.

"(6) Items with an unusual twist or concerning prominent personalities which may be of special interest to the President or the Attorney General.

"It is to be noted that the type of information desired in paragraph six may be obtained through investigations not wholly related to the security field.

"The Bureau noted that all information submitted as a result of investigations concerning subversive organizations, new left

groups, racial matters, hate groups, and espionage and counter-intelligence matters should be reviewed daily for any items falling in the above category. Communications concerning subject items should be submitted by the most expeditious means warranted and should be flagged with the code name 'Inlet' after the title and character. In those instances where an article or letter is used, an additional copy should be furnished to the Bureau.

"The Bureau has pointed out that it is absolutely essential that a steady flow of quality intelligence data be received from all Field Offices for this program to be a success, and the Bureau is following the matter closely to insure all Offices participate.

"Action: All Agents must be alert for appropriate items under this program. Any doubt as to the merit of a particular item should be resolved by contacting SUPV. B. APP JR. or SA EDGAR O. INGALLS, JR. (who is case agent.)"

There are a number of points I would like to call to your attention.

First, let us analyze the supposedly sinister code name—Inlet. The subject of this memorandum indicates it is an FBI intelligence letter for the President, and "Inlet" is obviously nothing more than an abbreviation of intelligence letter—about as sinister as U.S.A.

Our colleague's release to the press quoted the first sentence and one-half of the first paragraph but omitted statements indicating that this program only involved data with the "qualities of importance and timeliness necessary to secure the President's interest and to provide him with meaningful intelligence for his guidance" and also omitted the positive statement that the Bureau was not interested in "mere rumors or nebulous information."

He omitted the entire second paragraph, which is crucial. It includes the statement that the material desired is that developed in the course of the FBI's normal business and indicates that the thrust of "Inlet" is merely to flag those matters of prime importance which should be brought to the President's personal attention.

If there is anything evident in our Government today, it is that there is a communications gap between the people at the top and the lower echelons. All too frequently, data vital to the President and other top officials, data they need for decisionmaking, is buried in massive reports and memorandums.

The results of official FBI investigations have always been furnished other agencies in the executive branch when the results include information necessary for those agencies to do their job. In the fields of intelligence and security in particular, the FBI has always furnished the White House with data developed during its investigations which would assist in decisionmaking and has even summarized the more important information for the President's personal attention. Nor is it unusual for the same information to be furnished the Attorney General who is, after all, the top official in the Department of Justice and a member of the President's Cabinet. It is the Attorney General, after all, to whom the President looks for investigative information, and he should be expected to know and must have the benefit of the same

information the FBI furnishes the President.

This FBI memorandum sets forth six categories that would come under the "Inlet" program to be flagged for a summary to the President and the Attorney General. The first five apparently have caused no concern. Indeed, they clearly describe matters that should promptly be brought to the President's attention.

Item No. 6, however, has been focused upon as indicating the FBI is being used as a "Peeping Tom" for the administration. That item requests material with an unusual twist or concerning prominent personalities which may be of special interest to the President or the Attorney General, and it is further noted that information of that type may be obtained through investigations "not wholly related to the security field."

To put this in proper perspective, it must be remembered that this memorandum involves high-level security information which could affect the President's decisions; the instructions exclude rumors and nebulous information; and further that all information in the program is to come from investigations handled in the the course of the FBI's normal business, in other words information developed in the course of the FBI's official investigations. There is not the slightest ground for concluding that the Inlet program is a license for the FBI to dig up gossip and hearsay.

Now, if you will analyze the six items outlined, you will conclude that the first five, omitted by my colleague, could only be derived from investigations in the security field. The very nature of these five items is such that it would be most unusual for pertinent information to be developed by the FBI in any other manner.

However, Item No. 6 deals with people and their activities. Obviously, FBI investigations involve individuals—in criminal cases, in applicant cases, and in connection with intelligence operations in the field of organized crime. It is not unusual for a criminal case to involve a prominent personality whose activities affect our Nation's security.

For instance, Angela Davis was accused of conspiring in criminal acts that resulted in several killings and the attempted escape of several prisoners. This information would not come to the FBI's attention in its security investigations but yet the charges against Angela Davis, and even her subsequent acquittal, would be the type of information which should be brought to the immediate attention of the Nation's top policymakers.

H. Rap Brown, recently convicted in the State of New York, was charged with criminal acts. He is another prominent individual whose activities should be of concern to the FBI since he and his followers obviously could have an effect on our Nation's security.

I can easily imagine many similar examples. The President should know of prominent individuals who have influence in their States and communities or even in the Federal Government who are in frequent contact with known espionage agents. This would usually be developed in a security investigation, of course. But, it would be equally important to our

national security if the same type individual were in frequent contact with the top figures of organized crime, and this information would not be developed in the normal course of an FBI security investigation.

This program, as I analyze it, never suggested that an agent do anything other than conduct the official investigations assigned to him. What it did do was instruct him to flag the most important data which could relate to our Nation's security, so that this material could be considered for inclusion in an intelligence letter to be sent to the President and the Attorney General.

As I have already said, the FBI has always furnished this type of information to the President and to the Attorney General. It must do so. Certainly, from time to time the administrative devices used by FBI supervisors to insure that they immediately see pertinent information may change. "Inlet" obviously was just such an administrative device, to help FBI officials perform the reporting obligations imposed upon them.

I do not know whether "Inlet" is still an FBI program. But I am sure it was preceded by other administrative devices to insure that FBI supervisors were alerted to top-level security information. I am equally sure, under whatever program, that the FBI is continuing to fulfill its lawful and very vital function of keeping the President, the Attorney General, and officials of other agencies in the executive branch of Government advised of information arising from the FBI's official investigations when such information is necessary for each to carry out his responsibilities to the Nation.

COST OF MAINTAINING TROOPS ABROAD

(Mr. CARTER asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. CARTER. Mr. Speaker, the balance-of-trade deficit is increasing. It is my understanding that, at the present time, West European, Middle Eastern, and Japanese Governments and other countries hold 96 billions of American dollars.

For 28 years the cost of maintaining troops abroad has amounted to \$9.8 billion a year. The expenditure of \$9.8 billion a year for 28 years is much greater than our balance-of-payments deficit. Common sense demands that we start bringing these troops home. It is time for West Germany, Japan, and other countries to assume their own defense.

The economies of the countries in Western Europe, in the Middle East and in Japan are on a much sounder basis than our own. The sums being spent on health, REAP, rural development, and other domestic programs, in relation to the vast amounts being spent for maintenance of troops abroad, compare as the puke of a puny infant to the raging torrents of the great Niagara Falls.

I include the following:

Department of Defense, fiscal year 1972 estimated annual operating costs of maintain-

ing U.S. military forces in foreign countries and areas¹

[In millions of dollars]²

South Vietnam	2,590
Thailand	478
Japan	537
Philippines	260
Ryukyu Islands	625
Korea	584
Taiwan	114
Forces afloat:	
West Pacific	228
Western Europe	338
Belgium	28
Cyprus	3
France	1
Germany	2,900
Greece	37
Greenland	10
Iceland	40
Italy	141
Netherlands	23
Portugal (including Azores)	24
Spain	120
Turkey	84
United Kingdom	260
Forces afloat: Near East/South Asia	10
Ethiopia	16
Iran	7
Saudi Arabia	2
Forces afloat: Other Pacific	41
Australia	11
New Zealand	2
Forces afloat: South America	26
Bahamas	3
Barbados	1
Bermuda	19
Brazil	11
Canada	28
Other	235
Total	9,837

¹ Excludes U.S. Territories and Special Locations, i.e., Alaska, Hawaii, Guam, Canal Zone, Cuba, Puerto Rico, etc.

² Department of Defense accounting records are not maintained to reflect total U.S. costs on an area basis. Operating costs for FY 1972, therefore, were estimated by using appropriate factors. Included are the costs of all military and civilian personnel located overseas and the cost of operating and maintaining facilities overseas. These estimates do not include indirect logistic and administrative costs for support from outside of the country, nor do they include major procurement or military construction costs.

U.S. military strength outside the United States of Sept. 30, 1972

Total outside the United States	644,000
U.S. territories and possessions	36,000
Foreign countries	608,000

SELECTED AREAS

Southeast Asia	115,000
South Vietnam	35,000
Thailand	45,000
Afloat	35,000
Western Pacific	160,000
Japan	21,000
Philippines	16,000
Ryukyu Islands	41,000
South Korea	42,000
Taiwan	8,000
Afloat	32,000
Other areas	66,000
Bermuda	1,000
Canada	2,000
Cuba	3,000
Ethiopia	1,000
Guam	11,000

Panama Canal Zone	11,000
Puerto Rico	6,000
Afloat	20,000
Other	11,000

Western Europe and related areas

Belgium	2,000
Germany	215,000
Iceland	3,000
Italy	10,000
Greece	3,000
Morocco	1,000
Netherlands	2,000
Portugal	2,000
Spain	9,000
Turkey	7,000
United Kingdom	22,000
Afloat	25,000
Other	2,000

Less than 250: Antarctica, Bahamas, Johnston Island, Leeward Islands, Norway, Saudi Arabia.

Less than 1,000: Australia, Brazil, Cyprus, Greenland, Iran, Midway Island, New Zealand.

All other countries: Less than 100 U.S. military personnel.

NATIONAL TEXTILE WEEK 1973

(Mr. DORN asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend his remarks and include extraneous matter.)

Mr. DORN. Mr. Speaker, as secretary of the Informal House Textile Committee it is a special pleasure for me to call attention to the textile industry and the contribution its people make to national security and to the quality of American life.

In South Carolina, Mr. Speaker, the textile industry and its 152,000 employees are truly the backbone of our State's fantastic economic and social progress. The textile industry has been a "gateway industry" for many thousands, without which our State's transition from an agricultural to an industrial economy would not have been possible. The new employment opportunities for women and for black people provided by the textile industry have been unprecedented. Nationally, women constitute 45 percent of all textile employment. Black people constitute 14 percent of the national textile employment, as compared to less than 10 percent for all manufacturing industry. Since 1960 the employment of blacks in the textile industry has increased five times faster than in any other manufacturing industry.

Mr. Speaker, the importance of this contribution to economic and social progress in South Carolina and in the Nation is truly incalculable. It is a positive success story of progress, good citizenship, and good community relations.

In terms of national security, the textile industry is second only to steel. In war and peace the security of the Nation demands a strong and viable textile industry. This industry's contribution to the U.S. defense effort, in Southeast Asia and throughout the world, is one of the great accomplishments in the history of American industry. The American textile industry is the most modern and innovative in the world. Its record of productivity is unexcelled. The recent dol-

lar devaluation should have some beneficial effect on our textile exports, but the growth of imports has so far out-stripped our exports for so many years that it may well be impossible to catch up. The future of the American textile industry is bright and exciting if it has the opportunity to share in the future growth of the American market. This will require that the long neglected textile import problem be brought under control through international negotiation of meaningful quotas.

Mr. Speaker, we commend Phi Psi the national professional textile fraternity, for their sponsorship of National Textile Week 1973 and wish for them every continued success in telling the story of one of America's most vital, historic, and progressive industries.

POLLUTION

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Mr. VEYSEY), is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. VEYSEY. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing legislation to place strict emission monitoring and reporting requirements on fossil fuel electric power plants.

My legislation would make mandatory precise measurements of individual emissions. It would require that those measurements be reported in detail and that the reports be made available to the public.

Mr. Speaker, one of the glaring weaknesses in our war on air pollution is an inexcusable void in sophisticated analytical information about smog and its components. We have a wealth of information, but much of it is contradictory and confounding. Further, the credibility gap in air pollution analysis is appalling.

This legislation is aimed at establishing direction and credibility in our system of analyzing smog from stationary electricity producing sources. This is an area where careful monitoring and reporting of emissions can make a significant, immediate contribution to our efforts to better understand and eventually eliminate our smog problem.

Without a better understanding, and without reliable, credible breakdowns of data on the components of smog and their respective evils, we will never make the progress necessary to clean up the air.

BOMBING WAS PINPOINTED

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. KEMP) is recognized for 15 minutes.

Mr. KEMP. Mr. Speaker, there has been a good deal of misinformation surrounding the December bombing of North Vietnam by U.S. B-52's. Aside from the fact that the bombing helped bring about the peace agreement which allowed the United States to obtain the release of our prisoners-of-war, and gave South Vietnam a chance for survival, it is important that we defuse the contention

that the United States was engaging in "carpet-bombing" and deliberate attacks on civilian targets. Our President has been much maligned. The record needs to be set straight.

I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues two articles from correspondents in Hanoi whose observations run counter to those who have castigated the United States for indiscriminate bombing of Hanoi. Peter Ward of the Buffalo Evening News, Ottawa Bureau, had an article in the March 24 issue of that paper entitled, "What Hanoi Showed Canadians." In addition, Tammy Arbuckle wrote in the Washington Star on April 1 an article entitled "Bombing Was Pinpointed."

I insert both articles in the RECORD:

BOMBING WAS PINPOINTED

(By Tammy Arbuckle)

HANOI.—United States air strikes against legitimate military targets in Hanoi seem to have been carried out with almost surgical precision.

The impression after nine hours spent in this city is that Hanoi's people, contrary to some reports, seem to have had an easier war than some.

There are clear examples of the precision bombing in the three-mile drive from Gia Lam Airport to Hanoi.

At the airport itself, direct hits were made on the control tower and other buildings. Only one round seems to have missed, a small bomb or rocket that went into the control tower apron.

The runways and the nearby parking ramp are unscratched. One bomb demolished power lines and there are craters in a bunkered area near the control tower.

Then on the north bank of the Red River between the airport and Hanoi there is utter devastation at the Gia Lam locomotive repair yards.

NEARBY HOUSES INTACT

Scarcely a wall is standing in the vast factory area. The rolling stock sits among piles of iron girders.

At least five locomotives are write-offs.

But just across the main Gia Lam-Hanoi Highway, perhaps 25 yards from the railroad yards, civilian houses are intact.

Then there is the Paul Doumer Bridge linking the north bank of the Red River with Hanoi. Although the bridge is functioning now, it is obvious much of it had been destroyed.

But there is no bomb damage at the Hanoi end of the bridge among the houses and only one crater at the Gia Lam end of the bridge. The North Vietnamese guides with 28 pressmen, mostly from the U.S. press corps in Saigon who were allowed a surprise, one-day visit to Hanoi for the final POW release, waxed less than eloquent over all this evidence of successful U.S. air power, preferring to concentrate conversation on U.S. bombing of civilian areas in Hanoi.

GUIDES SHOWED DAMAGE

The North Vietnamese cited four examples of bombed civilian areas in Hanoi.

One of these was the Bach Mai Hospital in south Hanoi which, according to recent Western visitors, has a machine factory right beside it. However the visitors were not taken there.

Others include the An Duong collective housing center near the Red River, Mai Huong in south Hanoi and Kham Thien in the west part of the city.

We were shown Kham Thien. It looked as if about 60 houses had been destroyed and another 20 damaged.

North Vietnamese officials said about 215 people were killed at Kham Thien.

It was difficult to assess what sort of bombing had caused the destruction as makeshift houses have sprung up on the ruins of the old.

A paper mache commemorative spire said bombings here had been on December 26.

Although we did not see any military targets nearby, there was not enough time to make a thorough check of the area.

CITY HARDLY TOUCHED

Pictures and some press reports had given a visitor the impression Hanoi had suffered badly in the war—but in fact the city is hardly touched.

This compares with South Vietnamese, Cambodian and Lao towns that are completely razed.

One of our guides, Mme. Linh Quyen, who spent six years in London and spoke perfect English, tried to raise some sympathy for Hanoi's citizens.

"It's so wonderful to see the children playing again in the parks," she said. "Before they lived in the shelters all the time, you know."

Several other potential myths were dispelled in wandering around western Hanoi:

There is no shortage of manpower in the North. We saw many men of military age in the streets throughout the city. Many of them were in uniform but some not, perhaps skilled labor.

A trainload of troops passed us going across the Paul Doumer Bridge.

MANY TRUCKS EVIDENT

Although the ordinary citizen is restricted to the ubiquitous bicycle for transport, Hanoi has plenty of truck transportation available. As we inched slowly through narrow streets in the suburbs with out bus horn blaring to squeeze past the hordes of bicycles, many Russian-made trucks went by in the opposite direction, some empty and others with machinery and farm produce.

It is said Hanoi lost a generation in the Indochina war. Without getting into the perennial casualty figure argument, if they have lost a generation it appears they are making up for it fast.

Everywhere we went there were hordes of children, boys predominating, all the way up to age 15. They squeezed on trams, running between the narrow gauge rails around Reunification Lake to squat on the tram's rear edges for a free ride.

As soon as our bus stopped anywhere, they were there again, five or six deep and full of curiosity at the bus door.

They surged forward screaming, shouting and joking near the entrance to Nga Tu So prison where U.S. POWs were held. It was impossible for vehicles to move.

But a shouted command from the elderly policeman and the noise is turned off like a tap.

PEOPLE EVERYWHERE

It is not just the kids. In Hanoi there is an impression of people everywhere and side streets which are just as teeming as those in Saigon.

The people are dressed either in the green of the North Vietnamese military with pith helmets or in poor quality black or white cotton.

The streets may be crowded because there are no shops to go to. The nearest thing to shops are odd hole-in-the-wall places that seem to sell only three main articles: pith helmets, Ho Chi Minh rubber sandals and sunglasses.

There are also some gardening implements for sale.

At some points, crowds swirl from darkened warehouses. It's the Vietnamese version of a queue, and they are lining up for rice and fuel oil for cooking stoves.

In one of Hanoi's main—and therefore less crowded streets—there is a state store selling exotic items such as guitars.

Although Hanoi is relatively clean compared to other Asian war capitals, its buildings are rundown and decrepit, the most modern dating back to 1954 when the French left.

After hours without spotting a single car, we came to an imposing building with rows of shiny cars, mostly Russian Zils and Muscovitches, outside.

The government is meeting, our guide tells us.

And these villas, are they all embassies? They belong to the government, our guide says.

Hanoi's leaders seem to have an eye for some of the good things in life after all, it appears.

A place in Hanoi where foreigners tend to congregate is the Hotel Metropole's massive mahogany bar with ceiling fans, high ceilings and tiled floors. But the Legionnaires and their favorite bar, the Golden Cock, across the street, are no longer there.

We rub elbows with Russians and Cubans instead.

An Australian diplomat hurries out to what he calls "another tough session across the street" concerning new diplomatic links between Australia and Hanoi.

Back at Gia Lam Airport, the airport shop is offering Hanoi's few visitors valuable chess boards of lacquer and wood and mother of pearl for only a few dollars and combs with the number of U.S. aircraft shot down by a certain date. Each comb is made of aluminum and is said to have come from the fuselage of a downed U.S. aircraft.

Thimble-sized cups of tea are served, each cup costing one dong, but our money is waved aside with a smile because the effort of converting U.S. coins is too much.

The people of Hanoi seemed friendly, but the officials don't indicate there's any real change in attitude on the war.

Asked about the continued troops and supplies moving down the Ho Chi Minh trail, Madame Quynh replied, "Saigon puts out these reports because they are frightened now. The Americans are gone and they are left alone with us."

WHAT HANOI SHOWED CANADIANS

(By Peter Ward)

HANOI.—Typical of most large Asian cities is the mixed aroma of open sewers, burning charcoal, and the undefinable whiff of incense. Not so here in Hanoi. The city smells clean and there's a touch of perfume in the air from blossoming trees at this time of year.

A knot of officials led by North Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh, clustered on the damp tarmac to greet Canadian External Affairs Minister Mitchell Sharp when he arrived March 19. They stood waiting before the bombed-out airport buildings, backed by a line of Russian-made black limousines—the only cars we saw that day.

For the 34 Canadian newsmen with Sharp, there were two buses, still wearing camouflage paint jobs. We went through the shrapnel-pitted buildings, past the demolished main terminal, and listened to the story of how U.S. Phantom jets had knocked out the buildings last December, without dropping one bomb on the runways.

A mile away, outside the tight airport security zone, we met the first of the bicycle traffic which dogged us all day.

Our bus driver had an obvious sense of official importance, and he displayed it with a steady blare of the horn, demanding free passage through the bicycles and occasional trucks, as he hugged the crown of the narrow road.

The first major bomb damage we saw was the city's main railyard, locomotive factory, and marshaling area. The complex stretched about two miles and it was flattened.

Jumbled railcar wheels mixed with twisted steel and overturned engines amid the rubble and little repair work has yet been done.

Several houses on either side of the rail complex had also been destroyed, but houses on the opposite side of the street were undamaged. The destruction, we were told, came from B-52 strikes in December.

A mile or so past the railyard traffic stopped us dead at the approaches to Long Binh Bridge, a three-kilometer ribbon across the Red River. The bridge carried narrow-gauge rail traffic in the center, with a 10-foot strip of roadway on either side for foot, bicycle, and truck traffic. You move across it at the same pace as the bicycles, because there's no room to pass, even for a horn-blasting government bus.

Below in the mud of the Red River, twisted steel girders poked to the surface, evidence of the many times the bridge has been destroyed by bombing. Construction work on new piling was evident, particularly at the approaches to both sides of the bridge. Photographs were forbidden in the bridge zone.

We drove through downtown Hanoi to the Foreign Ministry, where Sharp and the rest of the official Canadian delegation were holding talks over tea with Trinh. We were allowed to look into the room briefly, staring across a plush rope as though peering at a wax museum exhibit.

We were in the government section of Hanoi, a district of wide boulevards and blossoming trees, with spacious villas lining the streets, and of parks sporting statues of Ho Chi Minh. It looked exactly as it must have appeared 20 years ago when Hanoi was still the French colonial capital of Indochina, except now the officials are Vietnamese.

Nowhere in this residential area did we see evidence of bombing.

They took the press party next to a complex of old French barracks. A group of Europeans—Russians we were told—lounged at the gate, staring curiously, and we were escorted to rooms in one of the barrack blocks where beer, tea, cigarettes, and mineral water had been laid out.

The buildings were clean and in good repair, but obviously vintage 1930. I asked the interpreter if the Hanoi government used many of these former French establishments.

"This is not French," he said with a frown. "We built it ourselves six years ago."

I pointed to a tarnished manufacturers trade mark on one of the ancient wall light fixtures, which announced the hardware had come from a French company in Shanghai, but the official was not about to be shaken in his story. He repeated: "We built this six years ago."

Next there was a luncheon for us—six courses, Western style—in a building which may indeed have been about six years old. In beer, fiery rice vodka, and a Vietnamese liqueur, there were toasts to Vietnamese-Canada friendship, and then a press conference with the chief of Hanoi's official party newspaper—Hoang Tung.

We asked about massive North Vietnamese troops movements currently pouring men and equipment into the south. The answer was a complaint about 9,000 tons of munitions moved into Da Nang by the U.S. since the cease-fire, and a categorical denial that North Vietnamese troops had ever fought in the south.

We asked which was more important to Hanoi, reunification of Vietnam, or implementation of the terms of the Paris Peace.

The two things go together, we were told. If the peace terms are followed, reunification will come, and the result will be an all-Communist Vietnam.

There were complaints about U.S. reconnaissance flights over North Vietnam since the cease-fire; failure to clear the mines from Haiphong Harbor; and violations of the truce by the Saigon government.

"The situation is still dangerous," we were told.

Our initial impression of the North Vietnamese was blunted considerably by the un-

reasoned party hard line of the brief press conference. For many of the newsmen, it was their first contact with "big lie" policies, and it shocked them.

We went next for a bus tour of the city, again thrusting our official bus and its horn through bicycle traffic jams. We stopped briefly at Bach Mai Hospital, where bomb damage during the December raids had provided such a field day for photographers. There wasn't a window left in the three-block-long building, and at the north end, it was almost entirely rubble.

But what we hadn't known before was also evident. Immediately north of the hospital had been a heavy machinery factory of some sort. It was flattened, leaving only twisted metal and masonry, nothing higher than six feet standing.

Three, perhaps four bombs aimed at that factory had gone astray and hit the hospital next door.

A mile further down the street, we were allowed to leave the bus and wander through Reunification Park, with its small lake, strolling lovers, holidaymakers in rented rowboats, and relaxing fishermen.

The interpreter pointed out several men in uniform with amputated legs and explained they'd been wounded in the fighting in the south. He quickly discovered another subject when he was reminded we had been told there were no North Vietnamese troops fighting in the south.

Wherever we crawled in our bus through the bicycle traffic, the people smiled and waved. Kids followed, laughing and shrieking with delight, hands held out to touch the foreigners.

It was vivid contrast from Saigon, where there are few smiles, and an outstretched hand means a beggar, a pick-pocket, or a pimp purveying his wares.

The people of Hanoi looked happy, clean, but poor. Their mood apparently springs from relief that the war is over, but there could be no doubt of their feeling of solidarity. There were few old people about—mostly young people and kids—thousands and thousands of kids.

The Sunday crowds packed the few rickety street cars we saw, and the city was quiet—against a contrast with Saigon's Honda society, where the air is never free of the snarl of motorcycles until after midnight curfew.

There's a solidarity in the egalitarian poverty of Hanoi which contrasts again with the terribly rich, terribly poor, and predominant corruption of Saigon.

Hanoi has certainly been damaged, but evidence on the ground disproves charges of indiscriminate bombing. Several bomb loads obviously went astray into civilian residential areas, but damage there is minor, compared to the total destruction of selected legitimate targets.

The Paris Peace and the conviction they've won the war is responsible for the holiday mood of the North Vietnamese in Hanoi—that and the universal conviction that it's now just a matter of time until Vietnam is unified under Communist rule.

BELIEVE IT OR NOT

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. CRANE), is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. CRANE. Mr. Speaker, I rise to commend the other body for their wisdom in upholding the President's decision earlier this week on the Vocational Rehabilitation Act.

Their vote in favor of economy in some areas is most commendable, as the Wall Street Journal points out this morning.

I include the editorial in the RECORD at this time:

BELIEVE IT OR NOT

It's true. The United States Senate, of all bodies, has voted to sustain a presidential veto of a spending bill. Not just any spending bill, but a politically supercharged measure that would normally cow even the most fiscally conservative Senators: The Vocational Rehabilitation Act, which the Senate originally passed in February by a vote of 86 to 2.

That it would now decide, by a four-vote margin, to uphold the Nixon veto is one of the first clear signs that Congress may at last be breaking away from the habits it acquired in the 1960s. Not only has Congress spent money on program after program without serious consideration of the total final cost, but it has too often failed to look closely at the mechanics of the individual programs. Only the motive counted; if the bill purported to help someone needy, pass it first and ask questions later.

The Vocational Rehabilitation Act is supposed to expand existing federal aid to the retarded and disabled. Surely these are worthwhile purposes; few other groups are more entitled to society's sympathy. In fact, the program has undergone a fourfold expansion during the Nixon years and now costs about \$650 million annually. The bill he vetoed authorized an extra \$1 billion over three years. Most of the extra money would be spent building onto the existing bureaucracy and duplicating existing programs, but no doubt some of it would reach people who need help.

So in a sense even this flawed bill would be nice to have. But the larger point is that there isn't money to pay for all the worthy projects Congress would like to pursue. Some worthy projects will have to be voted down unless we are to inflict further burdens of inflation on the nation in general and the poor in particular. The only alternative is to raise taxes, and certainly there is no majority on Capitol Hill for that. The 36 Senators who supported Mr. Nixon perceived the larger interest at stake. Indeed, we suspect a number of those Senators who voted to override the veto are privately relieved that 36 of their colleagues were brave enough to draw the line.

The 31 Republicans who supported the President on this issue will go on our honor roll. But given the fierce partisanship that has marked this battle of the budget, a special commendation goes to those five Democrats who resisted the powerful appeals that were made by their leadership and cast an undiluted vote for the national interest: Byrd of Virginia, Johnston of Louisiana, McClellan of Arkansas, and Nunn and Talmadge of Georgia. The 10 Republicans who deserted the President also belong in a special category.

Of course, this one Senate vote is only a beginning, but it's a solid one. Responsibility can be contagious. It can even feel good once you get used to it. And the House of Representatives, which has shouldered all of the political burdens of what little prudence there has been in the past decade, must feel great relief that the other body may give it some help. We're already looking forward to full recovery of the institution. That is, the day when it decides to stop sending to the White House spending bills that have to be vetoed in the first place.

In addition, I wish to commend the President's leadership in returning to the House the bill H.R. 3298, which would provide rural water and sewer grants.

I voted against this bill when it first came before the House, and I remain opposed to it now. The President's veto message was particularly striking when it talked about the inequities which are inherent in such programs.

The President said:

This program also enlarges the Federal responsibility in a particularly ineffective and

insidious way. Experience has shown that water and sewer grants have been distributed in a totally scattershot fashion. Many rural communities, although qualified under the program, have built their own water and sewerage systems without waiting for Federal help. They need no incentive from Washington. Yet, in other cases, the water and sewer grants actually delay construction, as communities which would ordinarily finance the facilities on their own, choose instead to wait in line for Federal subsidies. The result has been a very uneven pattern of distribution. It should also come as no surprise that over time the program has attained a distinct flavor of porkbarrel.

Moreover, by singling out a relatively small group of people to receive Federal grants to help build their private water and sewer lines, this program forces the majority of taxpayers, in effect, to pay double taxes: once to build their own facilities and then again to build the sewers in someone else's backyard. This double taxation leads to little national good and deserves to be stopped, especially at a time when we are earnestly seeking to hold the line on Federal spending.

From the mail which I have received, I know that the vast majority of my constituents, and the vast majority of the American people, support the President in his economy moves. Since my first election to the House, I have consistently supported economy measures across the board, and I want the President to know that I will continue to do so in the future.

THE ROLE OF CONGRESS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from California (Mr. McFALL) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. McFALL. Mr. Speaker, during the Time, Inc.-sponsored symposium on "the role of Congress" in Boston recently, Senators CHARLES MATHIAS, of Maryland and ABRAHAM RIBICOFF, of Connecticut, joined Time correspondent Neil MacNeil and moderator, Hedley Donovan, in a discussion of the ideal approach to our national bicentennial. I am introducing their provocative remarks in the RECORD:

Sen. MATHIAS. Thank you very much, Hedley Donovan, for an invitation here tonight. And I want to thank Tip O'Neill for granting me a visa to come. I am very much impressed with this means of celebrating a birthday. One might have envisioned TIME as having employed a group of chorus girls to come out in appropriate costume and do the Charleston and the Shimmy as chronologically accurate evidences of their position in the national scale of things. But I am so glad that they are doing this.

And I have said to Hedley Donovan that I hope that this becomes a pattern, that as we approach the national bicentennial we can adopt this kind of pattern of examining some of the roots of national thought, national ideals, national principles, national philosophy, as worthy of discussion at a birthday celebration, and not some of the more frivolous means of celebrating which I am afraid may otherwise overcome us as we approach 1976.

I wish that I had had the same experience that Dr. Fenno has had in traveling around the country and being introduced as the best member of the Congress. I have had a slightly different experience. As some of you know, I am a Marylander, born and bred, lived all my life in Maryland. But I had the good fortune to marry a girl from Massachusetts; and a part of our nuptial contract is that we should bring our children to New England at least once a year so that they can

understand this part of their heritage. And when the Congress permits it, we try to do that in the summertime. We go to a little island off the coast of Maine some of you may know, it is called Isle Au Haut; it is about 30 miles off the coast of Maine.

And when you want to buy anything, you have to come back towards the mainland to another island where there is a fishing village called Stonington, where you can do your shopping. And one day when I was in Stonington, I thought I was pretty well disguised. I had on a turtle-neck sweater with a lot of holes in it and I am afraid my toes were sticking out of my sneakers; and I went into an institution which in that community is known as the Atlantic Avenue Hardware Store.

I was looking at jackknives and fishing hooks and other things that you'd like to have whether you use them or not, and from back in the dust and cobwebs of this institution came a down-East Yankee voice, and a man said, "You're Ann Bradford's husband, aren't you?" And I thought that being Ann Bradford's husband was the highest degree of fame I would gain in that latitude, so I said: "Yes, I am."

He said: "Work in Washington, don't you?" And I said: "Yes, I work in Washington." And he said: "Some right smart fellows down there, aren't there?" So far we are on the same track, Professor Fenno. And I said: "Yes, there are some very bright people in Washington." Then he came around from behind the counter—and this is where we go off the track—and he said: "Some down there are not so smart, aren't there?" And I said: "Well, unfortunately they are not all of that same high caliber."

And then, with those piercing blue eyes coming from a lifetime spent on the water, he looked me in the eye and he said: "Pretty hard to tell the difference, isn't it?" So while I wish it were all as Dr. Fenno said it is, I find great difficulty in establishing that.

We did have some hearings last week in Washington on the subject of what we could do about Congress. Let me say at the outset that these were not designed to demonstrate weaknesses in the congressional system. I asked Senator Adlai Stevenson to join with me in these hearings; we wanted to have a bipartisan committee. We wanted to try to demonstrate that there are enormous strengths in this unique congressional system of ours, which is designed not only to be a legislative body, but to be a vessel of power, of power which in many countries is held solely by an executive, but which in this country we have divided between the Executive and Legislative Branches of government.

And we hope that the hearings will make it possible for us to restore some of the vigor of the Congress, which, without question, has been lost, particularly in the last 30 or 40 years. There are many reasons that power has eroded from the Congress. Some of them are inherent in the kind of history of the world we've seen in the last 30 or 40 years.

Franklin Roosevelt in the depths of the Depression seized upon the Trading with the Enemy Act of 1917 as one of the vehicles by which Congress could grant further powers to the Executive to deal with the financial crisis that was then besetting the country. And under the powers that were granted to him as amendments to that 1917 act, in 1933 he declared a bank holiday, he did various things which would have been unprecedented, undreamed of, on the part of the President of the U.S. a very few years before that.

And then with World War II, with the Korean War, with the Viet Nam War, with all of the problems of the cold war, we have gradually been deliberately granting congressional powers to the Executive, to be exercised by the Executive. And over this period of time it's been a substantial body of law.

In addition, there have been some invol-

untary kinds of shifts of power. The media is a part of this. The President, by virtue of an electronic media, first Franklin Roosevelt's fireside chats, and now through television, the President can enter every home in America, and he speaks with a single voice. He tells people how it is, he tells them what they ought to know, he lays down the law in the most primary sort of way.

And if the Congress attempts to answer, express any slightly divergent view, the only thing that, I think, breaks upon the conscience of the American people is a babble of voices. Now, it is against this kind of voluntary and involuntary delegation of power from the Congress to the Executive Branch that Senator Stevenson and I convened our hearings. It was a very impressive experience to me, the kind of response that we got.

Members of Congress, Senators and Representatives, representatives of the press, of the general public, former members of Congress, former Government officials, came in to talk about this erosion of the place of the Congress in our national life today. None of them knocked the Congress as an institution, but they wanted to see it regain the kind of balance that makes it possible for us to keep power from falling into a single pair of hands in our Republic.

The budget is perhaps the best example that I can give you briefly. I think President Nixon made a very good case at the end of the last session of Congress, which Tip O'Neill referred to. He made a good case for the fact that there has to be some restraint on Government spending. He made a good case for the fact that even a country as rich as this one cannot continue to print money, as we are doing in this fiscal year, at the rate of \$40 billion, a \$40 billion deficit, which really means \$40 billion worth of greenbacks.

And if you carry that back a little bit, he made a good case against the fact that Congress cannot with the one hand reduce federal taxation by \$45 billion, as we have done over the last several years, and increase federal spending by \$135 billion, which we have also done in the past several years.

But where I think the President made a poor case was where he suggested that he should take into his own hands—and by his own hands I think we all understand we don't mean the hands of Richard Nixon or the hands of any man sitting in the White House, but into the Executive Branch where there are some several million hands, all of which may sort of anonymously be applied to this task—the job of setting out the whole national fiscal policy and taking from the Congress the constitutional responsibility for the purse.

And on this I couldn't agree with the President. As urgent as the case was, I couldn't agree with the President that we should in the Congress delegate this further power that would really decide what every single appropriation this Government made would ultimately be.

Now, having said that, I think we have to agree that the Congress has got to get on top of this problem. We can't continue to conduct our affairs in the kind of chaotic way we have done in the past. The Congress has got to get some sort of unified look at the federal budgetary problem. We have got to be able to view the whole operation of the Government. We have got to be able to say about what we ought to spend at the beginning of the year, and by the end of the year we ought to have appropriated money somewhere in that neighborhood.

We have got to revise the authorization process and the appropriations process, so that we can look at the U.S. budget as a whole. It is just one example of the ways in which the Congress has got to come up to date. Because if it doesn't, ultimately those of us in Congress will not be able to stand against the demands of either the Executive or the Judiciary, or whatever

force is applied to us, to do the job that must be done.

We could stop it this year because of our great respect for the constitutional position of the Congress in our system. But we or our successors some day will not be able to prevail. The power of the purse will slip away, and it will be our fault for not having shaped the work and procedures of the Congress so as to deal with the problems of our time.

And that, I think, Hedley Donovan, is really the purpose of this meeting. Thank you very much.

Mr. DONOVAN. Thank you very much, Senator Mathias. Our next speaker is all that our magazine *Sports Illustrated* could ask for in a statesman. Senator Ribicoff of Connecticut was once a sandlot baseball player, a high-school football tackle, and he's been a long-distance walker, probably still is, and a low 80s golfer, probably still.

As to our topic tonight, he has had very rich experience at both ends of the legislative-Executive relationship. He was Governor of Connecticut for two terms and Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare under President Kennedy. He served two terms in the U.S. House of Representatives and is now in his second term as a Senator.

This summer the press reported, and I am sure reliably, that Senator Ribicoff had been offered the Democratic nomination for Vice President twice, both first time around and second time around. The two offers certainly speak very highly for Senator Ribicoff's national prestige and vote-getting reputation. And the two refusals tell us at least a little, I do not mean this cynically, of his very keen judgment. Senator Ribicoff.

Sen. RIBICOFF. Thank you, Hedley Donovan, and my colleague, Senator Mathias, Dr. Fenno. I suppose it is because George McGovern was defeated that we are concerned with the excess power of Richard Nixon. I would guess that the reason that Congress is in low esteem in this nation is due to Congress itself. Congress must assume the blame, for it has surrendered its rightful leadership in the legislative process. Pennsylvania Avenue has become a one-way street; and the legislative process has become a concern of the press, a concern of the public, and a concern of Congress.

Congress too often forgets that there are two ends of Pennsylvania Avenue, one end where the President resides and the other end where Congress resides. Not only is Congress a coequal branch, but basically outside of the office of the presidency, Congress has the power in setting up the judicial system and also the Executive Branch of the Government. I think the problem that has developed in the last 40 years is that Congress has neither the will nor the courage to face up to the tough problems facing this country.

To a certain extent I think Congress is too lazy to do the tough work that has to be done, the work of delving into the great social, economic, and international problems that confront us as a nation. Congress really needs no other tools than those it has. Congress has an overview function; and a congressional committee with its broad overview function can delve into, if it will, all the errors and mistakes and failures of the Executive Branch.

Congress has an oversight function; and a congressional committee with its broad oversight function can delve into, if it will, all the errors and mistakes and failures of the Executive Branch.

But unfortunately under our system, a cozy arrangement has developed between our committees in Congress and the Executive Branch. And we find that the congressional committee becomes the shepherd or guardian of the Executive Branch which it is supposed to oversee. We fail to understand the power of the Executive Branch.

The President and those serving under him use Congress as a tool, and Congress has

become a willing tool. Congress is massaged and often seduced by the Executive Branch to get its will. The Executive Branch often lies to the Congress of the U.S., as it does to the people of the U.S. And Congress is too often indifferent to the problems facing the country to go into the details. Time and time again there isn't a Senator or a Congressman who isn't put off when he seeks information, or an understanding of what is happening in the country.

I recall that when I was Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare how surprised I was to find members of Congress wanting to know what the Administration position was, and how seldom Congress itself initiated legislation. There isn't a committee chairman who doesn't send every bill that is presented to him to the Executive Branch of the Office of Budget and Management to ascertain the position of the Administration.

And unless you have a measure that is as safe as apple pie, a measure introduced by a Congressman or Senator independently seldom sees the light of day or seldom gets a hearing. So we find that the Executive Branch has come to dominate the complete legislative process. And it will be so until the time comes that the members of the Senate and the House have the courage of their convictions, the will and the commitment to delve into the tough problems facing America. Executive Branch dominance will continue until members of Congress are willing to battle the Executive, take the initiative and say: "We are the duly elected representatives of the people too; we have our own ideas of how to solve problems, and we just can't wait to listen to what the President's ideas are."

So it isn't a question of the seniority system, it isn't a question of the committee system. It is a question of Congress assuming the responsibility that the Constitution has given it. And that is to legislate as the Legislative Branch of the Government, and to consider itself at least the equal of the President of the U.S.

When Congress assumes that function, then the Congress will regain the respect of the people of our nation.

Mr. DONOVAN. Thank you very much, Senator Ribicoff. To round out our panel our fourth speaker is my colleague, Neil MacNeil, *Time* magazine's Senior Congressional Correspondent for the past 15 years. Neil is a very versatile man. He is an expert on Scottish lore, fine wines, old books. I believe he devastated one or two of your local book shops only this morning. In case any of you are hoping to acquire some early 19th century copies of the *Congressional Record*, they are all gone. Neil is taking them back to Washington.

Neil himself has contributed to the literature of Congress. He is the author of a biography of the late Senator Dirksen. He is also the author of a book on the House of Representatives called *The Forge of Democracy*. Neil probably should be a Congressman or Senator himself, but I am glad for our sake and the sake of *Time*'s readers that he works for us instead.

Mr. MACNEIL. Thank you, Hedley. I want you to know, and especially Senator Mathias, that I am a Marylander myself, and that I really didn't have to go to Harvard. I could have gone to West Point, but I was too proud to talk to my Congressman.

In his paper Dr. Fenno has put his finger on what I regard as a critical point of our examination of the present travail and growing impotence of Congress. The members of Congress, confronted with their own problems, tend to think in personal terms as politicians subject to rejection by the voters. They tend not to think in institutional terms as regards Congress. When they think of changing Congress, they normally think in terms of altering the place to give themselves some extra traction, some extra pur-

chase on the inner processes to their own political advantage.

They not only tend to ignore Congress as an institution, but even as Dr. Fenno has said, to damn Congress for its ineffectiveness and worse. As Dr. Fenno said in his paper, it is the Congressmen who run Congress, and that raises another question. Who is going to care about the integrity of Congress as a viable political branch of the Federal Government if the Congressmen don't?

Of course, not all members of Congress are so indifferent, as the hearings held last week by Senator Mathias proved and as you heard from Senator Ribicoff. But it has been the purpose of Time at this meeting and at others to try to find some answers to the dilemma of Congress's flagging powers and purposes.

At our meetings there have been some recurring themes: the problems of seniority, secrecy, of inadequate information, of the failures of Congress to oversee the execution of the laws it enacts. We have discussed Congress's loss of the war power, of its sagging authority over the federal budget, of its inability to set national policies and priorities through the appropriations process. We have discussed the inadequacies and frequent superficialities of the press coverage of Congress, and the media's glorification of the presidency.

There has been considerable agreement that despite the failures, Congress still holds immense constitutional and political powers, even if they are not now effectively used. There has been considerable agreement that Congress is suffering a deep institutional malaise that cannot be readily cured. There has been agreement, too, that not only is Congress worth saving, worth the efforts needed to restore it as a coequal branch of Government, but that on that restoration hangs the success of this country's continuing experiment with representative government.

Dr. Fenno in his paper has suggested in one important sense that the problems of Congress are not as dire as they sometimes seem, that the brains of Congress flow through the committee system, that not all committees are frustrated and paralyzed, that those that are can be rescued. But in another sense he has deepened the feeling we have of the difficulties in restoring Congress to its proper constitutional role as a policy maker.

He has spoken of the immediacy of the views of Congressmen facing the day-to-day issues before Congress. They live, like many people, on the razor edge of right now. They are, as a Harvard professor of government of mine once said, parochial in time. They lack a sense of the past or care for the future. And as a result, some of the most important powers have simply slipped away over the years.

Take the President's veto power. In the first decades of the Republic, Presidents shrank from vetoing any bill passed by Congress unless that President personally believed the bill was unconstitutional and that to sign it would violate his oath to uphold the Constitution. It was President Jackson who so much changed this view. He vetoed bills he just didn't like. Congress protested his vetoes furiously, and those of the Presidents who followed him; and after a generation of protest, Congress acquiesced.

In our time a new form of presidential veto has emerged, and it is a seemingly harmless precedent running back to President Jefferson. In 1803, Jefferson declined to spend some \$50,000 Congress had appropriated for gunboats to patrol the Mississippi, then a new acquisition. The anticipated trouble there had not developed and the gunboats were not needed.

In later years other Presidents failed to spend Congressional appropriations, normally because the project specified could be con-

structed for less than the amount appropriated. But slowly the meaning of this changed. Presidents began to use this impounding of funds as a form of item veto of congressional decisions.

Just a few weeks ago Congress approved a multibillion-dollar water pollution bill. The President vetoed it. And Congress overrode that presidential veto, thus making the bill a law. The President, however, was not to be deterred. He impounded \$6 billion of those funds, imposing what in effect is a double veto. The relationship between the President and the Congress on that bill, as on others, was a far cry from the early years and with a far different meaning than early presidential vetoes or Jefferson's understandable decision not to build those gunboats.

Somewhere in the process Congress had lost the power to control and decide where federal moneys should be allocated, and that is a pivotal power to any legislature in any free society. It goes to the heart of what we have been trying to do, to find ways to restore Congress to its policy-making function.

UNEVEN ECONOMIC POLICY WILL NOT WORK

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Arkansas (Mr. ALEXANDER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ALEXANDER. Mr. Speaker, the President has asked the Congress to extend the authority of the Economic Stabilization Act for another year. I recognize the need for strong action to bring our National economy into a healthier state than presently exists. But, I believe that unless the President makes a firm public commitment to use this authority more effectively than his phase III program indicates that he will, the Congress must take up the challenge directly.

Inflation, according to textbook rules, results from too much demand for too few supplies. As I understand it, the existing inflation stems not from excess demand, but rather is "administered inflation." That is, inflation created by attempts by business managers to widen their profit margins and labor to increase its wages through means other than increased productivity. This appears to be true in all sectors of the economy, except agriculture where increased demands for food are outstripping the supplies available.

While I do not believe long-term sustained restraints on the economy are desirable as a means of fighting inflation, I am convinced constructive application of controls is necessary until there is clear evidence that the economy is moving toward full production and full employment with enough momentum that removing the controls will not result in a downswing and a new cycle of reduced production, increased unemployment and inflation.

Controls which are not equitable applied to all aspects of production and distribution—including interest costs, profit margins, costs of raw and finished products, wages, and retail prices—will not work. They will not work because to be effective cooperation must be forthcoming from all segments of society. When one or more segments—such as the worker or the producer—feel the control is unfair to them while favoring others opposition pressures will

develop which will bring about a collapse of the controls.

For instance, if a manufacturer's raw materials, energy, and labor costs are controlled, but not his profit margins, the producer of the raw materials, the supplier of energy and the employee will fight against the controls to obtain fair treatment. Or, if the manufacturer's profits are controlled, but not the interest on the funds he must borrow, the cost of the labor he uses or the raw products he must have, then the businessman will soon find his incentives to keep his money in manufacturing gone.

I support an economic policy which would be directed at obtaining maximum productivity, employment, and purchasing power for our Nation's workers. When this House is asked to approve an extension of the Economic Stabilization Act, I will have to base my decision for or against that proposal on whether the controls authorized will be equitably applied to every aspect of production and distribution—whether they will be fair to all concerned or will favor one segment of the economy over another.

THE IMPACT OF THE SOCIAL SERVICE REGULATIONS ON MINNESOTA COUNTIES

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Minnesota (Mr. FRASER) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FRASER. Mr. Speaker, in a March 7 resolution, the Association of Minnesota Counties has outlined its concerns about the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare's proposed social service regulations. The AMC resolution indicates that the regulations could mean the loss of up to \$34 million in Federal aid to Minnesota and the termination of services to at least 70,000 State residents.

The text of the resolution is as follows:

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE ASSOCIATION OF MINNESOTA COUNTIES, MARCH 7, 1973

Whereas the 87 county governments of Minnesota in cooperation with state and federal officials, have developed needed and effective social service programs; and

Whereas the partial funding of these social service programs through Title I, IV, X, XIV, and XVI of the Social Security Act has permitted the development of comprehensive public services and encouraged the coordinated use of private social service agencies with resulting benefits to both recipients and the tax paying public; and

Whereas the results of the Federal, State, and County partnership has been the development of a social service system in Minnesota that is helping individuals to become or to stay self sufficient and as independent as possible of the need for continuing income maintenance; and

Whereas the Congress of the United States has recognized the human and economic values of social service program reimbursement by appropriating a nation-wide maximum of 2.5 billion dollars with a prorated portion to Minnesota of 46.7 million dollars to reimburse state and federally approved social services; and

Whereas the February 16, 1973 proposed regulations of the federal Department of Health, Education, and Welfare regarding "Service Programs for Families and Children and for Aged, Blind, or Disabled" are con-

trary to the intent of federal legislation both authorizing social service reimbursement and appropriating funds for the programs; and

Whereas the implementation of the above cited regulations would have the following effects in Minnesota:

a. There would be an annual reduction of 22 to 34 million dollars of funds available for social service reimbursement in the state.

b. That at least 70,000 residents of Minnesota will no longer be eligible for social services.

c. That the number of persons on public assistance will increase.

d. County welfare boards have levied funds for the January 1 to December 31 fiscal year and would in most cases be unable to provide either immediate or long range replacement of these funds.

e. That the movement to community based programs in the state will be thwarted and state institutional costs will increase.

f. That current public and private efforts toward developing a coordinated human service delivery system in the state will be impeded.

g. That there will be greater distrust of governmental actions by social service recipients, private social service agencies, and the public at large.

Now therefore, the Board of Directors of the Association of Minnesota Counties hereby resolve:

That the federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare is requested to immediately reinstate provisions of its proposed regulations regarding "Service Programs for Families and Children, for the Aged, Blind, or Disabled", which will:

a. Permit donated funds to be used as the state's share for claiming federal reimbursement;

b. Reinstate the previously used definitions of former and potential consumers (two and five years respectively) to allow for the provision of prevention services;

c. Expand the definition of services eligible for reimbursement to allow for broader coverage;

d. Allow states to identify additional optional services;

That the United States Senators and Representatives from Minnesota are urged to:

a. Work for the modification of these regulations.

b. Personally visit with affected social service recipients and providers to develop an understanding and awareness of this problem as it affects Minnesota.

c. Fully communicate with state and local organizations on matters concerning these regulations.

That the Minnesota State Legislature is requested to become fully apprised of the conditions that will result from implementation of these proposed regulations and to be prepared to develop alternative methods of continuing the affected social service programs; and

That all responsible state and federal officials are urged to consider the modification of the funding and administration of human service programs only on a reasonable, phased basis and that all purchase of service contracts executed in "good faith" which are in effect on February 16, 1973, be fully honored for the life of the contract.

The following chart shows the fiscal impact of the proposed regulations on Minnesota's 87 counties.

Of the \$46.7 million available to Minnesota under the State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act—PL 92-512—the State had expected to allocate roughly \$38.1 million to the counties. Under the proposed regulations, however, the counties allocation would be cut back to \$12.1 million.

IMPACT OF THE PROPOSED SOCIAL SERVICE REGULATIONS ON MINNESOTA COUNTIES

	Allocation under Public Law 92-512 (\$2,500,000-000 ceiling)	Funding level under new regulations
Aitken	\$181,347	\$57,920
Anoka	623,000	199,360
Becker	204,928	65,600
Beltrami	265,538	85,120
Benton	93,097	29,760
Big Stone	59,276	18,880
Blue Earth	375,535	120,320
Brown	5,700	1,920
Carlton	142,619	45,760
Carver	191,300	61,120
Cass	276,425	88,320
Chippewa	136,661	43,840
Chisago	129,782	41,600
Clay	117,012	37,440
Clearwater	130,017	41,600
Cook	37,328	11,840
Cottonwood	125,037	40,000
Crow Wing	351,893	112,640
Dakota	297,000	95,040
Dodge	63,713	20,480
Douglas	104,175	33,280
Faribault	107,624	34,560
Fillmore	41,300	13,120
Freeborn	174,731	56,000
Goodhue	158,809	50,880
Grant	22,095	7,040
Hennepin	17,312,700	5,540,160
Houston	93,770	30,080
Hubbard	53,205	16,960
Isanti	102,398	32,640
Itasca	319,619	102,400
Jackson	124,965	40,000
Kanabec	75,291	24,000
Kandiyohi	243,604	78,080
Kittson	36,788	11,840
Koochiching	190,261	60,800
Lac Qui Parle	74,679	24,000
Lake	96,175	30,000
Lake of the Woods	18,788	6,080
LeSeuer	111,537	35,840
Lincoln	35,243	11,200
Lyon	164,805	52,800
McLeod	63,437	43,520
Mahnomen	37,949	20,160
Marshall	55,177	12,160
Martin	136,038	17,600
Meeker	77,983	24,960
Mille Lac	141,206	45,120
Morrison	159,827	51,200
Mower	167,432	53,440
Murray	79,051	25,280

	Allocation under Public Law 92-512 (\$2,500,000-000 ceiling)	Funding level under new regulations
Nicollet	\$62,691	\$20,160
Nobles	113,517	36,480
Norman	46,666	15,360
Olmsted	683,795	218,880
Ottertail	161,060	51,520
Pennington	132,042	42,240
Pine	153,992	49,280
Pipestone	47,501	15,360
Polk	332,337	106,240
Pope	64,436	20,430
Ramsey	6,047,300	1,933,120
Red Lake	44,465	14,080
Redwood	116,692	37,440
Renville	58,807	18,880
Rice	88,638	28,480
Rock	54,227	17,280
Roseau	87,196	27,840
St. Louis	2,822,600	903,360
Scott	343,564	110,080
Sherburne	87,118	27,840
Sibley	71,916	23,040
Stearns	322,158	103,040
Steele	70,429	22,400
Stevens	51,955	16,640
Swift	68,092	21,760
Todd	107,453	34,240
Traverse	33,600	10,880
Wabasha	42,021	13,440
Wadena	118,028	37,760
Waseca	19,900	6,080
Washington	681,000	217,920
Watsonwan	80,105	25,600
Wilkin	39,989	12,800
Winona	227,870	72,960
Wright	120,000	38,400
Yellow Medicine	114,402	36,480
Total ¹	38,100,000	12,100,000

¹ May not total exactly due to rounding.

FOUR STUDIES CONDUCTED BY EPA PERSONNEL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. MEZVINSKY) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MEZVINSKY. Mr. Speaker, when Congress enacted the Clean Air Amendments of 1970, we committed ourselves to a timetable for cleaning the Nation's polluted air. With respect to the automobile, the Clean Air Act provides that 1975 model year vehicles have carbon monoxide and hydrocarbon emission characteristics which are 90 percent below 1970 levels. Nitrogen oxide emissions must be similarly reduced for the 1976 model year.

The law provides that the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency may grant a 1-year extension beyond those deadlines, and the automobile companies' request for an extension of the 1975 deadline is now before the Administrator. One of the findings that the Administrator must make before granting the extension is that the companies have made a good faith effort to achieve the 1975 standards.

Mr. Speaker, I have written to EPA and to the Department of Justice about four studies conducted by EPA personnel for the Justice Department. The circumstances surrounding the preparation of these studies are explained in the correspondence. I found a great deal of the information contained in these reports very disturbing. The major conclusions of the memoranda are as follows:

Damage to materials and vegetation attributable to automobile air pollution between 1953 and 1970 amounted to \$7.35 billion nationally; the direct cost to the Federal Government for this type of damage was \$200 million.

Costs incurred by the Federal Government as a result of injury to health from automotive air pollution amounted to nearly \$2.5 billion. When losses to the Federal Government from damage to materials and vegetation are added to this figure, total losses to the Federal Government are nearly \$2.7 billion.

EPA's review of the technical literature indicates that it may have been possible for the automobile manufacturers to make greater progress toward reducing pollution than they have to date. This review of the technical literature indicates that the companies may have been less than candid with public officials about their capabilities for installing control technology.

There are a number of disturbing inferences that might be drawn from these documents, and we need more information from the Administrator of EPA and the Attorney General. For instance, to what extent can the question of the auto companies' good faith since 1970 be separated from their apparent history of delaying innovation in pollution control before 1970? I also think it is important to know whether the Administrator of EPA has recommended that Justice file a suit for damages against the companies. From the information, it would appear that the Federal Government might have an enforceable claim against the automobile companies for an enor-

mous amount of money; yet no action has been taken by the Department of Justice, despite the fact that the memorandums to which I refer were prepared in 1970 and 1971.

Mr. Speaker, I think that the executive branch officials involved should respond to the questions raised by the reports, and I have requested that they do so.

Mr. Speaker, I submit my letters to the Environmental Protection Agency and to the Department of Justice into the RECORD:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., April 2, 1973.

Mr. WILLIAM RUCKELSHAUS,
Administrator, Environmental Protection
Agency, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. RUCKELSHAUS: At a time when the automobile manufacturers are before you seeking a one-year extension of the 1975 Clean Air Act deadline, I am requesting that the enclosed memoranda be made a part of the official record upon which you base your decision. These memoranda were prepared by EPA personnel in 1970 and 1971 at the request of the Justice Department. At the time these documents were prepared, the Department was considering a damage action against the automobile companies for the losses incurred by the federal government resulting from the manufacturers' alleged conspiracy to delay the installation of pollution control technology.

The major conclusions of these memoranda are as follows:

Damage to materials and vegetation attributable to automotive air pollution between 1953 and 1970 amounted to \$7.35 billion nationally; the direct cost to the federal government for this type of damage was \$200 million.

Costs incurred by the federal government as a result of injury to health from automotive air pollution amounted to nearly \$2.5 billion. When losses to the federal government from damage to materials and vegetation are added to this figure, total losses to the federal government are nearly \$2.7 billion.

EPA's review of the technical literature indicates that it may have been possible for the automobile manufacturers to make greater progress toward reducing pollution than they have to date. This review of the technical literature indicates that the companies may have been less than candid with public officials about their capabilities for installing control technology.

Under Section 202 of the Clean Air Act, a one-year extension from the 1975 deadline for 90 percent reductions in carbon monoxide and hydrocarbon emissions may be granted by you if there is a finding that "all good faith efforts have been made" by the companies to meet the 1975 deadline. The dilatory tactics and injury to the public documented in these memoranda would appear to show a history of bad faith which is directly relevant to your determination of whether the companies have acted in good faith since the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1970.

In addition to submitting these materials for your consideration on the question of the one-year extension, I would appreciate knowing whether there were additional documents prepared concerning injury attributable to the alleged conspiracy among the automakers. And finally, I would like to know whether you made a recommendation to the Department of Justice concerning the desirability of initiating a damage action against the companies.

Sincerely,

EDWARD MEZVINSKY.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C., April 2, 1973.

HON. RICHARD KLEINDIENST,
Attorney General of the United States, De-
partment of Justice, Washington, D.C.

DEAR ATTORNEY GENERAL KLEINDIENST: As you will recall, in 1969 the Department of Justice entered into a consent decree with General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, American Motors, and the Automobile Manufacturers Association. The decree settled Justice's injunctive action against the defendants' alleged antitrust violations dating back at least to 1953. The original complaint in the case alleged that the manufacturers and the trade association had conspired to delay the installation of automotive pollution control devices. You will also recall that at the time the consent decree was filed, there was a substantial body of opinion to the effect that the automobile companies were being treated charitably in view of the seriousness of the charges and the injury wrought by automotive air pollution.

Documentation of the extent of the injury to the public has recently come to my attention, and I commend it yours in the event that it has escaped your attention until now. I am enclosing four internal memoranda produced in the Environmental Protection Agency at the specific request of the Justice Department in 1970 and 1971. Since settlement of the injunctive action did not necessarily preclude an action for damages, your department requested that technical personnel in EPA compute the dollar costs of automotive air pollution to the general public and to the federal government specifically.

The major conclusions of these memoranda are as follows:

Damage to materials and vegetation attributable to automotive air pollution between 1953 and 1970 amounted to \$7.35 billion nationally; the direct cost to the federal government for this type of damage was \$200 million.

Costs incurred by the federal government as a result of injury to health from automotive air pollution amounted to nearly \$2.5 billion. When losses to the federal government from damage to materials and vegetation are added to this figure, total losses to the federal government are nearly \$2.7 billion.

EPA's review of the technical literature indicates that it may have been possible for the automobile manufacturers to make greater progress toward reducing pollution than they have to date. This review of the technical literature indicates that the companies may have been less than candid with public officials about their capabilities for installing control technology.

These memoranda raise certain questions which only your department can answer. Has the Department reviewed this and similar evidence of great cost to the federal government and the general public resulting from apparently deliberate delays? Does the Department plan to bring a damage action against the automobile companies for at least a portion of the nearly \$2.7 billion in losses incurred by the federal government and attributable to what might have been conscious collusion among the manufacturers? The memoranda indicate that the automobile companies may owe the nation and the federal government a great debt—a debt which your department is in a position to collect. I would appreciate being informed of the status of this case.

Sincerely,

EDWARD MEZVINSKY.

THE DUTY ON MANGANESE ORE

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentle-

man from Illinois (Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI. Mr. Speaker, today, I am introducing a bill relating to the dutiable status of manganese ore, including ferruginous manganese ore, and manganiferous iron ore.

Three times, each for a 3-year period, starting July 1, 1964, the Congress has suspended the import duty on these commodities. Although manganese minerals are widely distributed throughout the world, North American deposits are of such poor content that domestic shipments are negligible, averaging about 1 percent of our needs. World manganese ore supplies are plentiful in commercial grades with the principal suppliers to the United States being Brazil and Gabon.

Prior to the suspension in 1964, the duty constituted a handicap for U.S. producers of ferromanganese and other manganese-related products. Foreign nations have generally admitted manganese ore duty free forcing American ferroalloy producers into a less competitive position.

In an effort to provide raw materials at the lowest possible cost to our ferroalloy industry so that it may better compete with foreign producers, I am today advocating permanent elimination of manganese ore duties.

NATCHEZ TRACE PARKWAY

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Tennessee (Mr. FULTON) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, for many, many years now, a number of Members have been anxious for the National Park Service to be provided with adequate funding for the completion of the Natchez Trace Parkway which has been almost four decades from conception to current construction.

The northern terminal of the parkway is just outside of Nashville, Tenn., in Tennessee's Fifth Congressional District. For several years, I have joined with interested citizens in our community and other citizens along the parkway to attempt to secure these Federal support funds from the Government. Unfortunately, the flow of funds has been disappointingly slow.

This year, the Tennessee General Assembly, by a joint resolution, has joined in the effort to encourage the Federal government, through the National Park Service of the Department of the Interior, to test for completion of the construction of the Natchez Trace Parkway in Tennessee.

The resolution was offered in the Senate by State Senator Douglas Henry. I include it in the RECORD at this point:

TENNESSEE SENATE JOINT RESOLUTION No. 21
A resolution to urge the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, to push for completion of the unconstructed sections of the Natchez Trace Parkway in Tennessee

Whereas, the Natchez Trace Parkway, commemorating the historic Indian and pioneer trail from Natchez, Mississippi, to Nashville, Tennessee, has been under construction for approximately thirty (30) years and almost

half of the parkway remains to be constructed in Tennessee; and

Whereas, the parkway, when completed in Tennessee, will provide an additional economic boost for our country by attracting tourists from across the nation and by serving the communities in our area with a vitally needed highway for our citizens to reach their jobs and the state capital; and

Whereas, the facilities and services accompanying the parkway will provide outdoor recreation opportunities for this area; and

Whereas, further delays in construction and completion of the Natchez Trace Parkway will delay these economic, transportation and recreation benefits to our country, while at the same time increasing the total costs of the parkway because of rising costs; now, therefore,

Be it resolved by the Senate of the Eighty-Eighth General Assembly of the State of Tennessee, the House of Representatives concurring, That the National Park Service, Department of the Interior is strongly urged to push for completion of the unconstructed sections of the Natchez Trace Parkway in Tennessee.

Be it further resolved, that copies of this resolution be sent to the Tennessee congressional delegation and to Congressman Thad Cochran of Mississippi.

Adopted March 15, 1973.

ERNEST J. MONTILIO AWARDED CITATION OF HONOR FOR THE YEAR OF PEACE 1973-5733

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. BURKE) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, recently I had the great honor to be the guest speaker at the Beth Israel National Brotherhood Week celebration held during the month of February in commemoration of the birthdays of Presidents Washington and Lincoln. At this ceremony, a good friend of mine, Ernest J. Montilio, was awarded the Citation of Honor for the Year of Peace 1973-5733 for "whose deeds and actions radiates excellence in all directions, and thus brought honor to his faith, his country, and to humanity at large." Other dignitaries of the community who joined with the Beth Israel Brotherhood in honoring this outstanding man included Mayor Walter J. Hannon of Quincy, President Morton Arons of the Beth Israel Brotherhood, and President Jack M. Klaver of the Beth Israel Synagogue.

For over 25 years the Beth Israel Brotherhood has been an active participant in the community, and, as part of its interest in community welfare, sponsors intercommunity, interfaith services. Throughout the years, many important civic leaders and notables have been cited and honored. Ernest Montilio is in illustrious company and deservedly so.

Ernie's outstanding achievements in the interest of community relations and for his understanding of people of all faiths have placed him in a prominent place in the community. He has always been a man of great character and honor—a man of remarkable truth, honesty, and faith. These virtues are displayed in his dedication to family. As I remarked at the time of the presentation of the award:

When a family is strong, your community is strong, and when the community is strong,

the nation is strong. That's why we are honoring Ernest Montilio. He recognizes the basic need of life—a good strong family.

Ernie's dedication to family is manifested in his devotion to his family and ecumenical affairs.

Like Washington and Lincoln, Ernie has shown a deep concern and faithful love to his community and Nation. In his efforts to promote understanding between all men on a local scene, he has brought the community together. His persistent efforts have afforded great results and the Quincy community has recognized his activities of peace and goodwill. He is truly a man who has worked toward the brotherhood of all men without regard to race, creed, or nationality.

This is the kind of man our Nation needs, the kind of man our Founding Fathers were—a man of commitment and concern for his fellow man, a man who recognizes the values of truth, honor, and equality in everyday living. Our Nation has seen many problems and faces even more. With devoted, strong, courageous men such as Ernest J. Montilio, we can be assured that peace and understanding among all people will become a reality—both here at home and abroad.

EVER IN HONOR

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New Mexico (Mr. RUNNELS) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. RUNNELS. Mr. Speaker, on March 24, 1973, my good friend and distinguished colleague from the State of New Mexico, Congressman MANUEL LUJAN, JR., delivered the principal address at the launching of U.S.S. *Valdez*, a naval escort ship, at Avondale Shipyards in Westwego, La.

While it is not uncommon for a Member of this body to be accorded this honor, particularly when the ship to be launched is named after one of his prominent constituents, it is indeed uncommon for any speaker to capture the essential spirit of such an occasion as accurately and with such stark simplicity as did Congressman LUJAN.

As a member of the Armed Services Committee and as a fellow New Mexican who is very proud of our State's military hero, PO Phil Valdez, I wish to bring Mr. LUJAN's remarks to the attention of my colleagues not only as a moving tribute to Petty Officer Valdez but as a lasting inspiration to the officers and men who will serve on the ship that bears his name.

I am pleased to insert Congressman LUJAN's remarks in the RECORD at this time, and I commend the final phrase, "Ever in Honor," to the crew of *Valdez* for consideration as a most fitting and appropriate ship's motto.

Congressman LUJAN's speech follows:

EVER IN HONOR

(By Congressman MANUEL LUJAN, JR.)

It would be very natural and suitable to the occasion for me to open my remarks by saying that Mrs. Lujan and I are honored to be here. But that wouldn't quite be telling it like it is. And this moment is one that calls for the telling of it *exactly* like it is.

All of the honor here today belongs to others, not to us. We are flattered to have been asked to speak at the launching and christening of this fine ship. We are grateful for the opportunity to become a small part of the history of the United States Navy. And all of us share the excitement and suspense as we approach the moment when this beautiful work of the shipbuilders' art slides down the ways to her destiny.

But honored? Not those of us whose lives touch the U.S.S. *Valdez* only for this fleeting moment. Honor is not thus conferred, nor so easily won.

There are those with us today in spirit whose honor will be part of this ship for all time to come; whose lives will be bound up in service of God and country as the *Valdez* takes them down to the sea and to duty.

The names of those men are not yet known to us. They are part of a history yet to be written. But the prologue to that history has already been written, not in words, but in the deeds of the man whose name is emblazoned on the bow of this ship.

No rhetoric, however sincere and well-intentioned, befits this occasion. Any words spoken here will be superfluous and forgotten when the U.S.S. *Valdez* and her men face their moment of truth. At that moment, when all falsehood and unessentials have been stripped away, their actions will be guided by the spirit given to this ship long before her keel was laid. A spirit bequeathed to her by a humble hospital corpsman named Phil Isadore Valdez whose duty took him to a place called Danang on a bleak January morning in 1967.

Let me just tell it like it was.

Phil Valdez was born on April 13, 1946, in the little village of Dixon, New Mexico, to Carlos and Manuelita Valdez, whose forebears had conquered and settled the valley many centuries before.

Phil grew up among the chili fields and apple orchards of the Espanola Valley and graduated from Espanola High School in 1965. He enlisted in the United States Navy that same year and trained as a hospitalman apprentice at the Naval Hospital Corps School in San Diego.

He was promoted to hospitalman in 1966 and served at the naval hospital in Key West until December, 1966. He was then assigned to the First Battalion, First Marine Division, Fleet Marine Force, in Vietnam.

He was posthumously awarded the Navy Cross for conspicuous gallantry in action while serving with Company "B", First Battalion, First Marines, in the vicinity of Danang. His Navy Cross citation reads in part:

"As a corpsman with the Third Platoon, Petty Officer (then Hospitalman) Valdez participated in a helilift with his platoon in support of Company "H" of the Second Battalion.

"Immediately upon landing, the platoon came under heavy enemy fire and sustained several wounded while maneuvering forward. Without hesitation, Petty Officer Valdez ran over seventy-five yards of open terrain, under constant enemy fire, to aid a fallen Marine. He then moved the wounded man to a safe area and, quickly and competently, rendered medical assistance.

"Again exposing himself to enemy fire, Petty Officer Valdez moved across approximately fifty yards of open ground to another marine. While treating the second marine, he positioned himself between the wounded man and the hostile fire. It was at this time that Petty Officer Valdez was mortally wounded by enemy small-arms fire.

"Through his heroic actions and selfless devotion to duty, he was responsible for saving the lives of two marines. His inspiring efforts were in keeping with the highest traditions of the United States naval service."

That's how it was with Phil Valdez in his moment of truth.

And that is the nature of the spirit that will sail with the U.S.S. *Valdez* and her men from this day forward. Those of us here today can add nothing to that spirit. Nothing but a prayer. A prayer that *Valdez* and her crew may sail in honor; in peace if God wills it, but whether in peace or battle, ever in honor. Thank you.

TRIBUTE TO MRS. BOBBY ROWAN

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Georgia (Mr. MATHIS), is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. MATHIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the State of Georgia was saddened recently by word of the death of Mrs. Amelia Rowan, wife of State Senator Bobby Rowan. A devoted wife and mother, Mrs. Rowan was also active in civic and educational activities. Since I grew up only a few miles from their home, I have been particularly close to the Rowan family and felt the pain like so many when news came of her death. We have extended our sympathy to the Rowan family and I wanted to submit for the RECORD two articles of final tribute to Amelia Rowan which appeared in newspapers near her home:

[From the Nashville (Ga.) Berrien Press]
Mrs. BOBBY ROWAN

Funeral services for Mrs. Amelia Rowan, wife of state Sen. Bobby Rowan were held at 3 p.m. Saturday, March 17, in the Oak Grove Primitive Baptist Church.

The Rev. Walter E. Brown, the Rev. Martin Wilson and Elder O. V. Marshall conducted the services with burial in the church cemetery.

Mrs. Rowan, 38, was graduated from Enigma High School and attended Abraham Baldwin Agricultural College for two years. She was a member of the basketball team in high school and college. She was also active in the Farmerettes, a dancing organization which performed at special programs in the college. She was an officer with the Baptist Student Union and a member of the student government at Baldwin until she graduated.

Mrs. Rowan graduated from the University of Georgia, where she received her bachelor of science degree in home economics education.

She began teaching at the Omega High School in Tift County and transferred to Berrien County High School after one year. Mrs. Rowan taught home economics at Berrien and then taught at the Enigma Elementary School.

She was a Sunday school teacher at the Enigma Congregational Christian Church and a member of the Berrien Educational Association of Georgia. Mrs. Rowan was also affiliated with the Homemaker's Education Association, the Georgia Vocational Association, the Georgia Education Association and the National Education Association.

She had recently undergone a series of operations at Tift General Hospital. Cause of death has been attributed to complications as the result of the surgery.

Survivors include the widower; a son, Robert Edward Rowan; a daughter, Ferry Marie Rowan, all of Enigma; parents, Mr. and Mrs. Eskell S. McMillan of Enigma; and a brother, J. C. McMillan of Atlanta.

The body was held at Bowen-Donaldson Funeral Home until 9 a.m. Saturday when it was moved to the Enigma Congregational Christian Church, where it remained until noon. The body was then taken to Oak Grove Primitive Baptist Church at 1 p.m. Saturday.

Many prominent public officials, including
CXIX—712—Part 9

Gov. Jimmy Carter and Lt. Gov. Lester Maddox were in attendance.

The family requested that in lieu of flowers, donations be made to the Amelia Rowan Memorial Fund at Tift General Hospital.

[From the Tifton (Ga.) Southern Congregational Christian News]

FAITHFUL ENIGMA MEMBER AND SUNDAY SCHOOL TEACHER, Mrs. BOBBY ROWAN, DIES

Mrs. Bobby Rowan (the wife of Senator Bobby Rowan) passed away, after a long illness, March 16, 1973. She was 38 years old—a member of our Enigma Congregational Christian church. Her faithful, loyal and dedicated devotion to the work of the church was an inspiration to all who knew her. She was a Sunday School teacher and president of the Ladies Missionary Society. She is survived by her husband, two children (a boy and girl), her father and mother, one brother and her five sisters, whom she loved so dearly and a multitude of grief stricken friends!

From her pastor, we quote, "I have never seen as many people drawn closer to the Lord, than were by her sweet Christian spirit and courageous example—patiently enduring terrible suffering for so long. Three days before she passed, she revived, giving us hopes of recovery. However, she knew that her time of departure had come. She requested to see her family, parents and others. When they came, she said "I have only three days left," etc., that testimony is just too tender and touching to print, but she concluded by saying "Heaven is my home".

Her pastor, Rev. Walter Brown, was in charge of the services. Her body lay in state, at the Enigma Church, from 9:00 a.m. till 1:00 p.m. The funeral and burial held at Oak Grove Church. Love and sympathy, from friends everywhere, go to these sorrowing friends.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Ms. ABZUG) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. ABZUG. Mr. Speaker, as we remember the tragedy and terror of this April week 5 years ago, we are forced to ask ourselves whether our leaders have learned anything at all from the life and the death of Martin Luther King, Jr. He was truly a prophet but his words, often quoted, go unheeded.

He counseled love and nonviolence and reconciliation. Yet in the 5 years since he was struck down, our Nation has continued to inflict violence of the most heinous sort. Even today our bombs burst over the tiny country of Cambodia. We can be sure that if Dr. King were alive, he would be speaking out daily against such crimes.

Our cities, too, are mute evidence of the lack of concern, at the highest levels of Government, for the people about whom Dr. King cared most, the poor and the deprived. Whole blocks of our big cities, gutted by fire during that terrible time, still stand empty and crumbling. President Nixon walked along 14th Street in Washington 4 years ago and promised Federal help to rebuild the devastated area. But the area is not rebuilt, nor are those elsewhere.

On the contrary, money for cities has

been cut. Programs that helped people to help themselves, building the kind of self-reliance Dr. King wanted, have been cut or eliminated. Child care, health, housing, education, work and training programs are being demolished with callous unconcern. The young and the old, the sick and the handicapped, are suffering more than ever.

We must constantly remember and work for the values that this great man stood for.

We must listen to the cries of anguish and outrage that come from our districts as people learn that their jobs are ending, their child care centers closing, their medical bills soaring, their diet being dangerously reduced, their rent soaring.

We must find ways to make the White House hear; and we in the Congress must act to prevent the impounding of money we have already appropriated for human needs.

We must listen, too, as the victims of the Thieu regime in South Vietnam make themselves heard from prison—remembering all the days of his life that Martin Luther King spent in prison, struggling against injustice.

We must listen to the Southeast Asians who want the right to determine their own future, without the veto power of American bombs—remembering that human dignity and choice were Dr. King's deep concerns.

If we would truly honor this man, we will pass legislation that cuts off money for death and turns it toward life. We will stop building useless weapons, stockpiled high enough to destroy the world many times over. We will start building cities, and lives, to fulfill human needs.

MINORITY BROADCASTERS OPPOSE CHANGE IN PROCEDURES TO CHALLENGE LICENSE RENEWALS

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. RANGEL), is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. RANGEL. Mr. Speaker, this morning the Reverend H. Carl McCall, president of radio station WLIB-AM in New York City and president of the Association of Minority Broadcasters, testified in behalf of the Association of Minority Broadcasters before the communications subcommittee of the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

Prior to his appearance before the subcommittee there was a press conference in which the Reverend McCall was joined by the Honorable RALPH METCALFE, the Honorable SHIRLEY CHISHOLM, and me to announce the opposition of black owners of radio stations to the proposed license renewal legislation introduced by Congressman BROTHILL of North Carolina. This legislation, H.R. 3854, which is supported by the National Association of Broadcasters, would extend the license term for the holding of broadcast licenses from the present 3 to 5 years and would provide that the Federal Communications Commission must renew a broadcaster's license upon the showing of a good faith effort to serve the needs of the total community in its broadcast area.

and the demonstration of the absence of a callous disregard for the law or the Commission's regulations.

These amendments to the present communications law will have the effect of making it much more difficult for community groups and private citizens to challenge the license renewals of television and radio stations that have been unresponsive to community needs. The Broyhill bill will tend to concretize the license of existing broadcasters and make it more difficult for blacks to enter the broadcast industry.

The gains made by blacks and other minorities in participation in the media in recent years are a direct result of television and radio stations responding to pressure brought by local community groups at license renewal time. If it was not for this pressure on television and radio stations to prove that they truly serve the total community, and the fear that stations which did not respond would not have their licenses renewed by the Federal Communication Commission, television, would still be the vast white wasteland it was in the early 1960's. It was when station WMAL in Washington was challenged because of the absence of black-oriented programming that it and other stations began to hire blacks and place them before the cameras. In New York City, a like challenge to station WPIX brought the same result.

Now the broadcasting industry has struck back and we who represent the black community must act to preserve the gains made by our community.

I submit, for the attention and information of my colleagues, the statement prepared by Reverend McCall as his testimony before the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee.

STATEMENT OF THE REVEREND H. CARL MCCALL, PRESIDENT OF THE INNER CITY BROADCASTING CORPORATION AND CHAIRMAN OF THE ASSOCIATION OF MINORITY BROADCASTERS BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCE AND POWER OF THE COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES, APRIL 5, 1973.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee, I am H. Carl McCall, President of the Inner City Broadcasting Corporation which owns and operates WLIB-AM, New York and Chairman of the Association of Minority Broadcasters, which represents the Black-owned stations. I thank you for the opportunity to appear before the Subcommittee to present to you our views on the proposed license renewal legislation.

The views outlined in this statement are supported by radio stations WGRT, Chicago, WTLN, Indianapolis, WILD, Boston, WAMO, Pittsburgh, WUFO, Buffalo, WSOK, Savannah, WHUR, Washington, D.C., WNOV, Milwaukee and WLIB, New York.

Last year, your colleagues in the House, members of the Congressional Black Caucus, summed up its appraisal of the media after a series of hearings on the communications industry. The Caucus stated: "There is a widespread, long-standing, and deeply entrenched racism among the entire mass communications media. . . . There is 'a clear pattern of systematic exclusion, distortion and deliberate mishandling' of news of Black people, communities and cultures."

Inner City Broadcasting Corporation came into being to combat the situation. Inner City is a Black company comprised of a cross-section of investors, from doctors and min-

isters to housewives. Inner City's application for acquisition of WLIB-AM was approved by the Federal Communications Commission on June 23, 1972. Financing for the \$1.7 million purchase of the 10,000 watt station came from selling stock to some 50 Black investors and loans from Chemical Bank and the Ban Cap Corporation, a small business development fund. WLIB serves, primarily, the Black community in the New York Metropolitan Area.

The license transfer came at a time when Blacks throughout the country were seeking more control and influence in the communications industry.

We have a very special responsibility to make our station a significant vehicle for informing and educating the community. WLIB provides access to all segments of the community so that they may express their ideas and opinions about important issues. And we do not rest on the assumption that because the facilities are available they will be utilized by the community. Our job is to actively seek out people to use WLIB's facilities and then provide them with the necessary technical assistance.

All radio stations have the responsibility not only to entertain, but to educate and inform its listeners. For so long, the Black population has been alternately denied vitally relevant information or misinformed, perhaps, because there are so few Black owned stations (only 23 of a total 8,000 radio and television stations) to serve the entire Black population of America.

Mr. Chairman, as broadcasters and businessmen, we recognize the need for stability in our industry. We also recognize the need for, and equity in, reasonable assurances that a broadcaster who has done a responsible job will have his license renewed. However, as broadcasters, as businessmen, as responsible citizens, and as Blacks, we also recognize that success in the marketplace should be the handmaiden of success in rendering service to the public. We do not—indeed, cannot—subscribe to a business, regulatory, or legal philosophy that permits success in the marketplace to be achieved at the expense of squandering a valuable social resource—whether the resource be labeled "public airwaves" or private licenses.

And herein we believe lies the infirmity in the proposed legislation. The legislation—which is embodied in H.R. 3854—is in part responsive to the legitimate concerns of all broadcasters, including us. Yet we feel that the bill is deficient in that it virtually frees the broadcaster of any definable or enforceable responsibility to serve his community. We believe this shortchanges not only the public but the industry as well.

INTERESTS TO BE SERVED BY LICENSE RENEWAL LEGISLATION

Any license renewal legislation must accommodate two basic interests. First, the legislation should provide some protection for the broadcaster who has adequately fulfilled his public obligations. A broadcaster who has adequately met his community's needs and otherwise been in substantial conformance with F.C.C. rules should have little to fear from either competing applicants or petitioners to deny. The protection of competent broadcasters advances the interests of both the broadcasters and the public. But neither of those interests is served by protecting a broadcaster who has failed to meet his community's needs. Indeed, all broadcasters have an interest in purging from our ranks such a licensee, for he is a mark against all of us.

The second interest which renewal legislation must accommodate is the public's right to some assurance that its needs will remain the cornerstone of good broadcasting. The most effective and appropriate way to make this assurance is to provide the public with some tools to make a broadcaster both responsive and responsible. Indeed, a broadcaster who is neither responsive nor respon-

sible should be put out of business by the public.

While we have called the public's needs a second interest to be served by renewal legislation, it is in reality a mirror image of our interests as broadcasters. The public too has an interest in stability but not in the expense of entrenching a system of broadcasting which is insensitive to its desires.

Thus, the interests of the broadcaster and the public interest rather than conflict, they interface, move in opposite directions and may even rub against each other. But in an optimal system, these two interests are, in effect, mirror images of each other. Like mirror images, these interests move together even while they stand on opposite sides of the looking glass. One cannot challenge the other, or the looking glass, without challenging itself. The interests must accommodate themselves to each other: the public interests must reflect private interests and vice-versa. It is the vice-versa that is ignored by the Bill.

II. THE BILL DOES NOT REFLECT AN ACCOMMODATION OF PRIVATE INTERESTS AND THE PUBLIC INTERESTS

The Bill contains two basic parts. First, the Bill would extend the license term to five years. We support the extension of the license term to five years. We think this is necessary to allow a broadcaster—especially news broadcasters, as most of us are and as any Blacks entering broadcasting will be—adequate opportunity to demonstrate the full value of his services. As such, the extension promotes improved service as well as enhances business opportunities. It allows the two interests to move together.

The second part of the Bill concerns license renewals, the core of stability in the broadcasting industry. The bill provides that the Commission shall renew a broadcaster's license if (1) his "broadcast service during the preceding license period has reflected a good-faith effort to serve the needs and interests of its area . . ." and (2) he "has not demonstrated a callous disregard for law or the Commission's regulations. (Emphasis supplied.)"

We cannot support these provisions for at least two reasons. First, these two provisions, considered together, offer virtually no assurance that a broadcaster will be responsive to the needs of his community. Indeed, they would permit a retrogression to the time when most broadcasters ignored large segments of people—especially Blacks and other minorities—in their areas of service.

A broadcaster's "good faith" provides no assurance with respect to the quality of programming. The best of intentions could conceivably result in the worst of performances. We do not believe that any broadcaster's performance should be measured by his intentions. If intentions were the measure of success in public life or in the market place, we would have a far different system. There would be more than a handful of Black broadcasters, and the plight of Black people in broadcasting would be different. When Blacks have sought access to the marketplace, there is talk of qualifications, track records, proven performance, etc. Now that Blacks have begun to establish these credentials, we think these criteria should continue to prevail instead of changing the criteria from "performance" to "intentions."

The difficulty is compounded by the fact that it is almost impossible to establish a licensee's "bad faith". There is practically no means to penetrate a broadcaster's intentions. The broadcasters motivated by racial prejudice, for example, could easily ascribe a lack of Black programming to financial difficulties, employment problems, or similar rationalizations.

The second reason why we cannot support these provisions is that they indiscriminately protect the successful broadcaster as well as the unsuccessful. The broadcaster who

has worked diligently to do an adequate or even outstanding job is in no better position than the broadcaster who failed to meet his community's needs. Stated conversely, the broadcaster who has done nothing to be responsive is in no worse position than the broadcaster who has successfully met community needs. It helps neither the industry nor the public to cast diligent licensees in the same mold as those who render little or no service.

Nor can we support insulation of a broadcaster who fails repeatedly to adhere to applicable law or F.C.C. policies but does not cross the threshold of a "callous disregard" for those laws and policies. If a licensee fails to adhere to applicable law and policy—even assuming that that failure did not reflect a "callous disregard"—then very serious questions are raised as to whether that licensee possesses the requisite character qualifications to hold a license and as to whether that licensee is actually serving the needs of his community.

Moreover, a "callous disregard" for the law means a hardened practice of ignoring law and policy. It reflects the licensee's *intention* to disobey the law and not mere errors in judgement. In our view, a broadcaster who shows a callous disregard for law and F.C.C. policy is not entitled to have his license renewed under any circumstances. Otherwise, to cite but one example, the law may permit the license renewal of a broadcaster who *consciously* adhered to a policy of racial discrimination in programming and employment. We cannot retreat to that.

The Bill—however well intentioned—does a disservice to the broadcasting industry. It would, in effect, sanction the performance of the most derelict of licensees. And the ultimate result could be not only a deterioration of service to the public but, of equal importance, an erosion of the professional respect which we have worked so hard to develop.

III. THERE ARE REVISIONS TO EXISTING STATUTES WHICH WOULD ACCOMMODATE OUR INTERESTS WITH THE INTERESTS OF THE PUBLIC

The criticisms which we have made of the Bill have prompted us to consider what is a more reasonable alternative. While there is more than one way in which the two interests we have delineated above can be accommodated, we have prepared draft legislation which we find satisfactory.

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Section 307 (d) shall be amended by striking the first two sentences and inserting the following: 'No license granted for the operation of any class of station shall be for a longer term than five years and any license granted may be revoked as herein after provided. Upon the expiration of any license, upon application therefore, a renewal of such license may be granted from time to time for a term not to exceed five years if the Commission finds that public interest, convenience, and necessity would be served thereby: Provided, however, that in any comparative hearing for the renewal of a broadcast license, the applicant for renewal who is legally, financially, and technically qualified shall receive a preference if his service during the preceding license period has been substantially attuned to meeting his community's needs and interest, and that if the applicant for renewal receives this preference, and if the operation of the station has not otherwise been characterized by any serious deficiency, then the applicant for renewal shall not lose his license to a competing applicant unless the competitor offers proposals for service which are clearly superior to those of the renewal applicant and the competitor demonstrates a high probability that his proposals can be and will be implemented; and that any applicant applying for renewal for the first time who acquired his license as a result of a com-

parative hearing involving a renewal applicant shall be held strictly accountable for any deviations from the proposals advanced in this application for a construction permit; And Provided further that in any other hearing, an application for renewal shall be granted if the renewal applicant is legally, financially, and technically qualified and if his service during the last license period has been substantially attuned to meeting his community's needs and interests, and if the operation of the station has not otherwise been characterized by any serious deficiency.

A. Security for the broadcaster

Our draft legislation retains the five year license term. Moreover, when facing either petitions to deny or competing applications, the broadcaster who has done his job will be rewarded.

If a broadcaster's service has been substantially attuned to his community's needs and interests, then he will be given a preference in any comparative hearing with a competing applicant. Moreover, in no event can a competitor assume the incumbent's license unless the competitor demonstrates that his proposals for service are better than the incumbent's and that there is a high probability that those better proposals will be implemented. Incumbents are thus provided with a double insulation against "blue sky" applicants. First, the incumbent's own substantial service will include proposals that are difficult to overcome. Second, any competing applicant trying to out-propose the incumbent will bear a heavy burden of proof at the outset and will be held strictly accountable for any deviations from his proposals. Thus, a broadcaster who is doing a good job need not fear that his license will be lost because of a competitor's empty proposals.

If a broadcaster's service has been substantially attuned to his community's needs and interest, he would overcome any petition to deny. Broadcasters who have not provided adequate service should not be able to survive a challenge.

B. Service to the public

The measure of licensee's performance will be his actual success in meeting his community's needs and interests. A licensee cannot escape scrutiny—or perhaps even the loss of his license—merely because he acted in "good faith" in the last license period. Results—not intentions—remain the touchstone of good broadcasting. If a petition to deny demonstrates that the broadcaster's service was not substantially attuned to meeting his community's needs and interests, only then is his license in danger.

In addition, competition will not be eliminated entirely. A licensee who has rendered inadequate service would be vulnerable to a competitor who offers better proposals (but only if the competitor demonstrates a high probability of performance). Since the scope of competition is narrow, it introduces little insecurity to the broadcaster who has fulfilled his obligation. The limited competition, however, does help to insure that licensees will render adequate service.

We believe that the draft legislation we have proposed (or something similar to it) is essential if we are to have both stability and good service in broadcasting. While we all have vested interests to protect, we should not sacrifice professional respect and the community's needs on the altar of those interests.

We recognize that there exists some amount of tension between the responsibility to serve the community and the task of operating a profitable business. But we are confident that we will realize the way to serve both interests and in doing so, we will have provided a model for the entire industry.

Our share of and influence in the industry is still not great enough for us to forsake those who are still trying to get in. Perhaps, if and when our piece of the pie becomes

as large as that of the 8,000 white broadcast station owners, we will be ready to join forces with the industry in making it an exclusive club.

CHILDREN AND YOUTH AND MATERNITY AND INFANT CARE PROJECTS MUST BE SAVED

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from New York (Mr. KOCH) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. KOCH. Mr. Speaker, I wish to bring to your attention, and to the attention of our colleagues, the present situation of the children and youth and maternity and infant care projects. These projects, funded under title V of the 1967 Social Security Act, are now slated to expire on June 30, 1973.

I am pleased to say that on March 21, Chairman WILBUR D. MILLS told national representatives of the projects that he would personally support legislation to guarantee the extension of these directly funded Federal projects for another year.

I have introduced legislation on the House side with over 50 cosponsors to extend these projects. Next week, Senators MONDALE and PERCY will be introducing legislation to provide for a 2-year extension of title V.

It is essential that these projects be continued and that the authority for them be given as soon as possible. Budgetary problems and the lack of legislative action are contributing to a lack of confidence in the Federal commitment to maternal and child health. This must be rectified immediately and can only be done through immediate congressional action to guarantee the life of these projects.

Congressional approval of an extension would insure the continued operation of 59 C. & Y. projects in 28 States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands, and 56 M. & I. projects in 34 States, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. These projects serve over 1 million persons of lower socioeconomic levels in central cities and rural areas. New York City has nine C. & Y. and 14 M. & I. projects currently in operation.

These C. & Y. and M. & I. projects represent one of the major reservoirs of experience in comprehensive health care today, especially to the poor children of the country. They have had extraordinary accomplishments. In the city of New York, the perinatal mortality rate—mortality of the fetus during the last month of pregnancy and the first week of life—is lower for women served by the M. & I. programs than for all the women in the entire city.

This week the American Academy of Pediatrics has sent an information kit to tell the M. & I. and C. & Y. story to all the major papers and TV stations in cities across the country that have such a project. The American Academy of Pediatrics is to be commended for its initiative in seeking to improve the health of children in this country and in alerting the public to the dimensions of the problems which deprive children of their chance for optimum health.

DR. SIDNEY FARBER

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. BOLAND) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to a great man. Dr. Sidney Farber, the internationally known authority on cancer in children, and founder of the Jimmy Fund, passed away last Friday evening in his office at the Children's Cancer Research Foundation in Roxbury.

We will all miss this eminent man. He brought to his work a special zeal and a genius that few men have, and fewer still are able to harness so effectively to help their fellow man. He has made a great contribution to humanity that will long be remembered.

I recall vividly the appearance of Dr. Farber in 1959 when he came before our appropriations subcommittee with other national leaders in medicine to urge strong support of the medical research program being carried out in the Veterans' Administration hospitals.

He appeared as a citizen, deeply interested in the care of patients and medical research. He expressed praise for the high quality of clinical investigation in the various programs of the Veterans' Administration. He told us how chemotherapy was providing new forms of treatment for patients, and that the VA standards of clinical investigation and the quality of their work was second to none.

This encouragement and constructive concern in support of things he believed in are hallmarks of his invaluable contribution to society.

He was one of the finest, one of the best informed, and one of the most effective witnesses ever to come before the Congress. This is a view that was shared by the chairman of our subcommittee at the time, the late Albert Thomas, and by many others.

In the long and terrible struggle against cancer, Dr. Farber stands out as one of the earliest researchers who recognized the great potential of chemicals in treating this dread disease. In 1947 he discovered that the drug Aninopperin and the related chemical Methatrexape could bring a temporary but complete remission of symptoms in acute leukemia.

Before he began his work, a child afflicted with leukemia faced only weeks or months of life. Today, children everywhere enjoy—not weeks—but often many years of useful life through chemotherapy and radiotherapy developed by Dr. Farber and his associates at the Jimmy Fund Center.

So intense was his energy and devotion that his talents spread beyond his work in cancer research. He was the first to describe cystic fibrosis as a generalized disorder and with his colleagues discovered eastern equine encephalitis.

Much of his work on cancer was accomplished at the Jimmy Fund Center and the Charles A. Dana Cancer Center. These centers were his life dreams, and he was the driving force that made them a reality.

At the Jimmy Fund Center, it was Dr.

Farber who established the policy that no parents be forced to pay for treatment of their children. This was typical of his generosity and kindness, for he knew from his years of work that there is no sadder sight than a seriously ill child. It was this sight that moved him to devote his life to relieve the suffering of children and give both children and their parents new hope and a new beginning.

An exceptional organizer and administrator, Dr. Farber had that unique ability to cultivate the talents of many men and bring them together in the war against cancer.

Dr. Farber is gone and cancer is still with us, but his work lives on. Many times he has expressed his optimism that a cure to cancer would be found soon because of the factual evidence of progress. Someday the secret will inevitably be unlocked and a cure will be found. His work is one of the keystones in the struggle of many people to find that cure.

While Dr. Farber's death is a loss to the Congress and to the country, it is a very special loss to those of us who have had the rare privilege to know him and to know his work intimately. I want to express my sincere condolences to Dr. Farber's wife and his family, and my prayers are with them in this hour of his passing.

A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM FOR SENIOR CITIZENS

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the Record and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today my comprehensive program for senior citizens. It is a series of 14 bills designed to fill voids in the life of older people caused by inflation and oversight on the part of the lawmakers. Government frequently takes care of the smallest needs of big business while ignoring the greatest needs of a large part of our population—the elderly.

As long as we shirk our responsibility to provide an adequate income for our senior citizens there will be a need for the type of legislation I am introducing today. This is a series of bills to assure certain dignities of life for the elderly.

Haggling to provide optometric care or bribing States and municipalities to provide reduced bus fares will continue to be the task of Congress as long as the elderly suffer hardship to buy eyeglasses or must deny themselves when they wish to see a movie because of high priced tickets and transportation fares. Each of these bills will be a partial advance in assuring a full and satisfying life for them.

The first group of bills is addressed to medical problems. Medicare has been a financial boon and an admission that medical treatment is the bedrock of concern at this time of life. The fear that illness will destroy their financial independence, leaving them defenseless, is a psychological burden often as serious as physical impairment. A number of holes remain in the current financing system.

The costs of dental care, eye care, chiropractors' services, and other medical needs are not presently covered. There should be no limitations on the deduction of legitimate medical expenses whether the aged individual is self-supporting or a dependent.

While medical benefits are increased other basic needs must be met. Inflationary pressures on the general public are so severe that the Congress is being forced toward imposing controls on food and rent prices. The elderly are particularly vulnerable to these pressures. There is an especial hardship in rapid rent increases. The elderly are living on an inadequate largely fixed income and are by nature less mobile than the general population. It can be a shattering experience for old people to move from lifelong homes; yet changing neighborhoods and skyrocketing rents often leave them with little choice.

One of my bills, the Senior Citizens Rent Limitations Act, offers a solution. This act would apply to senior citizens whose annual income is less than \$6,000 and only for moderate rentals. An individual's rental costs would be limited to 25 percent of his income. Any rental on the apartment over that figure would be subsidized by the Federal Government. This subsidy would have no effects on other social security benefits.

Tenants of federally financed housing already enjoy an effective limit on their rents of 25 percent of their income. For the majority of the elderly poor Federal housing is not obtainable and there is no other protection from constant rent increases.

Legislation on health, income, and rents should not obscure our concern for other aspects of life. A hospital bed and a roof can sustain people, but they cannot provide fulfillment. Many recreational opportunities available to the public and of particular importance to the elderly are too expensive for a limited budget. Three of my bills deal with this problem. They provide free admission to the elderly to all recreation areas administered by agencies of the Federal Government, permit reduced air fares during nonpeak periods of travel, and encourage the use of reduced fares for the elderly on public transportation facilities.

A retired person who cannot go to a movie or a park because of high bus fares, a retired person who can never hope to visit children and grandchildren because of high air fares, is an imprisoned person.

There is also a need for innovative programs providing opportunities for a new life style for the elderly; programs designed to assure their continuing involvement with the community. Our society must realize that a person's value and productivity does not disappear when he or she turns 65.

I am proposing two experimental programs. One is the Older American Community Service Employment Act. This would authorize the Secretary of Labor to establish a program to foster part-time work opportunities in community service activities for people 55 and over. Such a program would bring material benefits to the elderly as well as to the local com-

munity receiving their services. Perhaps more important it would assure the elderly of a respected role in the community. Their self-esteem would be heightened in the knowledge that they were making a valuable contribution. The community would benefit as well, not only from the services and experience gained but from the healthier atmosphere which a community enjoys when it does not isolate one segment of the population.

The other program is the Campuses for the Elderly Act. This would provide a residential setting tailor-made to the needs of the elderly. This concept was suggested to me by the Citizens Advisory Committee on Senior Citizens of my district—people directly affected by the many Federal programs in this area.

Campuses for the elderly would unify in one place four basic needs of the elderly; independent living, congregate living areas, rest homes with nursing supervision, and extended care facilities with extensive medical supervision. In essence it would create a community where varying living conditions could be met, both social and medical, based on the varying needs of the participants. It would ease the transition from apartment to hospital to rest home without leaving the community.

All of these bills are essentially identical to legislation I filed in the last session of Congress and a description of each bill under the number it bore in the last session follows:

H.R. 992. To include dental care, eye care, dentures, and hearing aids among the benefits provided under the Social Security Act;

H.R. 993. To provide payment for chiropractor's services under the Medicare program;

H.R. 994. To permit payment, in the case of an individual eligible for home health services of the type which may be provided away from home, for the costs of transportation to and from the place where such services may be provided;

H.R. 995. To eliminate the requirement that an individual must first have been admitted to a hospital to qualify for extended care services;

H.R. 8435. To allow individuals age 65 or over to deduct all expenses for their medical care;

H.R. 8574. To permit the full deduction of medical expenses incurred for the care of individuals 65 years of age or over;

H.R. 8338. To permit the payment of benefits to a married couple on their combined earning record when that produces a higher combined benefit.

H.R. 8710. To increase to \$750, the amount of the lump-sum death payment under social security;

H.R. 14495. The Senior Citizens Rent Limitation Act to limit the rent of senior citizens by public funding of a part of the central burden of senior citizens;

H.R. 14604. To exempt senior citizens from paying entrance fees;

H.R. 987. To amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act to provide priority funding of cities and public agencies that provide the use of their facilities at reduced fares for the elderly;

H.R. 14310. To amend the Federal Avi-

ation Act to authorize reduced rates transportation for the elderly during nonpeak periods of travel;

H.R. 13874. A Campus for the Elderly Act for the development of projects to meet the special health care and related needs of elderly persons on a campus setting; and

H.R. 5988. The "Older American Community Service Employment Act" to promote part-time work opportunities in community service activities for unemployed low income persons who are 55 years of age or older.

THE POLISH-AMERICAN CONSULAR TREATY: SOME CLARIFICATION NEEDED?

(Mr. ZABLOCKI asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the Polish-American Consular Convention recently approved by the Senate represents a great step forward in Polish-American relations. As one who has long advocated such improved relations between the people and governments of these two great nations I applaud this positive development.

At the same time, however, it is important to point out a deficiency in the Consular Convention which could have serious consequences for some people. Specifically, I refer to those provisions of the agreement providing protection for American citizens of Polish birth who enter Poland with an American passport and a valid Polish visa. Crucial to this question is the fact that the consular protection as well as the right to leave Poland at will lasts only as long as the entry visa is still valid.

In other words, if by oversight or illness such a person overstays his visa period he loses the protection of the Consular Convention and the Polish People's Republic is again free to enforce the Polish statutes on citizenship.

This and other aspects of the convention have been analyzed in an article by Mr. Joseph C. Gidynski in the summer, 1972 issue of the Polish Review. Because of its significance I am pleased to place it in the RECORD at this point and recommend it to the attention of my colleagues.

The article follows:

FORMER CITIZENS OF POLAND AND THE POLISH PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

(By Joseph C. Gidynski, LL.M., LL.D., J.D.)

An American-Polish Consular Convention was signed in Warsaw on May 31, 1972, filling a gap that had existed since January 5, 1952, when a former treaty ceased to be effective. That gap, however, was filled only partially by this new convention. To recognize this, it is enough to compare the official titles of the two agreements. The defunct agreement,¹ which was signed on June 15, 1931, was called a Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Consular Rights, whereas the present agreement was given the modest title of Consular Convention since it is neither a Treaty of Friendship nor a Treaty of Commerce. It consists of the main body and two additional protocols, as well as three diplomatic notes.

The Consular Convention, upon ratification, is equally binding in terms of international law on the United States and the Polish People's Republic. There will, however,

be a considerable difference in its practical application within the two countries.

On its effective date, the President of the United States will issue a proclamation that will make known, in both languages, the text of the Consular Convention, the fact that the convention was ratified by both parties, and that the instruments of ratification were exchanged in Washington, to the end that it "be observed and fulfilled with good faith by the United States of America and the citizens thereof." And this quoted intent is no mere formality. It truly expresses the reality. Indeed, the Constitution of the U.S. recognizes international law not only in external relations with other states but also in domestic affairs. Article VI, paragraph 2 of the Constitution provides that "all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the Supreme Law of the Land, and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

Accordingly, it has been well established by Federal and State courts that international law is not an external alien law, but a part of the legal system of the United States. These courts apply "... federal law, state law, and international law as exigencies of the particular case may demand..."²

International law as a part of the United States legal system is also binding directly on all its residents, citizens and aliens alike, and "if a statute contains provisions contrary to international law, international law still subsists. In such a circumstance the defense that the law is domestic and must be administered is unavailable so far as the international relations of the state are concerned."³

It could be said that the Convention will have a considerably weaker base in Poland than in the United States. It will not be effective there, by operation of law, as a part of international law; and the courts and other state agencies will not be automatically bound by it. Its binding force will be acquired only by promulgation in the Official Journal of Laws and only as the state law, not as international law. It will not become the Supreme Law of the Land as is the case with international law and the Constitution in the United States. Provisions of statutes contrary to those of the Consular Convention would prevail.

Thus, a substantial difference exists in light of the recognized rules of law, and this difference tends to be accentuated by certain recently enunciated theories which are gaining increasing recognition as an expression of ruling political doctrine.⁴

TASKS OF THE CONVENTION REGARDING DUAL CITIZENSHIP

The Consular Convention deals mainly with the openings of consular offices, appointments of officers and employees of these offices, with their rights, privileges and immunities and the consular functions that might be performed.

However, its main body is supplemented by two protocols and three diplomatic notes. These notes and the second of the two protocols define the mutual situation of the citizens of both countries who have emigrated and who are admitted on entry visas to their native territories. And they clarify—or rather tend to clarify for a fundamental gap exists in the clarification offered—just which former citizens of Poland are to be considered by the Polish People's Republic as unquestionably American citizens. They affect many American citizens of Polish descent and, indirectly, many citizens of other countries. The diplomatic notes and the second additional protocol, together with the provisions dealing with jurisdictional functions of American Consuls and their staffs, form the most interesting part of the Consular Con-

Footnotes at end of article.

vention. They provide important information about the scope of legal protection American citizens may expect from their Consuls while on the territory of the Polish People's Republic.

RECOGNITION OF AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP ON THE TERRITORY OF THE PPR

A well established rule of international law provides that states should extend to foreigners admitted to their respective territories the same individual guarantees and enjoyment of essential civil rights granted to their own nationals. The principle, however, meets difficulties in cases of dual citizenship, when a person acquires a new citizenship without losing the prior one. Dual citizenship is a product of conflicts of laws on citizenship which exist in various states. Of course, the simple and frequently used way to avoid such difficulties is to refuse an entry visa when the state that receives the application considers the foreign traveler to be its own citizen. It may happen, however, that such a state may grant a visa and, notwithstanding this act, subsequently take advantage of the situation and claim the traveler to be a citizen of that state once he is within its borders.

The Muller case, which was reported in the news several years ago presents a good illustration of difficulties that might arise. Mr. Muller, a citizen of the PPR, escaped from his country and was granted a U.S. immigration visa and, in due course, American citizenship. Subsequently, after the passage of about ten years, he sought to visit his dying father and secured an entry visa to the Polish People's Republic on his American passport. His American passport and Polish entry visa notwithstanding, he was arrested in Warsaw, indicted, convicted of espionage and sentenced to a five-year prison term as a Polish citizen. The affair cast a deep shadow on American-Polish relations. The Government of the United States made a diplomatic interposition in fulfillment of its duty to protect American citizens abroad. It stressed that Mr. Muller had been granted an entry visa by the Consul of the Polish People's Republic on the basis of a decision taken by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw, and that it could have been rightfully assumed that the visa was granted in full knowledge that Mr. Muller had left Poland illegally many years earlier. The case was settled between the two governments. Muller was released from prison a few months after his sentencing and was deported. However, this arrest by the Polish People's Republic of an American citizen traveling on an American passport that had been stamped with a legally granted Polish entry visa, created a great deal of uncertainty and anxiety in the exchange of people between this country and Poland.

Will the new Consular Convention eliminate the source of such uncertainty and anxiety in future?

The Diplomatic Notes exchanged in connection with the signing of the Consular Convention provide that holders of American passports furnished with Polish entry visas will be considered Americans for the duration of the visas, even if the Polish People's Republic may consider them Polish citizens by virtue of its own legislation. In particular, they will be entitled to consular protection and will have the right to leave Poland at will without any hindrance whatsoever from the Polish authorities.

In view of the importance of this provision, its full text is quoted:

"Persons entering the Polish People's Republic for temporary visits on the basis of United States passports containing Polish entry visas will, in the periods for which temporary visitor status has been accorded (in conformity with the visa's validity), be considered by the appropriate Polish authorities for the purpose of ensuring the consular pro-

tection provided for in Article 29 of the Convention and the right of departure without further documentation, regardless of whether they may possess the citizenship of the Polish People's Republic."

Of course, full reciprocity is provided for holders of Polish passports stamped with American entry visas.

TIME LIMITATION ON PROTECTION

The protection provided by the Consular Convention marks a great step forward in Polish-American relations. However, the time limitation placed on this protection is important and should be emphasized. The consular protection as well as the right to leave the territory of Poland at will lasts only as long as the entry visa is still valid. After its expiration, the protection disappears and the Polish People's Republic is again free to enforce the Polish statutes on citizenship. There is, it should be pointed out, an important exception to this rigorous rule: the consular protection and the right to leave Poland at will continues in all cases in which the voluntary departure within the time limit was prevented by any judicial or administrative proceedings. Given the great practical importance of this exception, the pertinent provision is quoted in full:

"Persons mentioned in paragraphs 1 and 2 (i.e. holders of passports of one country with visas of another; explanation added) do not lose the right to consular protection and the right of departure without further documentation, if the period for which temporary visitor status has been accorded to these persons expired during judicial or administrative proceedings which prevented their voluntary departure."

DUAL CITIZENSHIP

From this time limitation on the protection of former Polish citizens on PPR territory, it is apparent that the problems arising out of dual citizenship were not really solved in the Consular Convention. The Convention did not even arrive at a satisfactory clarification of just who among Americans of Polish origin may still be considered by the Polish People's Republic as its citizens—great efforts by the Department of State notwithstanding. Indeed, the American note to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic, dated May 31, 1972, reads in its preamble:

"The Embassy of the United States of America refers to the talks held between representatives of the Embassy and representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Polish People's Republic on the subject of reducing the possibilities of misunderstanding in the application of the citizenship laws of both countries, and has the honor to request that factual data related to the basic provisions of the citizenship law be conveyed and that points of procedural practice be explained."

Detailed questions in paragraph 1 of this note demonstrate further the State Department's efforts to clarify fully the legal issues involved. All these efforts brought no satisfactory results. The answering note of the Polish People's Republic dwells in great detail on aspects that are obvious and that present no difficulties, but avoids the essence of the problem by dismissing it with a few nebulous words. In fact, the Polish note goes to great lengths to emphasize that former Polish citizens who became naturalized after January 18, 1951, may continue to be considered as Polish citizens if they have not obtained the consent of the State Council or other delegated agency for a change of citizenship, as provided by the Polish Statutes of January 8, 1951, and February 15, 1962.¹ But what about those former Polish citizens who became naturalized Americans earlier—during the effective life of the first Polish statute on citizenship, dated January 20, 1920,² or even before, at any point since the Polish state regained its independence in 1918? Does the

Polish People's Republic recognize these persons as American citizens unconditionally and without any reservations?

It might have been expected that the PPR would profess no claim regarding former Polish citizens whose American naturalization occurred more than twenty years before, or even half a century ago. After twenty years, not to speak of half a century, the statute of limitations runs its course for all claims and rights in the Polish People's Republic. Even the right to prosecute felons for the most serious crimes is limited after twenty years by virtue of an explicit provision of the recent Polish Penal Code (art. 105).

It might have been expected also that the Polish People's Republic would take advantage of the Consular Convention negotiations "to reduce the possibilities of misunderstanding in the application of citizenship laws of both countries," as was clearly suggested in the American note.

Unfortunately, the answering note of the Polish People's Republic does not live up to these expectations. Instead of recognizing clearly and unconditionally the American citizenship of these former Poles who became naturalized Americans during the time between the regaining of independence by Poland and January 19, 1951, the note of the Polish People's Republic leaves the issue totally beclouded. True enough, it recognizes the principle of article 11, paragraph 1, of the first Polish Statute on citizenship, dated January 20, 1920, which reads, "Loss of Polish citizenship shall take place by acquisition of citizenship of another state." However, it qualifies this recognition by this clause: "except in the circumstances described in that law and other provisions related to it."

What is the meaning of this exception which is phrased in such general words? The exception may be given any meaning at the will of the authorities of the Polish People's Republic. Indeed, it would be sufficient, under this exception, for the PPR to cite the very comprehensive terms of universal military service in order to cancel out that accepted principle that Polish citizenship is automatically lost, through the operation of law, by acquisition of citizenship of another state. Furthermore, it might easily be presumed that the very vagueness of the wording of the exception veils lack of agreement as to the scope of its application. Let us consider the problem strictly from the legal point of view. The Polish People's Republic relies on article 11, paragraph 2, of the Statute on Polish citizenship, dated January 20, 1920,³ which reads:

"Persons liable to active military service may acquire the citizenship of a foreign state only after receiving consent from the Minister of Military Affairs; otherwise, they will be still considered as Polish citizens by the Polish State. [translation and emphasis mine]."

The Polish People's Republic implies a very comprehensive meaning for this article by referring to it in broad terms: "... except in the circumstances described in that law and other provisions related to it." In doing so, it passes in silence over the obvious fact that the article has lost its actuality and legal applicability and has become a meaningless, dead letter of law. It is meaningless because when the Consular Convention was signed on May 31, 1972, none of the former Polish citizens who had become naturalized Americans (or citizens of any other state) on or before January 18, 1951, could reasonably have been considered as liable to "active military service" within the meaning of article 11, paragraph 2, quoted above, and the Polish People's Republic has no legal claim whatsoever for fulfillment of such a military duty. These persons acquired American citizenship without any obstructing impediment.

¹Footnotes at end of article.

SCOPE OF THE EXCEPTION

It is an incontrovertible fact that, under the first Statute on Polish Citizenship, the acquisition of American citizenship (and, for that matter, of any foreign citizenship) was valid even if the consent provided for in article 11, paragraph 2, was not obtained and if the foreign citizenship was questioned by the Polish People's Republic on its territory. Under the law, the generally applicable principle, as stated in article 11, paragraph 1, has been that the loss of Polish citizenship took place solely by acquisition of that of another country. The reservation set forth in paragraph 2, quoted above, is an exception to that principle, and is so recognized by the note of the Polish People's Republic that is attached to the convention.

What is the scope of this exception? The canons of interpretations of statutes stipulate a strict and restraining construction of exceptions. Their scope should be determined by the legal purposes for which they were enacted. A teleological and historical interpretation makes clear beyond the shadow of a doubt that the only legal purpose of the exception was to prevent Polish citizens who were liable to "active military service" from shirking that duty by acquiring citizenship of another state. When the first Statute on Polish Citizenship was about to be adopted, the statute on military service that was in force stipulated clearly that foreigners were excluded from it. Consequently, when the citizenship statute specified that Polish citizens would lose their citizenship automatically "when they acquired citizenship of another state," it became indispensable to eliminate the legal possibility of shirking military service by acquiring citizenship of another state. The subject was addressed explicitly by the following paragraph:⁹

"Persons liable to active military service may acquire the citizenship of a foreign state only after the consent of the Minister of Military Affairs is given; otherwise, they will still be considered Polish citizens by the Polish State." [translation and emphasis mine]

The exception was limited to "persons liable to active military service." No other category of persons was subject to it. Thus, there remained outside the scope of its application all women, persons crippled or otherwise disqualified from military service, priests and religious of recognized denominations, people who had not yet reached the age for military service or who had already passed it, and people who were exempt from military service. Briefly, the exception ceased to operate when the obligation of active military service ended—or in cases where it never existed.

As soon as the claim of Polish authorities on "active military service" ceased to exist, American citizenship (or that of any other state) became automatically free of the limitation and regained its effectiveness in the eyes of the Polish State. The principle itself, which became applicable the very moment a Polish citizen "acquired citizenship of a foreign state," could have been limited only temporarily by the exception, and only for as long as and to the extent that an individual was liable to "active military service."

This view of the limited applicability of the exception is corroborated by a comparison of the provisions on loss of citizenship in the first statute and those in the two statutes that were subsequently adopted by the Polish People's Republic. The latter added a totally new element to the principle that a Polish citizen "shall lose his citizenship after he has acquired citizenship of another state." The additional requirement calls for the "consent of a competent Polish agency for a change of citizenship."¹⁰ This new requirement cannot affect the granting of citizenship by the U.S. or any other state without intruding on the sovereignty of foreign states. However, it does affect the release from Po-

lish citizenship, which is within the scope of Polish sovereignty and may be governed by Polish law. Thus, loss of Polish citizenship by virtue of the statutes of the Polish People's Republic became contingent on the consent of competent Polish authorities. This represented an important change: the notion of a release from Polish citizenship was as much alien to the first statute, even including the exception described above, as it became basic to the two subsequent statutes.

Furthermore, the release from Polish citizenship became a political act of state of great importance and was reserved to the State Council, the very highest office of the Polish People's Republic, to be issued on a motion of the Minister of Interior.¹⁰ In contrast, jurisdiction for the granting of the consent provided for in the first statute on Polish citizenship, in its article 11, paragraph 2, was vested in the military by all the consecutive statutes on military service. The executive orders delegated it to county recruitment commanders, the lowest military agency which inducted recruits into the regular army.¹¹ In addition, it was the Minister of Military Affairs who was vested with the power to exempt *ex officio*, without any petition, from "active military service" individuals and groups of persons who had acquired foreign citizenship without having obtained Polish consent.¹² Such a provision would have been senseless if the foreign citizenship were invalid in its incipency, from the moment it was obtained without the required consent.

Also, it would be a great error to assume that Polish statutes or executive orders would seek to punish persons who shirked their liability to "active military service" by forcing on them Polish citizenship for the rest of their lives. The contrary was true. The statutes governing both citizenship and military service stipulated that such persons might be deprived of Polish citizenship.¹³ And, in fact, this was done frequently.

NO POLISH CITIZEN HAS BEEN SUBJECT TO THE EXCEPTION IN 1972

At the time the Consular Convention was signed, the Polish People's Republic had no legal claim whatsoever to any American of Polish origin on grounds of "active military service" within the meaning of article 11, paragraph 2, of the first Statute on Polish Citizenship.

It was a series of statutes on universal military service that determined which persons were "liable to active military service" and the duration of their duty. Four such statutes¹⁴ were in force successively during the effective period of the first Polish Statute on Citizenship, between January 31, 1920, through January 18, 1951. But by May 31, 1972 these statutes no longer provided any legal basis for liability had been naturalized on or before January 18, 1951, were concerned. No matter what claims the Polish People's Republic might have had in the past, such claims ceased to have any validity whatsoever in 1972.

Let us have a closer look at each of the four consecutive statutes on universal military service. Each defined in a different way the persons who were "liable to active military service." The essential difference, however, existed only between the first one, the Temporary Statutes on Universal Military Service of October 27, 1918, and the three others: The former identified the liability to "active military service" with that to "universal military service" instead of confining it to service in the regular army for a limited period of time. History makes the reason clear. It is enough to look at the date of the first statute—October 27, 1918. It was a year that is memorable for Poles. The German troops who had occupied Polish territory were disarmed and expelled from Poland by the National Revolution which broke out at the end of World War I. The regaining of na-

tional independence was proclaimed after 123 years of partitions. From its very dawning, however, its existence was threatened by the Soviet Union. The whole nation was called to active military service. Even teenagers left their high schools to join the Volunteer Army. The supreme military effort to the entire nation culminated in the so-called Miracle of the Vistula, when the invading Soviet armies were smashed at the gates of Warsaw and expelled from Polish territory.

STATUTE ON UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE OF OCTOBER 27, 1918¹⁵

This was the only statute that defined the term "active military service" in an unusually comprehensive way, including all types of service such as service in the regular army, complementary service, service in the reserve, service in the national defense and service in the mass levy. Of course, "active military service" so broadly conceived was really active only for men who were actually inducted into the regular army; for all others it was merely potential, in case of emergency. It included all men from 20 (sometimes even 18) to 50 years of age.

This statute ceased to be effective on November 18, 1924. Even the youngest of all those subject to service under this statute—those who were 20 years old in 1924—became 68 in 1972 when the Consular Convention was signed. Their liability for "active military service," even so broadly conceived, came to its statutory end 18 years ago, when they were 50.

STATUTE ON UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE OF MAY 23, 1924, AS AMENDED¹⁶

This law was effective from November 18, 1924, through August 30, 1938, and under it the scope and notion of "active military service" was basically changed. Such service ceased to be the comprehensive type that included all kinds of military service, as was the case under the prior statute, and was limited to service in the regular army for a period ranging from 2 years to 2 years and 3 months, depending on the branch of the armed forces. In addition to "active military service," the new statute introduced service in the reserve and mass levy. Article 75 of the statute stipulated: "Release from active military service and transfer to the reserve shall take place after the lapse of periods of time provided for active military service."

The service started in time of peace, when men completed 21 years of age. The last class liable to "active military service" under this statute consisted of men who were 21 in 1938. These individuals were 55 at the time the Consular Convention was signed. Their liability to active military service ended in 1941 at the latest, more than 25 years ago, even discounting the war years. None of them could be liable to such service now.

STATUTE ON UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE OF APRIL 9, 1938¹⁷

The 1924 statute was replaced by another that was in effect between September 1938 and May 27, 1950. In this law, "active military service" was identified with the basic military service, and both expressions were used interchangeably. Universal military service included the following: basic or active military service, reserve service, service in a mass levy, auxiliary and complementary service. The basic or active military service was fixed at 24 to 27 months, depending on the branch of the armed forces, for men who had reached 21 years of age. Able-bodied men who were not inducted into the basic military service were considered surplus conscripts and, before they reached 24 years of age, had to be transferred to the reserve on an equal footing with those who had completed the basic military service. Alternatively such individuals could be assigned to a mass levy or auxiliary service depending on their age, sickness or exemption. Deserters or persons who

Footnotes at end of article.

induced sickness or injury to evade military service could have been inducted up to 38 years of age, the ultimate statutory limit for induction (Art. 58, item 1).

Men who were 21 or older in 1950, the last year the Statute was in effect, were 42 or older in 1972. Thus they exceeded even that statutory age limit for induction fixed as a penalty for deserters and others who attempted to shirk active military service, not to speak of the regular age limit for induction. In any case, liability to active military service has ceased to exist for all who ever had been liable to it under this Statute.

Of course, the first class of men inducted into the regular army under this Statute shared the tragic fate of the last class inducted under the prior Statute. Induction was suspended following the occupation of Poland by Nazi and Soviet troops. The Polish Government-in-Exile and its underground agencies in occupied Poland used only volunteers. Nevertheless, all Poles, whether or not liable to active military service, went through the ordeals of the war years. Many inmates of Nazi and Soviet camps managed finally to make their way to the West and became Americans or citizens of other states. Could they still reasonably be considered "liable to active military service" within the meaning of article 11, paragraph 2, of the first statute on Polish citizenship which was abrogated more than twenty years ago?

STATUTE OF FEBRUARY 4, 1950, ON UNIVERSAL MILITARY SERVICE¹⁵

The most recent statute was approved by the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic on February 4, 1950 and became effective on May 28, 1950, eight months before the abrogation of the first statute on Polish citizenship with its article 11, paragraph 2.

Let us consider, from the point of view of dual citizenship, the situation of former Polish citizens who became naturalized Americans or citizens of other states within this eight-month period. Could the Polish People's Republic challenge their foreign citizenship and consider them still citizens of Poland? Are they still liable to "active military service" within the meaning of article 11, paragraph 2, of the first Statute on Polish citizenship? The answer is in the negative. Their status does not differ from that of other groups of former Polish citizens analyzed above. The reasons are as follows.

The Statute of February 4, 1950, does not include the term "active military service." A similar meaning, however, is conveyed by the term "military service in the skeleton army" (kadrowa służba wojskowa), which would last two or three years, depending on the branch of the armed forces, for persons 18 years old. Citizens of the Polish People's Republic are bound by its statutes while abroad. Thus, persons who were between 18 and 21 in 1950 were liable to "service in the skeleton army" as an equivalent of "active military duty." These persons, however, reached 40 years of age or more in 1972, and their liability and any corresponding claims of the Polish People's Republic ceased to exist. Furthermore, the validity of the grant of American citizenship (or that of other states) has never depended on the consent of Polish authorities or on fulfillment of liability to "active military service."

"Under Polish statutes on universal military service, lapse of time has made article 11, paragraph 2, of the Statute on Polish Citizenship of January 20, 1920, a dead letter of law, which can no longer justify any claims whatsoever of the Polish People's Republic against former Polish citizens who became naturalized Americans or citizens of other states on or before January 18, 1951."

Such is the conclusion that follows from this analysis of the applicable Polish statutes as well as the events of World War II which caused more than half a million Poles to leave their country.

Of course, the conclusion applies not only to article 11, paragraph 2, of the First Statute on Polish Citizenship, but also, by the same token, to its restatement in the Consular Convention in the words "... except in the circumstances described in that law and other provisions related to it." This error in drafting could, however, be made harmless, as the Consular Convention is put into practical use, simply by non-application of the exception quoted.

A solution of the difficulty would seem to be easy. The second Statute on Polish Citizenship introduced, and the present one has continued, a new principle regarding loss of Polish citizenship: instead of automatic loss solely by acquiring citizenship of another state, loss must be by consent of the authorities of the Polish People's Republic. The date January 19, 1951, marks the time limit. Whoever became a citizen of another state before that date should be considered as a foreign national when on Polish territory. On the other hand, whoever became an American or citizen of any other state after that date should apply for the consent of the proper agencies of the Polish People's Republic in order to avoid the serious troubles inherent in dual citizenship.

Any effort to move this frontier of time back to a date prior to January 19, 1951, means an attempt to give retroactive application to the present Statute on Polish citizenship under the legally untenable pretext of liability to "active military service." For this liability and the corresponding claims of the Polish People's Republic expired years ago for all former Polish citizens who might have been subject to it by virtue of the four consecutive statutes on universal military service.

DETENTION OR ARREST OF AMERICAN PASSPORT HOLDERS

Any individual in a foreign country is subject to its laws, including its Penal Code, unless he enjoys the rights of extraterritoriality. Accordingly, a holder of an American passport stamped with a valid Polish visa can be arrested in the Polish People's Republic, but only as an American, never as a Polish citizen, even though he may be considered a Polish citizen by Polish authorities. This has been clearly set out in the stipulations of the Consular Convention and most specifically in the third diplomatic note attached to it. It is expressly stipulated that holders of American passports stamped with valid Polish visas must be treated as American citizens for the duration of the visa. And they are entitled to the protection of American consular officers provided for in Article 29 of the Convention. Such protection includes the following rights, privileges and immunities:

a) Polish authorities have a duty to notify an American consular officer of the detention or arrest of any American citizen immediately, in any case not later than within three days. In the case of an American who was not admitted to permanent residence in the Polish People's Republic, the time is counted as from the time of his detention or arrest. In the case of an American who was admitted to permanent residence, the three-day period begins at the time of the request that the consular officer be notified.

b) Polish authorities are under obligation to forward without delay any correspondence from a detained or arrested American to an American consular officer.

c) Polish authorities are under obligation to inform an American consular officer, upon his request, of the reasons for the detention or arrest of any American.

d) Polish authorities are under obligation to enable an American consular officer, upon his request, to visit any detained or arrested American and to communicate with him in English or Polish for the purpose of safeguarding his interests, observing, however, local laws and regulations. This must be done

without delay. "Without delay" is understood to mean within four days from the time of detention, assuming the request is made immediately. If four days pass before any request is made, then permission must be granted for an immediate visit.

e) In case of a trial of an American, the appropriate Polish authorities are under obligation, at the request of an American consular officer, to inform the officer of the charges against such an American and to permit the consular officer to be present during the trial, observing, however, local laws and regulations.

f) Finally, an American consular officer is entitled, subject to local prison regulations, to visit an American who is serving a sentence of imprisonment.

It is important to note that an express provision of the Convention stipulates clearly that no local provisions can prevent a consular officer from visiting an American, communicating with him and obtaining the charges against him.

All these stipulations, of course, are based on the principle of reciprocity.

FOOTNOTES

¹ *Friendship, Commerce and Consular Rights. Treaty between The United States of America and Poland.* U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1933, p. 1.

² *Kansas v. Colorado*, 183 U.S. 125, by Chief Justice Fuller; *The Paquete Habana*, 175 U.S. 677, 700.

³ *Green Haywood Hackworth, Digest of International Law*, vol. I, p. 24, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1940.

⁴ See C. Berezowski, *Zagadnienie zwierzchnictwa terytorialnego* (The Problem of Territorial Sovereignty), Warsaw, 1957, p. 48-52.

⁵ *Dziennik Ustaw* (Journal of Laws), No. 4, item 25, 1951, and *Dziennik Ustaw*, No. 10, item 49, 1962.

⁶ *Dziennik Ustaw*, No. 7, item 44, 1920. The Statute was effective from January 31, 1920 through January 18, 1951.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Art. 11 of the Statute on Polish Citizenship, dated January 8, 1951, *Dziennik Ustaw*, No. 4, item 25, 1951, and Art. 13 of the Statute of Polish Citizenship, dated February 15, 1962, *Dziennik Ustaw*, No. 10, item 49, 1962.

¹⁰ Art. 10 and Art. 16 of the Statutes cited in footnote 9, respectively.

¹¹ Executive Order of the Minister of Interior, dated August 8, 1920; Executive Order issued jointly by several Ministers, dated February 7, 1939, *Dziennik Ustaw*, No. 20, item 131, 1939.

¹² Art. 11, item 6 of the Statute, dated April 9, 1938, on Universal Military Service, *Dziennik Ustaw*, No. 25, item 220, 1938; Art. 110, item 1 of the Statute on Universal Military Service, dated February 4, 1950, *Dziennik Ustaw*, No. 6, item 46, 1950.

¹³ Art. 12 of the Statute on Polish Citizenship, dated January 8, 1951 (see footnote 9); Art. 15, item 5 of the present Statute on Polish Citizenship dated February 15, 1962, (see footnote 9); Art. 111, paragraph 2, of the Statute on Universal Military Service, dated February 4, 1950 (see footnote 14); also, several Executive Orders, such as that of the Council of National Defense dated August 11, 1920, *Dziennik Ustaw*, No. 81, item 540, 1920. Executive Order of the Ministers of Interior and Defense, October 19, 1920, *Dziennik Ustaw*, No. 103, item 687, 1920.

¹⁴ Temporary Statute on Universal Military Service, dated October 27, 1918, *Dziennik Ustaw*, No. 13, item 28, effective from October 27, through November 17, 1924.

¹⁵ Statute on Universal Military Service, dated May 23, 1924, as amended by the Decree of the President of the Republic, dated January 11, 1928, the amended text published in *Dziennik Ustaw*, No. 46, item 458, 1928, effective from November 18, 1924, through August 30, 1938;

¹⁶ Statute on Universal Military Service,

dated April 9, 1938, *Dziennik Ustaw*, No. 25, item 220, effective from September 1, 1938, through May 27, 1950;

⁴ Statute on Universal Military Service, dated February 4, 1950, *Dziennik Ustaw*, No. 6, item 46, effective from May 28, 1950, beyond January 18, 1951 (the date of effectiveness of the second Statute on Polish Citizenship).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

CREATE SELECT COMMITTEE ON AGING

(Mr. PODELL asked and was given permission to extend his remarks at this point in the RECORD and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. PODELL. Mr. Speaker, earlier today I introduced 14 bills dealing with the needs of the elderly. They covered a wide area of concern: innovative programs for community service and residential areas for the elderly, extension of medicare benefits, tax breaks for the elderly and the families supporting them, a ceiling on the percent of income paid for rent, and increased recreational opportunities.

Some of these bills go to relatively small technical questions. Some establish experimental programs which will later be expanded. The experimental programs are particularly important. It is time to stop neglecting experimental approaches because of our concern for solving immediate problems.

While these bills touch on a large number of areas they are far from exhaustive. It is admittedly a scattershot effort. They will be referred to five separate committees of the House of Representatives. I am introducing them as a package only to emphasize the magnitude of the problem and the need for a more comprehensive approach.

Someone must take the lead in planning this approach. The problems of the elderly are of vital concern to the nation but for too long they have suffered from our failure to view them as an integrated whole. Congress must finally assume this responsibility. A Select Committee on Aging of the House of Representatives should be created.

This committee would take the overall view that has been lacking. It would be directed to conduct a full investigation into all matters pertaining to the elderly, including problems of maintaining health, assuring adequate income, finding employment, engaging in productive and rewarding retirement activity, securing proper housing and adequate care.

The committee would report to the House as soon as possible the results of its investigations along with recommendations. The first section of the proposed resolution follows:

Whereas there are now more than nineteen million persons in the United States age sixty-five and over—a group representing more than 9 per centum of our total population and more than 16 per centum of our adult population; and

Whereas this group of senior American citizens is expected to exceed twenty-five million by 1985—thus continuing it as the most rapidly growing segment of our entire adult population; and

Whereas this group is faced with serious and continuing problems, including employment, housing, medical care, education, pensions, and meaningful use of retirement years; and

Whereas these problems have produced and will continue to produce serious strains on the fabric of our national life making it incumbent upon us to discover what social and economic conditions will enable our senior citizens both to contribute to our national productivity and to lead satisfying, independent and productive lives; and

Whereas the problems of our senior citizens, while calling for action by various legislative committees, are themselves highly interrelated, requiring coordinated review and recommendations based on studies in depth of the total field—studies which of necessity must range beyond the jurisdictional boundaries of any existing committee; and

Whereas the problems confronting our senior citizens are of such vital national concern as to require the full-time attention of a select committee of the House of Representatives: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That there is hereby created a non-legislative select committee to be composed of fifteen members of the House of Representatives to be appointed by the Speaker, one of whom he shall designate as chairman. Any vacancy occurring in the membership of the committee shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE

By unanimous consent, leave of absence was granted to:

Mr. SARASIN (at the request of Mr. GERALD R. FORD), for today, on account of official business.

SPECIAL ORDERS GRANTED

By unanimous consent, permission to address the House, following the legislative program and any special orders heretofore entered, was granted to:

Mr. BOLAND, for 5 minutes today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ROBERT W. DANIEL, JR.) to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:)

Mr. VEYSEY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. RONCALLO of New York, for 60 minutes, April 18.

Mr. KEMP, for 15 minutes, today.

Mr. CRANE, for 5 minutes, today.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. JONES of Oklahoma to revise and extend their remarks and include extraneous material:

Mr. MCFALL, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. ALEXANDER, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. GONZALEZ, for 5 minutes today.

Mr. FRASER, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. MEZVINSKY, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. FULTON, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. RUNNELS, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. MATHIS of Georgia, for 5 minutes, today.

Ms. ABZUG, for 10 minutes, today.

Mr. RANGEL, for 5 minutes, today.

Mr. KOCH, for 5 minutes, today.

Mrs. GRASSO, for 10 minutes, today.

Mr. BOLAND, for 5 minutes, today.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

By unanimous consent, permission to revise and extend remarks was granted to:

Mr. ZABLOCKI and to include extraneous matter, notwithstanding the fact that it exceeds two pages of the RECORD and is estimated by the Public Printer to cost \$637.50.

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho, to extend his remarks in the RECORD and to include extraneous material notwithstanding the fact that it exceeds two pages and is estimated to cost \$2,210.

Mr. GROSS, and to include extraneous material.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. ROBERT W. DANIEL, JR.), and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. FINLEY in two instances.

Mr. HANSEN of Idaho in two instances.

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN.

Mr. WYMAN in two instances.

Mr. HUNT in two instances.

Mr. WHITEHURST in two instances.

Mr. GERALD R. FORD in two instances.

Mr. RONCALLO of New York.

Mr. KEMP in three instances.

Mr. ZWACH.

Mr. ROBERT W. DANIEL, JR.

Mr. SHOUP.

Mr. CONTE.

(The following Members (at the request of Mr. JONES of Oklahoma) and to include extraneous matter:)

Mr. ROY.

Mr. DE LA GARZA in 10 instances.

Mrs. SCHROEDER.

Mr. GONZALEZ in three instances.

Mr. RARICK in three instances.

Mr. CHARLES H. WILSON of California.

Mr. DONOHUE in three instances.

Mr. SISK.

Mr. MCCORMACK.

Mr. PREYER.

Mr. BINGHAM.

Mr. DAN DANIEL.

Mr. BURKE of Massachusetts.

Mr. OBEY in four instances.

Mr. NICHOLS.

Mr. DORN in four instances.

Mrs. BURKE of California.

Mr. BEVILL.

Mr. RIEGLE.

BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. HAYS, from the Committee on House Administration, reported that that committee did on April 4, 1973, present to the President, for his approval, a bill of the House of the following title:

H.R. 3577. An act to provide an extension of the interest equalization tax, and for other purposes.

ADJOURNMENT

Mr. JONES of Oklahoma. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 29 minutes p.m.), under its previous order, the House adjourned until Monday, April 9, 1973, at 12 o'clock noon.

EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS,
ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred as follows:

725. A letter from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare transmitting the first annual report of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare on Head Start services to handicapped children, pursuant to Public Law 92-424; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

726. A letter from the Chairman, Federal Communications Commission, transmitting a draft of proposed legislation to amend section 415 of the Communications Act of 1934, as amended, to provide for a 2-year period of limitations in proceedings against carriers for the recovery of overcharges or damages not based on overcharges; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

727. A letter from the Director, Office of Legislative Affairs, Food and Drug Administration, transmitting a report on the administration of the Fair Packaging and Labeling Act for fiscal year 1972, pursuant to 15 USC 1457, and a prepublication copy of the FDA's annual report for fiscal and calendar years 1972; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. CASEY of Texas: Committee on Appropriations. H.R. 6691. A bill making appropriations for the legislative branch for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1974, and for other purposes (Rept. No. 93-107). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. EILBERG: Committee on the Judiciary. H.R. 982. A bill to amend the Immigration and Nationality Act, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 93-108). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

Mr. HOLIFIELD: Committee on Government Operations. H.R. 3932. A bill to provide that appointments to the Offices of Director and Deputy Director of the Office of Management and Budget shall be subject to confirmation by the Senate, and for other purposes; with amendment (Rept. No. 93-109). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union.

PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 4 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BIESTER:

H.R. 6627. A bill to amend title 5, United States Code, relating to qualifications for appointment and retention in the civil service; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. FRASER:

H.R. 6628. A bill to amend section 101(b) of the Micronesian Claims Act of 1971 to enlarge the class of persons eligible to receive benefits under the claims program established by that act; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. FRASER (for himself, Mr. CULVER, Mr. ADAMS, Ms. ABZUG, Mr. ADAMO, Mr. BADILLO, Mr. BREAUX, Mr. DANIELSON, Mr. DIGGS, Mr. ECKHARDT, Mr. EVINS of Tennessee, Mr. FAUNTROY, Mr. WILLIAM D. FORD, Mr. FULTON, Mr. HARRINGTON, Mr. HAWKINS, Ms. JORDAN, Mr. KARTH, Mr. MAZZOLI, Mr. MCCORMACK, Mr. MEZVINSKY, Ms.

MINK, Mr. MITCHELL of Maryland, Mr. MEEDS, and Mr. MOORHEAD of Pennsylvania):

H.R. 6629. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, to provide that the designation of payments to the Presidential Election Campaign Fund be made on the front page of the taxpayer's income tax return form, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FRASER (for himself, Mr. CULVER, Mr. HUNGATE, Mr. MORGAN, Mr. MURPHY of Illinois, Mr. O'HARA, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. ROONEY of Pennsylvania, Mr. RYAN, Mr. SEIBERLING, Mrs. SULLIVAN, and Mr. UDALL):

H.R. 6630. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide that the designation of payments to the Presidential Election Campaign Fund be made on the front page of the taxpayer's income tax return form, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. BIAGGI (for himself and Mrs. HECKLER of Massachusetts):

H.R. 6631. A bill to amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to provide a program of grants to States for the development of child abuse and neglect prevention programs in the areas of treatment, training, case reporting, public education, and information gathering and referral; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. BIAGGI (for himself, Mr. ADAMO, Mr. BOWEN, Mr. BREAUX, Mr. CLANCY, Mr. CLARK, Mr. COTTER, Mr. DENT, Mr. GILMAN, Mrs. GREEN of Oregon, Mr. HAWKINS, Mr. HAYS, Mrs. HOLT, Mr. HUDNUT, Mr. HUNT, Mr. KETCHUM, Mr. LOTT, Mr. WON PAT, Mr. ROSENTHAL, Mr. ROY, Mr. SARBANES, Mr. SHOUP, Mr. SISK, Mr. STUCKEY, and Mr. THONE):

H.R. 6632. A bill to amend the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 to provide a system for the redress of law enforcement officers' grievances and to establish a law enforcement officers' bill of rights in each of the several States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BIAGGI (for himself, Mr. WALSH, Mr. WHITEHURST, Mr. WILLIAMS, Mr. WRIGHT, and Mr. YOUNG of Alaska):

H.R. 6633. A bill to amend the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 to provide a system for the redress of law enforcement officers' grievances and to establish a law enforcement officers' bill of rights in each of the several States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. BLATNIK:

H.R. 6634. A bill to amend section 451 of the Tariff Act of 1930 so as to exempt certain private aircraft entering or departing from the United States and Canada at night or on Sunday or a holiday from provisions requiring payment to the United States for overtime services of customs officers and employees and to treat snowmobiles as highway vehicles for the purposes of such section; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. CRONIN:

H.R. 6635. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit against the individual income tax for tuition paid for the elementary and secondary education of dependents; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. DE LA GARZA:

H.R. 6636. A bill to authorize a survey of the Palo Blanco Creek and Cibolo Creek in the vicinity of Falfurrias, Tex.; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. DINGELL:

H.R. 6637. A bill to encourage the movement in interstate and foreign commerce of recycled and recyclable materials and to reduce the quantities of solid waste materials in commerce which cannot be recycled or do

not contain available recycled materials, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. DORN:

H.R. 6638. A bill to expand the membership of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations to include elected school board officials; to the Committee on Government Operations.

By Mr. DULSKI:

H.R. 6639. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to establish a national program of health research fellowships and traineeships to assure the continued excellence of biomedical research in the United States, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. FASCELL:

H.R. 6640. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide an additional itemized deduction for the use of a passenger automobile in a carpool; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. FULTON:

H.R. 6641. A bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to expand the authority of the National Institute of Arthritis, Metabolism, and Digestive Diseases in order to advance the national attack on diabetes; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 6642. A bill to suspend the duties of certain bicycle parts and accessories until the close of December 31, 1976; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. GOODLING:

H.R. 6643. A bill to strengthen certain provisions of the Gun Control Act of 1968; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HARRINGTON:

H.R. 6644. A bill to establish a New England Regional Commission, and for related purposes; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. HEBERT:

H.R. 6645. A bill to grant a Federal Charter to the Pearl Harbor Survivors Association, Inc.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. JONES of North Carolina (for himself and Mr. MATHIS of Georgia):

H.R. 6646. A bill to provide that certain changes in the loan and purchase program for the 1973 peanut crop which the Department of Agriculture is contemplating shall not be made; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. LANDGREBE (for himself, Mr. CHAPPELL, Mr. CLANCY, Mr. COLLINS,

Mr. ROBERT W. DANIEL JR., Mr. DAN DANIEL, Mr. DENNIS, Mr. DEVINE, Mr. FLYNT, Mrs. HOLT, Mr. HUBER, Mr. HUNT, Mr. MARAZITI, Mr. MAYNE, Mr. MILLS of Maryland, Mr. RHODES, Mr. SPENCE, Mr. SYMMS, Mr. TREEN, Mr. YOUNG of South Carolina, Mr. MILLER, Mr. MYERS, Mr. GERALD R. FORD, Mr. ARENDT, and Mr. SCHERLE):

H.R. 6647. A bill to provide for the continuation of programs authorized under the Vocational Rehabilitation Act, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

By Mr. McCLOSKEY:

H.R. 6648. A bill to establish a Joint Committee on Intelligence Information, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. MATHIS of Georgia:

H.R. 6649. A bill to amend the Federal Trade Commission Act (15 U.S.C. 41) to provide that under certain circumstances exclusive territorial arrangements shall not be deemed unlawful; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. PEPPER (for himself, Mr. FASCELL, Mr. CLARK, Mr. HAWKINS, and Mr. RANGEL):

H.R. 6650. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a deduction in computing gross income for theft losses sustained by individuals, for certain amounts paid to protect against theft, for medical ex-

penses caused by criminal conduct, and for funeral expenses of victims of crime; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. POCELL:

H.R. 6651. A bill to amend the Urban Mass Transportation Act of 1964 to provide priority in the allocation of funds thereunder to those cities and other public agencies which will permit persons who are at least 65 years of age to use the facilities at specially reduced fares, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 6652. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to encourage and assist in the development on a demonstration basis of several carefully planned projects to meet the special health care and related needs of elderly persons in a campus-type setting; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

H.R. 6653. A bill to authorize the establishment of an older worker community service program; to the Committee on Education and Labor.

H.R. 6654. A bill to exempt citizens of the United States who are 65 years of age or older from paying entrance or admission fees for certain recreational areas; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 6655. A bill to amend the Interstate Commerce Act of 1887 and the Federal Aviation Act of 1958 to authorize reduced-rate transportation for individuals aged 65 and older during nonpeak periods of travel; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

H.R. 6656. A bill, the Senior Citizen's Rent Limitation Act; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6657. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to restore to individuals who have attained the age of 65 the right to deduct all expenses for their medical care, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6658. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to permit the full deduction of medical expenses incurred for the care of individuals of 65 years of age and over, without regard to the 3-percent and 1-percent floors; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6659. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to permit the payment of benefits to a married couple on their combined earnings record where that method of computation produces a higher combined benefit; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6660. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to increase to \$750 in all cases the amount of the lump-sum death payment thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6661. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act so as to eliminate, in certain cases, the requirement that an insured individual have first been admitted to a hospital in order to qualify under such title for the extended care services provided thereunder; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6662. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to permit payment thereunder, in the case of an individual otherwise eligible for home health services of the type which may be provided away from his home, for the costs of transportation to and from the place where such services are provided; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6663. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to provide payment for chiropractors' services under the program of supplementary medical insurance benefits for the aged; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6664. A bill to amend title XVIII of the Social Security Act to include dental care, eye care, dentures, eyeglasses, and hearing aids among the benefits provided by

the insurance program established by part B of such title; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. PRICE of Illinois:

H.R. 6665. A bill to amend the Federal Trade Commission Act (15 U.S.C. 41) to provide that under certain circumstances exclusive territorial arrangements shall not be deemed unlawful; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. RHODES:

H.R. 6666. A bill to further the purposes of the Wilderness Act of 1964 by designating certain lands for inclusion in the National Wilderness Preservation System, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. RODINO:

H.R. 6667. A bill to amend the administrative procedure provisions of title 5 of the United States Code to make the rulemaking provisions applicable to matters relating to public property, loans, grants, benefits, and contracts; to provide for payment of expenses incurred in connection with proceedings before agencies; to provide for waiver of sovereign immunity; to provide for the enforcement of standards in grant programs; and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. RODINO (for himself, Mr. WIDNALL, Mr. DOMINICK V. DANIELS, Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN, Mr. HELSTOSKI, Mr. HOWARD, Mr. MINISH, Mr. ROE, Mr. SANDMAN, Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey, Mr. HUNT, Mr. RINALDO, Mr. MARAZITI, and Mr. PATTEN):

H.R. 6668. A bill to amend title 18 of the United States Code to permit the transportation, mailing, and broadcasting of advertising, information, and materials concerning lotteries authorized by law and conducted by a State, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI:

H.R. 6669. A bill relating to the dutiable status of manganese ore, including ferruginous manganese ore, and manganiferous iron ore; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI (for himself, Mr. ANNUNZIO, Mr. ASHLEY, Mr. DIGGS, Mr. FROELICH, Mr. KEMP, Mr. McEWEN, Mr. METCALFE, Mr. MURPHY of Illinois, Mr. OBEY, Mr. POCELL, Mr. STOKES, Mr. ROUSH, and Mr. VANIK):

H.R. 6670. A bill to amend section 426 of title 33, United States Code, for the purpose of authorizing the Army Corps of Engineers to undertake emergency erosion control projects; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI (for himself, Mr. ANNUNZIO, Mr. ASHLEY, Mr. FROELICH, Mr. KEMP, Mr. DIGGS, Mr. METCALFE, Mr. MURPHY of Illinois, Mr. OBEY, Mr. POCELL, Mr. ROUSH, Mr. STOKES, and Mr. VANIK):

H.R. 6671. A bill to amend the Disaster Relief Act of 1970 for the purpose of making clear that disaster assistance is available to those communities affected by extraordinary shoreline erosion damage; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI (for himself, Mr. ANNUNZIO, Mr. FROELICH, Mr. KEMP, Mr. DIGGS, Mr. METCALFE, Mr. MURPHY of Illinois, Mr. OBEY, Mr. POCELL, Mr. ROUSH, and Mr. STOKES):

H.R. 6672. A bill to amend section 426 of title 33, United States Code, for the purpose of providing the right of reimbursement to local interests for undertaking repair of shore damages attributable to Federal navigation works pursuant to section 426i; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI (for himself and Mr. FROELICH):

H.R. 6673. A bill to authorize the State of Illinois and the Metropolitan Sanitary Dis-

trict of Greater Chicago, under the direction of the Secretary of the Army, to increase the diversion of water from Lake Michigan into the Illinois Waterway in order to control and eliminate water erosion on the shoreline of Lake Michigan and to improve the quality of the water in the Illinois Waterway; to the Committee on Public Works.

By Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI (for himself, Mr. ANNUNZIO, Mr. FROELICH, Mr. KEMP, Mr. METCALFE, Mr. MURPHY of Illinois, Mr. OBEY, Mr. DIGGS, Mr. ROUSH, and Mr. STOKES):

H.R. 6674. A bill to amend the Coastal Zone Management Act of 1972 for the purpose of determining the causes and means of preventing shoreline erosion; to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. ROUSH:

H.R. 6675. A bill to abolish the library of the House of Representatives, and for other purposes; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. SCHNEEBELI (for himself and Mr. ROSTENKOWSKI):

H.R. 6676. A bill relating to the dutiable status of manganese ore, including ferruginous manganese ore, and manganiferous iron ore; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. J. WILLIAM STANTON:

H.R. 6677. A bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to allow a credit against the individual income tax for tuition paid for the elementary or secondary education of dependents; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6678. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide for the payment of child's insurance benefits, without regard to certain requirements otherwise applicable, in the case of adopted children who were born after their adopting parents became entitled to old-age or disability insurance benefits; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

H.R. 6679. A bill to amend title II of the Social Security Act to provide for the payment of child's insurance benefits, without regard to certain requirements otherwise applicable, in the case of adopted children who were born after their adopting parents became entitled to old-age or disability insurance benefits; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

By Mr. TAYLOR of North Carolina:

H.R. 6680. A bill to amend section 2 of the act of June 30, 1954, as amended, providing for the continuance of civil government for the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands; to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

By Mr. THOMSON of Wisconsin:

H.R. 6681. A bill to improve and implement procedures for fiscal controls in the U.S. Government, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. WHITE:

H.R. 6682. A bill to authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to cooperate with the governments of Central and South America in order to control outbreaks of plant pests and diseases when necessary to protect the agriculture of the United States; to the Committee on Agriculture.

By Mr. WIGGINS (for himself and Mr. DON EDWARDS):

H.R. 6683. A bill to amend title 28 of the United States Code to provide for prompt destruction of certain contraband, and for other purposes; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. WIGGINS (for himself, Mr. DEL CLAWSON, Mr. HINSHAW, and Mr. BURGNER):

H.R. 6684. A bill to provide for the U.S. District Court for the Central District of California to hold court at Santa Ana, Calif.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. YATRON:

H.R. 6685. A bill to amend section 5303(a) of title 5, United States Code, to authorize

higher minimum pay rates for certain additional Federal positions; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. YOUNG of Illinois:

H.R. 6686. A bill to improve and implement procedures for fiscal controls in the U.S. Government, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Rules.

By Mr. ZWACH:

H.R. 6687. A bill to encourage earlier retirement by permitting Federal employees to purchase into the civil service retirement system benefits unduplicated in any other retirement system based on employment in Federal programs operated by State and local governments under Federal funding and supervision; to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service.

By Mr. CASEY of Texas:

H.R. 6691. A bill making appropriations for the legislative branch for the fiscal year year ending June 30, 1974, and for other purposes.

By Mr. BIAGGI (for himself and Mr. WALDIE):

H.J. Res. 489. Joint resolution authorizing the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to encourage and assist in the distribu-

tion of the "Patient's Bill of Rights" to patients in hospitals and other health care facilities; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. McCLOSKEY (for himself and Mr. BINGHAM):

H.J. Res. 490. Joint resolution to terminate American military activity in Laos and Cambodia; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

By Mr. MACDONALD:

H.J. Res. 491. Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to provide that a citizen shall not be ineligible to the Office of the President by reason of not being native born if he has been a U.S. citizen for at least 12 years and a resident within the United States for 14 years; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. HAYS:

H. Res. 342. Resolution authorizing additional office allowances for certain officials of the House of Representatives; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. LEHMAN:

H. Res. 343. Resolution to establish a congressional internship program for secondary

school teachers of government or social studies in honor of President Lyndon Baines Johnson; to the Committee on House Administration.

By Mr. PODELL:

H. Res. 344. Resolution creating a select committee on aging; to the Committee on Rules.

PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BROTHILL of Virginia:

H.R. 6688. A bill for the relief of Patricia Christine Durso; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

H.R. 6689. A bill for the relief of Paul Stanislaus Neumann; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

By Mr. YOUNG of Illinois:

H.R. 6690. A bill for the relief of Brush & Weaving Hair Manufacturing Co.; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

OUR NATION SALUTES OUR CITIZENS OF POLISH HERITAGE DURING THE COPERNICAN 500TH ANNIVERSARY YEAR

HON. ROBERT A. ROE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, April 4, 1973

Mr. ROE. Mr. Speaker, as scientists throughout the world await the detailed scientific data being collected by the Copernicus probing space satellite launched from the Kennedy Space Center in August 1972, all of us, and particularly our citizens of Polish heritage, take great pride during the Copernican Year—February 1973–74—in celebrating the 500th anniversary of the birth of the esteemed 16th century Polish scientist Nicolaus Copernicus—Mikolaj Kopernik—the founder of modern astronomy, for his outstanding contributions to all of mankind.

During the 92d Congress as a member of the Committee on Science and Astronautics I was especially pleased to join with my colleagues here in the Congress in hailing America's contribution to the Copernican anniversary celebration, dedicated to astronomers throughout the world, in commemorating NASA's orbiting astronomical observatory-C to the memory and honor of this famous Polish astronomer.

The Copernican spacecraft commenced its orbiting around the world for a period of 1 year to study the ultraviolet and X-ray emissions of celestial bodies which contain vital clues to the composition, density, and physical state of the matter from which these rays, which are blocked from the earth by the filtering effects of the atmosphere, originate. This global space venture is a climatic sequel to Copernicus' observations of the planets with the naked eye and his mathematical calculations which convinced him that the sun was the center of the universe

and the earth and planets moved around it, a revolutionary theory during his lifetime, which has proven to be the nucleus for all astronomers and other scientists in their observations, calculations, and theoretical interpretations of our solar system.

In further tribute to this distinguished representative of Polish heritage, it gives me great pleasure to know that legislation I had joined with my colleagues here in the Congress in sponsoring during the 92d Congress seeking the issuance of a commemorative postage stamp in recognition and celebration of the 500th anniversary of the birth of Nicolaus Copernicus has been successful. On April 23, 1973, the U.S. Post Office will issue this commemorative postage stamp to released in concert with the opening of a conference on "The Nature of Scientific Discovery" being held in Washington by the National Academy of Sciences and the Smithsonian Institution who are jointly sponsoring the first-day ceremonies in tribute to Nicolaus Copernicus at the Smithsonian's Museum of History and Technology.

It is indeed a great privilege and honor for me to participate in the legislative processes of our Nation's Government and I would like to take this opportunity to call attention to some of the other bills I have sponsored here in the 93d Congress that may be of interest to Polish-Americans of my congressional district, the State of New Jersey, and our Nation, as follows:

H.R. 989, January 3, 1973—Commemorative medal honoring Nicolaus Copernicus: To provide for the striking of medals in commemoration of the 500th anniversary of the birth of Nicolaus Copernicus—Mikolaj Kopernik—the founder of modern astronomy.

H.R. 994, January 3, 1973—Opportunity to study the cultural heritages of the Nation's varied ethnic groups: To provide a program to improve the opportunity of students in elementary and secondary schools to study cultural herit-

ages of the various ethnic groups in the Nation.

H.R. 1043, January 3, 1973—American veterans benefits for Polish aliens: To amend section 109 of title 38, United States Code, to provide benefits for members of the Armed Forces of nations allied with the United States in World War I and World War II.

House Concurrent Resolution 34, January 3, 1973—Congressional condemnation of antinationality films and broadcasts: Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of Congress relating to films and broadcasts which defame, stereotype, ridicule, demean or degrade ethnic, racial and religious groups.

House Resolution 75, January 3, 1973—Polish Constitution Day: Resolution designating May 3 as "Polish Constitution Day."

House Joint Resolution 304, February 6, 1973—Nicolaus Copernicus Week: Joint resolution requesting the President to issue a proclamation designating the week of April 23, 1973 as "Nicolaus Copernicus Week" marking the quinquacentennial of his birth.

H.R. 3917, February 7, 1973—Individual's freedom and right to emigrate to country of his choice: To prohibit most-favored nation treatment and commercial and guarantee agreements with respect to any nonmarket economy country which denies to its citizens the right to emigrate or which imposes more than nominal fees upon its citizens as a condition to emigration.

H.R. 5740, March 15, 1973—Right to vote for citizens with language barriers: To assure the right to vote to citizens whose primary language is other than English.

Mr. Speaker, to understand the present, we must understand the past; to understand the need for historical preservation, we must understand the present and future. We do indeed need for ourselves and future generations a chance to sit and reflect in beauty and culture and gain strength from our her-